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Foreword

The present volume of the *Jinnah Papers*, subtitled *Cabinet Mission's Parleys for Shaping India's Future*, encompassing the period April to July 1946 is the thirteenth in overall sequence (fourth in the second series).

Following the emphatic vindication of the All India Muslim League's claim as the sole representative body of Muslims by an overwhelming majority in the 1945-6 general elections, the volume includes Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's long-drawn-out negotiations with the British Cabinet Mission, which were to end in failure.

Of the twelve volumes published so far, the first four covering the period 20 February to 14 August 1947, relate largely to Jinnah's eventually conclusive parleys with the representatives of the outgoing British *raj*. Volumes V to VII cover his brief tenure as Governor-General of Pakistan. Volumes VIII and IX deal with issues relating to the future of the Indian States. Volumes I to IX together comprise the first series of the *Jinnah Papers*.

The second series commencing from Volume X relates, in the main, to Viceroy Wavell's continuing interaction with the leadership of Indian political parties, including the Muslim League, during the period October 1943 to July 1944. Volume XI deals mainly with the abortive Jinnah-Gandhi talks as well as the failed Simla Conference, during the period August 1944 to July 1945. Volume XII portrays the struggle of the Muslim League for independent statehood, which gathered momentum during the period August 1945 to March 1946, the League justifying its claim as an authoritative body after its electoral victory. Volume XIII contains 257 primary documents, supplemented by two exhaustive appendices, one on the Muslim League's negotiations with the Cabinet Mission and the other containing documents which, but for their late retrieval, should have been included in the earlier volumes.

Jinnah's press statements and speeches on contemporary political issues, already published by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad,[1] Waheed Ahmad,[2] and Khurshid Ahmad KhanYusufi,[3] have generally not been included. However, necessary references have been given in the text.

Primary documents, and also those included in the appendices, have been arranged in chronological order. These have been identified in the text by quoting the source or repository notation, followed by the number of the relevant file or volume, and where available, the page number(s). The belatedly retrieved documents mentioned above have been grouped together as *Quaid-i-Azam Documents* (notation *QAD*) and numbered serially in chronological order.

The documents included in the present volume have been selected from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (*QAP*) (e.g. *F. 883/275-81*) held by the National Archives of Pakistan; the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* (e.g. *SHC, Misc I/27)* partly available with the Quaid-i-Azam Academy, and the *Quaid-i-Azam Documents* selected from some other sources (e.g. *QAD* (10)). Where necessary or expedient, material from contemporary newspapers and other sources such as Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, and S. Gopal, ed., *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, etc., has also been drawn upon. Documents from the *Transfer of Power 1942-7* have been referred to by document number, *TP*, volume and page number(s) (e.g. No. 48, *TP*, VII, 118-24 while those from previous volumes of *Jinnah Papers* have been referred to by document number, volume and page number(s) e.g. No. 514, Vol. XII, 592-4, respectively.

Material of repetitive nature, requests for financial assistance, employment, and such like issues, have generally not been included. Likewise, long-drawn-out documents have been suitably abridged.

We remain deeply grateful to Madam Dina, Quaid's daughter, for her abiding interest in the publication of papers of her illustrious father.

Z. H. Zaidi

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing
Culture Division
Islamabad
15 May 2006

[1]Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, ed., *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Vol. I (1935-44) & Vol. II (1944-48), Lahore, 1968.

[2]Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Towards the Popular Verdict*, Vol. IV (November 1944-April 1946), Karachi, 2000, 568-652 and *The Nation's Voice: Deadlock, Frustration and Riots*, Vol. V (May 1946-February 1947), Karachi, 2001.

[3]Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. IV (1946-1948), Lahore, 1996.

Introduction

Having lasted for close to six years and claimed over 50 million human lives, the greatest and deadliest war in the annals of armed conflict between nations ended in August 1945 with the Japanese surrender, precipitated by the American atom-bombing and consequential rack and ruin of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Earlier, Britain's postwar—the war in Europe had ended in May 1945—Labour landslide had brought Clement Attlee and his party to power in July 1945. Britain had emerged from the war considerably weaker than the imperial power of the prewar era. It was apparent, now more than ever before, that Britain was going to have to terminate before long its colonial rule in India, which had lasted in excess of 150 years already.

* * * *

In the aftermath of the war, India, gravid with expectations of freedom from alien rule, seethed with political unrest. Strife and bitter antagonism between the two major communities had been mounting. During the war, some two and a half million men had been recruited for the armed forces. They were to be demobilized now that the war was over, and they were haunted by the spectre of unemployment rearing its ugly head. War production had boosted the level of economic activity, which now seemed certain to taper off. The economy had been severely strained by the wartime inflationary conditions. The postwar economic outlook seemed none too encouraging.

In February 1946, there was a "mutiny" in the Royal Indian Navy.[1] Most of the sailors in the Bombay harbour went on strike demanding higher wages. Some 3,000 mutineers marched on the city streets. The strikers were sternly warned that nothing short of "unconditional surrender" would pass muster. Jinnah, then in Calcutta, issued a press statement on 22 February offering his "services unreservedly for the cause of the RIN men to see that justice is done to them". He urged them to "adopt constitutional, lawful and peaceful methods" and assured them that he would do his best "to see that their grievances are redressed".[2] The "mutineers" soon called off their strike and surrendered to the authorities.

There were strikes at some Royal Indian Air Force bases as well, and discontent and disaffection appeared to be insidiously spreading in the Indian Army. Earlier, some of the officers of the so-called Indian National Army, made up of those elements in the Indian Army who had surrendered to the Japanese during the war, were brought

to trial by the British military authorities in the Red Fort at Delhi. Many Indians considered them heroes while the British, of course, regarded them as traitors. In a press statement on 15 September 1945, Jinnah had hoped that "the Indian soldiers who had joined the enemy" would be dealt with leniently.[3]

The British were now beginning to grow increasingly sceptical of the loyalty and discipline of the Indian Armed Forces. During the war, the number of Indian commissioned officers had swelled and the prewar preponderance of British officers had ended irreversibly.

General elections had been held in India in 1945-46. All thirty Muslim seats in the Central Assembly had been won by the Muslim League.[4] It had bagged over eighty per cent, in the aggregate, of the Muslim seats in the Provincial Assemblies[5] as well. This stunning electoral triumph at once lent full credibility to Jinnah's claim, cynically contested by both Congress and the British, to the League being the sole representative body of Muslim India. Jinnah, now the "sole spokesman"[6] of Indian Muslims, was henceforward to peremptorily reject any claim by the Congress, or by any of the so-called Muslim nationalist groups, to represent the one hundred million Muslims of India.

The British Parliamentary Delegation led by Professor Robert Richards, and composed, among others, of Arthur Bottomley, Woodrow Wyatt, Reginald Sorensen and Mrs Muriel Nichol, which had come out to India for talks with the leaders of political parties, returned home in February 1946 to report to the Prime Minister. Most members shared the view that Pakistan in some form or other would have to be conceded. Bottomley "did not like Pakistan but thought it would be necessary... (a) to avoid widespread bloodshed, (b) to preserve our own trade interests, for ... the Muslims were eager to do business with us". Sorensen "regarded Pakistan as wholly irrational—he was not sure that Mr. Jinnah could be regarded as a rational person—but, in his view, necessary". Wyatt reported that Jinnah would not take part in any interim government without "a prior declaration accepting the principle of Pakistan". Mrs Nichol believed that Pakistan "must be conceded".[7]

The Whitehall announced on 19 February 1946 that it was sending a more authoritative British delegation, composed of three Cabinet Ministers, to India to seek a constitutional settlement in consultation with Indian leaders.[8] The three 'wise' men of the Cabinet, the Magi so to speak, were Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, First

Lord of the Admiralty. The leader, Pethick-Lawrence, was the Nestor[9] of the delegation, as it were. Cripps, a close friend of Nehru, Krishna Menon and Ghanshyam Das Birla, was known all too well to be a Congress sympathiser.

On 9 April, a convention of the newly elected Muslim League Members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies held in Delhi passed a resolution demanding that the provinces of Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west be constituted into an independent, sovereign state of Pakistan and that two constitution-making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and India for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions.[10]

In early May, a conference of Indian leaders was convened at Simla by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy in an attempt to find an agreed solution to the Indian constitutional problem.[11] Congress was represented by its President, Abul Kalam Azad, Nehru, Sardar Patel, and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, while Jinnah, Liaquat, Nawab Ismail Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar represented the League.[12]

The Muslim League, in its negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, proposed two constituent assemblies, one for the six provinces in the Pakistan group[13] and the other for the six Hindu provinces.[14] The League, however, offered to accept a joint meeting of the two constituent assemblies, provided there was equal representation of the two groups of provinces in the central government and no controversial matter was to be decided without a three-fourths majority. The League stipulated as well that the central government would have no power of taxation.[15]

Neither party was disposed to go along with the proposals of the other. The fundamental issue dividing the two parties was whether there was to be one sovereign state for the whole of India or whether India was to be divided between two independent sovereign states as demanded by the Muslim League. The Cabinet Mission, as was only to be expected, failed to reconcile the divergent views of the League and the Congress.

Congress wanted a single Constituent Assembly to draw up a constitution for "an all-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental Rights, Currency, Customs, and Planning as well as such other subjects as ... may be found to be intimately allied to them," including the power to raise revenue by taxation.[16] The remaining powers were to be vested in the provinces or units. "Groups of

provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the Provincial subjects which they desire to take in common".[17]

The stands of the Muslim League and the Congress conformed to their stated positions.[18]

The Conference, convened in the "cool and rarefied" atmosphere of Simla, ended in failure for the reason that the Cabinet Mission failed, largely because of Congress intransigence, to bridge the communal divide. The Mission was left with no other option than to present its own plan with a view to ending the stalemate.[19]

On 16 May, the Mission and the Viceroy published a statement[20] outlining a three-tier constitutional scheme, which envisaged an all-India Union for only three subjects, namely defence, foreign affairs and communications. They not only turned down the demand for two sovereign states in the subcontinent on administrative, economic and military grounds, but saw no justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam which had a predominantly non-Muslim population.[21]

The Cabinet Mission Plan envisaged, besides a Union of India dealing with three subjects and empowered to raise the necessary finances, three groups of provinces: section A comprising the six Hindu majority provinces; section B, the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan; and section C, the provinces of Bengal and Assam. The provinces themselves formed the third, basic tier.[22]

Each of the three sections (A,B, and C) was to frame the constitutions for the provinces included in it as well as to decide whether there should be any group constitution for those provinces. The new legislature of any province could, after the first general election under the new constitution, opt out of the group in which it was placed.[23]

The Mission stipulated that an interim central government be set up "at once," in which "all portfolios" were to be held by Indian leaders.[24] The Mission's proposals thus included a long-term plan for constitution-making as well as a short-term plan for an interim government.

The Congress Working Committee, in its resolution of May 24, recognised no limitation on the sovereign power of the Constituent Assembly, with its immutable Hindu majority, to vary the Cabinet Mission Plan as it chose, and regarded the provincial grouping, an integral part of the Plan, as purely optional and voluntary.[25]

In a statement issued on 25 May,[26] the Cabinet Mission clarified

that the 16 May Plan "stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of cooperation". They stated further that "the grouping of the provinces... is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties. The right to opt out of the Groups" was to be exercised by the people themselves at the first elections to be held under the new provincial constitution.[27]

The Congress had not been able to get the Mission to acquiesce in its manifestly untenable interpretation of the Plan. The Mission's statement of 25 May, and the Viceroy's letter to Jinnah of 4 June[28] assuring the latter "that we do not propose to make any discrimination in the treatment of either party; and that we shall go ahead with the plan laid down in the Statement so far as circumstances permit if either party accepts; but we hope that both will accept," had shown the British resolve to hold the scales even and played a crucial and decisive role in determining the League's response to the Cabinet Mission's 16 May Plan.

The Muslim League Council, taking into consideration the Cabinet Mission's statement as well as the Viceroy's assurance, decided on 6 June to accept the Plan as a whole.[29] The Congress, on the contrary, was still equivocating and sticking to its untenable and invalid interpretation of, and characteristically casuistical reservations about, the Plan.[30] As a matter of fact, the Congress never really wanted Muslims to have an effective share in political power in India but desired undiluted power for a brute Hindu majority.

As for the composition of the interim cabinet, Wavell had told Jinnah "that there would be twelve portfolios": five Congress; five Muslim League; one Sikh; and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian.[31] The Congress refused to accept parity of representation in the interim cabinet with the League, insisting on its nominees including a Congress Muslim as well.[32]

Nehru saw the Viceroy on 12 June and demanded that the interim government comprise fifteen members: five Congress (all Hindus); four Muslim League; one non-League Muslim; one non-Congress Hindu; one Congress Hindu (Scheduled Caste); one Indian Christian; one Sikh; one woman (Congress).[33] The Viceroy, however, suggested that the interim cabinet consist of thirteen members only: six Congress (including one Scheduled-Caste); five Muslim League; two Minorities.[34] That meant parity between Caste-Hindus and Muslims, which was unacceptable to Congress.

Since no consensual agreement on the composition of the interim

government emerged, the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy announced on 16 June that the latter was issuing invitations to fourteen persons "to serve as members of the interim Government on the basis that the constitution making will proceed" as envisaged by the 16 May Plan. Six of the fourteen were members of the Congress (including one Scheduled Caste) and five of the Muslim League, besides one Sikh, one Indian Christian, and one Parsi. The portfolios were to be assigned by the Viceroy "in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties". If the two major parties or either of them declined the invitation to join the proposed coalition government, the Viceroy intended to proceed with the formation of an interim government "as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement" of 16 May.[35]

The Congress was not only unwilling to acquiesce in parity between Caste-Hindus and Muslims, but was reluctant as well to relinquish its claim to include a Congress Muslim among its nominees. In a letter sent to the Viceroy on 25 June,[36] Congress President Abul Kalam Azad stated that the Working Committee had not found it possible to accept the Viceroy's invitation to join the interim government while "accepting" the long-term plan subject to reservations, which indeed vitiated the Cabinet Mission Plan itself.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy met Jinnah on 25 June[37] and informed him that a caretaker government[38] composed of officials only was to be set up, for the time being, instead of an interim government, which the Congress had refused to join. Jinnah was, for good reason, taken aback and shocked. Since the Congress had rejected the 16 June proposal of the Cabinet Mission,[39] while the Muslim League had accepted the 16 May Plan as a whole, the latter should have been invited to form the interim government, in keeping with the Viceroy's assurance of 4 June to the President of the Muslim League.[40] An embittered and irate Jinnah quite justifiably accused the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy of "bad faith" and of having meekly capitulated to the Congress.[41]

The Cabinet Mission, having failed to bridge the divide between the two major parties in India, largely because of the Congress obduracy, returned to London on 29 June. A few days later, Nehru replaced Abul Kalam Azad as Congress President. At a press conference held in Bombay on 10 July, Nehru arrogantly stated that the Congress would enter the Constituent Assembly "completely unfettered by agreements and free to meet all situations as they arise". He added: "The Congress had agreed only to participate in the Constituent Assembly and regarded itself free to change or modify

the Cabinet Mission Plan as it thought best". He thought it was probable that "there will be no grouping" and envisaged a stronger central government than that proposed in the Statement of 16 May.

With a view to reconsidering its stance on the Cabinet Mission Plan and charting the future course of action, in the light of the new developments, a meeting of the Muslim League Council was held in Bombay from 27 to 29 July 1946. The Working Committee presented two resolutions[42] before the Council, which were both adopted, the first withdrawing the League acceptance of the 16 May Plan, in view of the not unwonted Congress sophistry and chicanery in so interpreting the Plan as to suit its own purposes, and of the Mission and the Viceroy having "played into the hands of the Congress," and "gone back on their plighted word". The second resolution decided on "direct action to achieve Pakistan and to get rid of the present slavery under the British and contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination". A "programme of direct action" was to be prepared "to organise the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary". The Council further called upon the Muslims, "as a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British," to renounce all titles conferred by the alien regime.

At a press conference on 31 July 1946, Jinnah made it clear that direct action was not meant to be a declaration of war against anybody. He said that it was the Muslim League alone which had been following constitutional methods while pursuing its policies, programme and objectives. He declared that the Muslims "are now forced for our self-defence and self-preservation to say good-bye to constitutional methods and we have decided... to prepare and resort to direct action as and when the time may come to launch it".[43]

16 August was to be observed by the Muslim League as the Direct Action Day. Jinnah had issued a statement[44] to the press two days earlier, saying that the resolutions passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League on 29 July were to be explained "to the Muslim public all over India" at public meetings across the country. The day, on which a *hartal* was to be observed as well, was "not for the purpose of resorting to direct action in any form or shape. He, therefore, enjoined upon the Muslims" to carry out the instructions and abide by them strictly and conduct themselves peacefully and in a disciplined manner and not to play into the hands of the enemies".[45]

There was no disturbance of the peace anywhere in India on the Direct Action Day, except in Calcutta where a Hindu-Muslim riot of unprecedented intensity and magnitude broke out.[46] Though Bengal

was a Muslim majority province, only one-fourth of the population of Calcutta was Muslim. The unbridled violence in Calcutta was condemned unreservedly by Jinnah who expressed his deepest sympathy with the victims.[47] The Great Calcutta killing, as the riot came to be known, had the domino effect and communal disturbances soon spread to and racked Noakhali in Bengal,[48] Bihar,[49] and Garhmuktesar in the UP.[50] Communal discord and bitterness had reached a fever pitch, and the fierce disturbances that raged in Bihar and Garhmuktesar were redolent of medieval savagery. More of that, however, will be covered in greater detail in the next volume of the *Jinnah Papers*, where it belongs in terms of chronology.

* * * *

During the period that this volume encompasses, Jinnah, preoccupied as he was with the events at home, did find the time to address the concerns of Muslims elsewhere in the world. He extended the sympathy and support of Muslim India to the valiant struggle of the people of Indonesia[51] for liberation from Dutch colonial rule, denounced the report of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine[52] as betrayal of the pledges made to the Arabs, and warned Britain against any attempt at restoring Libya and Cyrenaica to Italian rule.[53]

* * * *

Throughout his negotiations with the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, Jinnah lived up, as always, to his proven reputation of being utterly incorruptible and impeccably honest, of being honourable, straightforward and bolt upright in his dealings with anybody he had to do business with, and of possessing an integrity that was immaculate and beyond reproach. He had hoped that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy would in no way discriminate against the Muslim League, which had accepted both the 16 May Plan and the 16 June offer, whereas the Congress had negatived the interim government proposal and 'accepted' the constitution-making scheme with reservations that knocked the bottom out of the Plan. The Viceroy should, in all conscience, have invited the League to form the interim cabinet but he unconscionably failed to, and instead set up a caretaker government composed of permanent officials. Jinnah was, naturally, disillusioned as he saw the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy fecklessly succumb to relentless Congress pressure. However, he kept his poise and cool and proceeded to deal with the political situation in India, as it emerged in the aftermath of the Cabinet Mission Plan, with the gravitas, aplomb and assurance of an elder statesman.

Notes

[1]See Report by John Colville, 27 February 1946, No. 478, *TP*, VI, 1079-84.
[2]See Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 22 February 1946. Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Towards the Popular Verdict*, Vol. IV, Karachi, 2000, 460-1.
[3]See ibid., 229.
[4&5]Ibid., 980-1.
[6]See Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, The Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*, Lahore, 1999, 1-5.
[7]See Notes by Members of the Parliamentary Delegation, 13 February 1946, No. 426, *TP*, VI, 947-51.
[8]See Statement by Clement Attlee in the House of Commons, 19 February 1946, No. 443, *TP*, VI, 1010-1.
[9]Name of a character in Homer's *Iliad;* wise old man.
[10]Enclosure to Appendix I. 4.
[11]See Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah, 27 April 1946, Appendix I. 3.
[12]See M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence, 29 April 1946, Appendix I. 4.
[13]Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam.
[14]Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa.
[15]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 17.
[16]See J. B. Kripalani to M. A. Jinnah, 12 May 1946, Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 18.
[17]Ibid.
[18]See J. B. Kripalani to M. A. Jinnah, 12 May 1946, Enclosure 2 to ibid.
[19]See Communique by the Cabinet Delegation, 12 May 1946, No. 266, *TP*, VII, 526-7.
[20]See Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wavell, 16 May 1946, Appendix I. 20.
[21]Predominantly Non-Muslim districts were:
Punjab: Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala, Simla, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar.
Bengal: Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah, Calcutta, Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Assam: Goalpara, Garo Hills, Kamrup, Balipara, Sadiya, Lakhimpur, Parrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Naga Hills, Cachar, Lushai Hills.
Also see Archibald Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 6 February 1946, Appendix II.53, Vol. I, Part II, 567-8.
[22]These were Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces & Orissa.
[23]See Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wavell, 16 May 1946, Appendix I. 20, para 15.
[24]See ibid., para 23.
[25]See Resolution by Indian National Congress Working Committee, 24 May 1946, Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Deadlock, Frustration and Riots*, Vol.V, Karachi, 2001, 627-30.
[26]Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wavell, 25 May 1946, Appendix I. 22.
[27]Ibid., para 8.
[28]Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, 4 June 1946, Appendix I. 23.
[29]See Resolution by All India Muslim League Council, 6 June 1946, Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.
[30]See A. K. Azad to Pethick-Lawrence, 20 May 1946, No. 340, *TP*, VII, 639-41.
[31]See M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 8 June 1946, Appendix I. 26.
[32]See Record of the Meeting of the Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wavell with A. K. Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru, 10 June 1946, No. 480, *TP*, VII, 853-6.
[33]See Note by Archibald Wavell on his Interview with Jawaharlal Nehru, 12 June 1946, No. 506, ibid., 886-7.
[34]See Note of Meeting of Cabinet Mission and Archibald Wavell, 13 June 1946, No. 517, ibid., 913-4.
[35]Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wavell, 16 June 1946, Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[36]See A. K. Azad to Archibald Wavell, 25 June 1946, Annex II to Appendix I. 41.

[37]See Record of the Meeting of Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wevell with M. A. Jinnah, 25 June 1946, Annex I to Appendix I. 41.
[38]See Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, 27 June 1940, Appendix I. 44.
[39]See note 36 above.
[40]See note 28 above.
[41]See Statements by M. A. Jinnah, 27 & 29 June 1946, Appendices I. 45 & I. 53.
[42]See M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 31 July 1946, Enclosure to Appendix I. 47.
[43]See Address by M. A. Jinnah to a Press Conference, 31 July 1946, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 176-7.
[44]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 14 August 1946, ibid., 208.
[45]See ibid.
[46]See Frederick Burrows to Archibald Wavell, 22 August 1946, Enclosure to No. 197, *TP*, VIII, 293-304.
[47]See Press Interview by M. A. Jinnah, 18 August 1946, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 214-15.
[48-50]Statement by Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords, 27 November 1946, No. 102, *TP*, IX, 188.
[51]M. A. Jinnah to M. Zain Hassan, 1 April 1946, No. 2.
[52]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 1 May 1946, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 1.
[53]See Address by M. A. Jinnah to the All India Muslim League Council, 5 June 1946, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 37.

Abbreviations

AGG	Agent to the Governor-General
AIML	All India Muslim League
APA	Associated Press of America
BT	Bachelor of Teaching
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CP	Central Provinces
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
DC	Deputy Commissioner
EIR	East Indian Railway
GHQ	General Headquarters
HSC	High School Certificate
HE	His Excellency
HEH	His Exalted Highness
HH	His Highness
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IES	Indian Education Service
INA	Indian National Army
KB	Khan Bahadur
MAO	Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental
NWR	North Western Railway
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
P&T	Post & Telegraph
PWD	Public Works Department
QAD	Quaid-i-Azam Documents
QAP	Quaid-i-Azam Papers
RB	Rai Bahadur
SDM	Sub-Divisional Magistrate
SHC	Shamsul Hasan Collection
TP	Transfer of Power
UP	United Provinces

All India Muslim League Working Committee 1946

President	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Secretary	Liaquat Ali Khan
	Members
Assam	Abdul Matin Chaudhury
Baluchistan	Qazi Mohammad Isa
Bengal	Khwaja Nazimuddin Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani Mohammad Akrum Khan
Bihar	Syed Hossain Imam Sardar Mohammad Lateef-ur-Rahman
Bombay	Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar
C. P. & Berar	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah
Delhi	Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali
Madras	Haji Abdus Sattar H. Essak Sait
N.W.F.P.	Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan
Punjab	Sheikh Karamat Ali Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot Mian Bashir Ahmad
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro
United Provinces	Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

Chronology of Important Events
1946

April

1 Jinnah expresses Muslim India's support for Indonesian independence struggle.

2 The Muslim League refuses to join a Hindu-dominated federation.

5 Jinnah declares that Pakistan will not be a theocratic state and that non-Muslims will have full rights of citizenship.

7 Jinnah tells Muslim Legislators' Convention that there can be no compromise on the issue of Pakistan as a sovereign state and that he will not accept any interim arrangement unless the principle of Pakistan is first conceded.

12 In an undivided India, the Muslim League regards power-sharing between Hindus and Muslims to be impossible.

16 The Cabinet Mission invite Jinnah's views about two possible constitutional alternatives—a small Pakistan with sovereign rights and a larger Pakistan within an all-India Union.

27 Jinnah advises the Nizam of Hyderabad against the appointment of Mirza Ismail as President of the State Executive Council.

May

1 Jinnah regards the report of Anglo-American Committee on Palestine as betrayal of the promises made to Arabs.

5 Tripartite talks between the Cabinet Mission, the Muslim League and the Congress begin at Simla.

11 Jinnah informs the Cabinet Mission and the Congress of the minimum demands of the Muslim League for a constitutional settlement.

12 The Cabinet Mission announce the breakdown of Simla Conference for want of agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress.

16 The Cabinet Mission announce their own plan for a future constitution for India and propose the formation of an Interim Government as a preparatory step.

22 Jinnah deplores the Cabinet Mission's failure to concede the demand for Pakistan in order to appease the Congress.

23 Reporting Sheikh Abdullah's arrest, Agha Shaukat Ali apprehends that the Congress will use the Dogra regime to block Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

24 Congress Working Committee express reservations about the Cabinet Mission Plan.

25 Cabinet Mission clarify the issues relating to the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government.

27 Noting that Kashmiri Muslims have kept aloof from Sheikh Abdullah's "Quit Kashmir" movement, Prem Nath Bazaz seeks Jinnah's guidance as to future course of action.

June

5 Jinnah asks for a report from the Muslim Conference on disturbances in Jammu & Kashmir; cautions State against involving innocent Muslims.
He urges Britain not to restore Libya and Cyrenaica to Italian rule.

6 Muslim League Council accepts the Cabinet Mission Plan regarding it as paving the way for Pakistan.

16 The Cabinet Mission propose the formation of an Interim Government and invite Indian leaders to join it.

21 Jinnah urges the Maharaja to introduce responsible government in Jammu and Kashmir.

25 Congress Working Committee reject proposal for formation of an Interim Government, but decide on participation in the proposed Constituent Assembly. Muslim League Working Committee agree to join the Interim Government but reject the Congress interpretation of the Plan.

26 Cabinet Mission announce Viceroy's intention of setting up a temporary Caretaker Government composed only of officials.

27 Jinnah slams deferment of formation of the Interim Government; warns that if the assurances given to the League were not redeemed, it will be regarded as a breach of faith.

July

4 A Caretaker Government is sworn in by the Viceroy.

13 Welcoming the impending constitutional reforms in Hyderabad, Jinnah urges the State Muslims to focus on economic and industrial development as well.

22 Wavell proposes replacement of Caretaker Government by a 14-member Interim Government composed of 6 Congress and 5 League nominees, besides 3 minority members to be nominated by the Viceroy; seeks consent of Congress and League.

29 Muslim League Council withdraw acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan and decide on Direct Action for achieving Pakistan.

30 Muslim League Working Committee call upon Muslims to observe Direct Action Day on 16 August 1946 with a complete *hartal* and public meetings throughout the country.

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1

M. A. Jinnah to B. R. Sen

SHC, Misc. I/27

1 April 1946

Dear Mr. Sen,

I have received your letter of the 22nd of February,[1] and you know that I was away from Delhi and only returned a few days ago, and now I am plunged into the discussions that have been started by the Cabinet Mission in Delhi. Nevertheless, I attach very great importance to the food situation and shall be very glad to meet you if you will be good enough to phone me up so that I may fix up some time which may be suitable to both of us.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

B.R. Sen, Esq.,
Secretary,
Department of Food,
New Delhi

[1]No. 514, Vol. XII, 592-4.

2

M. A. Jinnah to M. Zain Hassan

SHC, FC I/41

1 April 1946

Dear Sir,

I thank you very much for your letter of the 25th February[1] enclosing a copy of the Political Manifesto issued by the Indonesian Ministry of Information. You know that Muslim League and I as its President have the fullest sympathy in your struggle for freedom, and recently I have in my speeches on the floor of the Central Assembly and outside in large public meetings of the Musalmans, expressed our deepest sympathies in your struggle for freedom of Indonesia. Muslim India will not fail to do all we can to help you and I welcome the expression of your wish on behalf of your Association that this correspondence may pave the way for closer

relationship between Indonesia and Muslim India.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. Zain Hassan, Esq.,
President,
Indonesian Association for Independence,
Cairo

[1]No. 528, Vol. XII, 610.

3

Kanwar Sarjit Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 189/13-4

KUCHESAR FORT,
VIA BABUGARH, U.P.,
1 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

When the Congress started opposing the zamindars I wanted to join the League, but then the League was a religious and a Muslim body, [and] I being a Sikh as well as a zamindar had to give up the idea.

What a pity, if a person of your calibre had led a party entirely national and not just a religious-cum-national, you would certainly have blown the Congress to smithereens, and, also, on the quiet, stolen some advantageous religious aims too [*sic*].

Please Mr. Jinnah, why have you subordinated the broader aim to a narrower one. It is unfortunate, not only for the general public but does yourself injustice, in that it retards the natural growth of your stature.

Yours faithfully,
KANWAR SARJIT SINGH

4

Azeezullah Sheriff to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/2

SATYAMANGALAM,
DIST. COIMBATORE,
1 April 1946

Revered Sir,

I, the Secretary, on behalf of the members of the Muslim Adabi Jama'at, beg to submit the following for your kind consideration:

This institution was started two years ago by the Muslim students studying in the higher forms of the high school, prompted by the rapid advancement of the Muslim community effected under your sagacious leadership, in the fields of both culture and politics. The main object in initiating this institution, the first of its kind in this village, consisting of about three hundred Muslim families only, is to bring within easy reach of every Muslim student the Islamic culture by providing a small library of Urdu, English and Tamil books of authenticated authors, donated by sympathetic parents.

The Board High School in this village had recently introduced Urdu as a second language, which stands second to Arabic in expounding Islamic culture. Hence the necessity to have a library of this sort was felt.

To the best of our ability, we have been running the institution to the entire satisfaction of Muslim public for the last two years.

Under the auspices of the institution your seventieth birthday was celebrated. One of the members, with an artistic bent of mind, presented an enlarged bust of your photo on the occasion. The Working Committee has decided unanimously that it may be sent to you as a birthday present and a token of our respect to you.

I, therefore, on behalf of the members, request that it may be graciously accepted and the young institution may kindly be blessed in token of you[r] recognition.

May *Allah* the Almighty give you a very long and prosperous life to lead us in the much-troubled years to come in the near future.

AZEEZULLAH SHERIFF
Secretary,
Muslim Adabi Jama'at

5

Tajdeen G. Kassam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/261

NAIROBI, KENYA,
1 April 1946

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

It was the most glorious day of mine, the day of immense joy and merriment, when I got the opportunity of writing to my beloved leader, the mercy [*sic*] and the voice of the 100 million Muslims, at whose command I shall sacrifice my life for the cause of my Muslim brothers whom the Congress intends to bring under the subjugation and the hegemony of the Hindu *raj*.

Akhand Hindustan is a dictatorial power for the Hindus and in the so-called united India of the Congress, the Muslims will be deprived of their culture, history, [and] spirit and will become untouchable idolaters.

The Hindu writers and speakers and chiefly the protagonists of *Akhand Hindustan* are deliberately trying to misguide the foreign opinion and to prove that India is a homogeneous nation; but unfortunately, most unfortunately for the apologists of Gandhiji, the recent elections in India have proved that a majority of the Muslims support the political ideology of the Muslim League. It is sheer ignorance to state that India is a unitarian nation with Hindus and Muslims between whom there is an underlying unity. India is a huge subcontinent composed of nationalities of which the major ones are Muslims and Hindus, the two cultures which are so diametrically opposed that there is as much common between Muslims and Hindus as between a Christian and a Buddhist.

Although we are hundreds of miles away from you and our Muslim brothers, we are determined to sacrifice our lives for the freedom of our Muslim brothers in India. Their freedom is our freedom. If their rights are in danger, our rights are in danger too. If their freedom is threatened, our freedom is threatened too.

For Pakistan we must fight because it is our obligation, because we must have the choice: to fight or not to fight. It is better to die than to lie on one's knees [*sic*], because Islam is our heritage of freedom and it is our duty to pass on the heritage because it is a crime to have children in bondage.

Yours obediently,
TAJDEEN G. KASSAM

6

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Qasim Rizavi

SHC, Students II/91

1 April 1946

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd of February,[1] and I regret that I have no spare photographs to send, but you can get one in Lahore as there are so many studios, who [*sic*] have taken my photographs recently.

As to my message, you can repeat my message which I sent to Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Provincial Muslim League, on the eve of the result of the Punjab elections, and I wish all success to your venture in bringing out an illustrated account of the general elections in Punjab with special reference to the contribution of the Muslim students, in a book form.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S.M. Qasim Rizavi, Esq.,
Honorary Secretary,
Islamia College Muslim Students' Federation,
Lahore

[1]See *SHC*, Students II/90. Not printed.

7

Note by Chowdhury Mubarak Hossain

F. 132/18-21

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
3 April 1946

PAKISTAN VERSUS CONGRESS

It is in the air in certain quarters that the Hindu Congress may ultimately compromise on the great Pakistan issue. This must not be allowed to happen in the interest of Pakistan itself. It is impossible for the Hindus, with their outlook on life, to compromise on Pakistan or anything which in practice means equality and brotherhood of

mankind. The Hindus have taken to democracy in its existing form and have become its vehement supporters only because democracy is, in reality, the rule of the majority. This suits the ancient Hindu mind very well in India where the Hindus happen to be in majority.

Pakistan when established will present a rather uncomfortable and nerve-racking psychological problem for the Hindus. Pakistan must derive inspiration and useful and practical guidance from the [holy] *Qur'an* in matters of state and government and the daily life of its citizens and thereby become a modern and highly progressive state. The neighbouring Hindustan on the same analogy will be compelled to draw inspiration from the ancient Hindu books. It is all very well for Pandit [Jawaharlal] Nehru—a veritable Brahmin—to talk, while still clad in primitive *dhoti*, of internationalism and universal brotherhood and dub the Muslim League as medieval and reactionary, and for Pandit [Govind Ballabh] Pant to eat his pudding in *pattal* (tree leaves used as plates by orthodox Hindus) and for Mahatma Gandhi to preach equality of mankind and in the bargain find his own statue installed in a temple as a deity. But when it comes to hard facts of reality [*sic*] and actual practice of Hinduism in modern times according to modern advanced conception of life, our ancient and primitive friends will have to change—they may retain ancient nomenclature—the entire ancient system. This is impossible. Their ancient system, as it stands, has acquired unquestionable sanctity and offers no precedence [*sic*] to help the modern Hindus out of their uncomfortable dilemma. The Hindus must, therefore, oppose Pakistan in order to keep alive their ancient Hinduism.

When Pakistan is established and the Indian Musalmans are able to run it on essentially Islamic principles of knowledge, tolerance, goodwill and brotherhood of mankind, Islam must become the craze of the intelligentsia; Islam is really so simple, scientific and appealing. Our Pakistani young men should bear these things in mind and they should lose no time in getting rid of the prevalent false notions of life. They must acquire knowledge of the simple and natural Islam and become worthy of the charge they have put upon their shoulders. One need not be a graduate of the Al-Azhar University to understand this simple Islam of everyday life. Islam is essentially based on human nature. To be a good Musalman one has only to develop himself [*sic*] into a strong, healthy man—both physically and mentally—an upholder of the truth against falsehood and all that vitiates the Islamic doctrine of universal brotherhood and the proper utilisation of the bounties of nature for the betterment of mankind. This is best achieved through a simple process of intellectual *jihad* directed towards

a thorough grasp and understanding of the intricacies of human nature leading to the proper and balanced development of the self. This must, in turn, guarantee the development of the overpowering Islamic sympathy, goodness, sagacity, firmness and the inherent capacity to get things done peacefully and successfully. This is the simple Islamic scheme of life to overcome, without remorse or worry, the prevalent diplomacy, duplicacy [*sic* for duplicity] and fraud in human relationship and establish a system of scientific human relationship. This is what our simple and easy Pakistan will achieve for its citizens and the Hindus must oppose it. We welcome their opposition. It will enable us quicker and more firmly to see our own greatness with greater clarity of vision in the existing confusion. The Hindu opposition will also help us not to lapse into unreal goodness and tolerance that is the outcome of weakness, neglect and lethargy. We shall be tolerant, sympathetic and humane, not because we will be weak but because we shall be strong and full of confidence and faith in *Allah. Aameen*

CHOWDHURY MUBARAK HOSSAIN

8

Ahmad Said Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 242/43

26 FIROZSHAH ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
4 April 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Walter Monckton is here these days and is staying at the Nizam's Guest House. He would very much like to meet you while he is here, and I shall be obliged if you could let me know when Sir Walter could come round to see you. I know how busy you are these days; but as he is desirous to meet you, perhaps you may be able to fix up some time for Sir Walter at your convenience.[1]

With all good wishes and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID

[1]Jinnah asked Monckton to lunch on 7 April. See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors of the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-1947*, Lahore, 1989, 37.

9

Fazuluddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/286-7

32 LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 April 1946

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to draw your kind attention to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's article, as reproduced in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 3.4.1946, on page 8 under the heading "Doings of former Frontier Governor." Very correctly he exposes the corruptness of Sir George Cunningham in NWFP. This is the universally accepted truth and the right explanation for the failure of the Muslim League in the Frontier. How on earth could a people, who are fanatically Muslim and who constitute ninety-five per cent [of the] population, vote for Congress or against the Muslim League at this critical hour, thus disassociating themselves from the rest of Muslim India. The answer lies in the immediate past. The Muslim League Ministry, which was so enthusiastically welcomed in the beginning, was hated later on. Undoubtedly the Ministers were involved in corruption, but why did these previously honest men get into the bad habit? Because the Governor himself was dishonest and so was everyone. Sir George had touts in K.B. Kuli Khan, Iskander Mirza, D.C. Peshawar, Mahboob Ali, D.C. Kohat, Major Dring, in charge [of] Supplies, Sarwar, Veterinary Director. Press and public cried and cried but who was to listen. Documentary and irreproachable evidence could not move Sir George into action against these fellows; instead they were honoured and promoted for their collections. Cheap scapegoat was provided and duly dismissed in the person of a poorly paid official, whom everyone knew to be innocent. This eyewash, more than ever, convinced the public of Sir George's dishonest disposition. K.B. Kuli Khan, for his glaring exploits in the military supplies of dry fruit and the so-called Govt. canning factory, had Sir George's brother for a partner. Everyone on the streets of Peshawar grumbled that nothing could be done when the Governor himself was financially interested in the general exploitation. The Muslim League Ministers realised that they were surrounded by a hundred per cent corrupt regime, and that as they could do nothing to improve matters and that they could no longer see face to face with the public, they also decided to make hay while the sun shone. The net result was that the

people were forced into believing that it was only the Congress which could improve matters and no one else.

To the issue of Pakistan, endangered by the false step of the Frontier, no one could have done a greater harm than what has been done by Sir George. If he were only honest himself, the position in the Frontier would have been [*sic*] entirely different. Why don't you kindly, therefore, persuade the Cabinet Mission to visit Peshawar and find out for themselves, from the lips of big or small, about the corruption of Sir George.

Yours very sincerely,
FAZULUDDIN

10

Maqsood Hasan Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/275-81

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

CIVIL LINES,
BUDAUN, U.P.,
4 April 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

On the eve of your momentous talks with the Cabinet Delegation, the nation has full confidence in you and your high capabilities for delivering the goods on behalf of the Muslim nation, and that needs no repetition whatsoever.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in his latest talk to a press conference, hinted somewhere that in case of non-agreement between the main political parties in India, the whole question will have to be referred to an international tribunal. Your attention must have been drawn to this hint, and I am sure that you must be fully alive to the serious and grave potentialities therein. The Muslims, as a nation, will not be duped or coerced to walk into the parlour of international tribunal, and to sign their own death warrant by entrusting the vital problem of their very existence to a body which cannot be expected to be adequately conversant with the Indian conditions, and particularly with those of the Muslims and the *millat* as a whole, which to a man stands for Pakistan, for which the famous Lahore Resolution of 1940 is so very clear and self-explanatory. I mean to refer to the phrase, "with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary". This is all that the *millat* is prepared to abide by but the "contiguity" of the

Muslim sovereign States has to remain intact, in both the north-west bloc and the east bloc.

As such, no yielding in any form whatsoever, please, to arbitration by an international tribunal, has to be conceded. The Musalmans should in no way be deprived of their elementary birth-right in the form of self-determination, which will be exercised by the Muslims and Muslims alone without the least interference or intervention by any agency whatsoever.

The instance of the 1935 [*sic* for 1932] Communal Award by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald,[1] is there besides the numerous other instances from other countries, do [*sic*] in no way create any sense of satisfaction and confidence in the procedure thus suggested, e.g. Palestine, Indonesia, Egypt, Abyssinia, etc.

Besides that, the Congress with its terrible Hindu propaganda in foreign countries, with persistent plea of Hindu hegemony is there, and it is but believable, as things stand at present, that the Hindu Congress' wire-pulling is bound to influence that body as well. As such, the proposition has got to be shelved in toto please.

Invitations to other mushroom groups, with the so-called political identity of theirs, have of late being [*sic*] issued, including the Jami'at al 'Ulama-i-Hind, with Maulana Hussain Ahmad, as their spokesman; as such I would like to invite your kind attention to other such potential [*sic*] organisations with [*sic*] the Muslim League, to be also called before the Cabinet Delegation to express their view-point, which for instance should have Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, to represent the view-point of the Jami'at al-'Ulama-i-Islam, the Shia groups and the overwhelming Momin masses with the Muslim League.

I know that the Muslim representative character of the All India Muslim League is undeniable; yet the discredited and unrepresentative bogus claims of Maulana Hussain Ahmad and Mr. Zahiruddin Ansari, need being exposed in their naked form, even before the Cabinet Delegation.

The above lines are being addressed to you by me, as an humble member of the Muslim *millat,* and that I do only in my private capacity for favour of your mature consideration. With deep and sincere prayers for your long life, health, vigour and persistent noble efforts in the cause of the *millat,* as the great messiah of the nation.

Yours most devotedly,
MAQSOOD HASAN KHAN,
M. A., L. T.
Deputy Inspector of Schools

[1]James Ramsay MacDonald, first British Labour Prime Minister, 1924, 1929-31, 1931-35.

11

Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 798/26-9

MARINA HOTEL, DELHI,
4 April 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already submitted my views[1] to you which must have been delivered to you by your Secretary, which I sent to you by a special messenger. Since I sent my views to you, the talks at Delhi, statement on behalf of the Princes' representatives and further talks,[2] statement of Jawaharlal Nehru,[3] Azad[4] and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,[5] and statement of Master Tara Singh,[6] suggest certain ideas to me which I would like to indicate here in the form of points, by way of elaboration or modification of my views in the Memorandum I have submitted to you.

2. It seems to me that while the question of independence of Hyderabad as a dominion may be a most important point, yet ultimately Hyderabad itself may be prepared to merge itself into a Princes' confederation on the basis of treaties and engagements. It is for you to decide in the light of discussions as to what should be the ultimate shape of the States' confederation acceptable to the Nizam's Dominion [*sic*], and thus decide that there should be four independent sovereign units or only three, namely Pakistan federation, Hindustan federation and States confederation, as independent units with a defence super-structure on the basis of treaties. It seems to me obvious that the British Indian question will have to be solved between Muslim League, Congress and the British Government. The Princes would like to come into the picture later as another union or federation which will enter into treaty with us. But here is a little snag, namely that they want to come into the final picture only when the British Indian picture is almost completed. They are vaguely realizing that there would be British Indian Central Government with whom they will enter into treaties when the British Indian Central Government Scheme is completed. This seems to me absolutely wrong. They must enter into treaties with both the Hindu federation and the Muslim federation having All India Central Council at the centre for the purposes of defence and allied subjects.

3. If the Sikhs insist upon having Sikhistan, whether it will be a practicable proposition or not and whether it will amount really to

Balkanization and Ulsterization [*sic*] which will be against the best interests of [the] Punjab and the whole of India, the demand may have to be conceded and thus the question of readjustment of boundaries may arise, which obviously will be the work of the Commission, appointed by the British Government in consultation with you and Mahatma Gandhi. Similarly, if the Hindus insist upon certain pockets in the Provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, which are mainly Hindu areas, the principle of self-determination may have to be accepted in their case also, however deleterious this may prove to the best interest of India with direct references to the Indian defence. Obviously, each province, as [it] exists should be treated as a Pakistan unit or Hindustan unit whether they be autonomous or independent units which will merge themselves into Pakistan federation and Hindustan federation. If the Hindus and Sikhs also seek complete independence for their small units then the question would arise that the Pakistan federation shall consist of independent units surrendering their sovereignty to the Pakistan federation for the purposes of defence and economic problems in mutual interests.

4. In my earlier letter, I have already suggested a confederation of independent units because I foresaw the difficulties that have arisen now in the discussions in connection with the right of self-determination. But as I saw that you are inclined to have a Pakistan federation, consisting of autonomous units which certainly is a very sound and feasible proposition, I at once accepted the idea that these units should only be autonomous in the federation of Pakistan and Hindustan.

5. Sir Tej Bahadur thinks the question of formation of the Viceroy's Council must be dealt with first and the question of Pakistan should be left to the Constituent Assembly. Sir Tej's opinion with regard to the interim arrangement, so far as the question of the parity of Hindu and Muslim is concerned in the Council, is undoubtedly just and fair in view of the fact that the Council will be a caretaker government. But relegation of the question of Pakistan to a future date to be solved by the Constituent Assembly and the interim Viceroy's Council is anything but fair. The question of Pakistan will have to be solved here and now as the elections have already been held. We may think of setting up of a superstructure as I have already suggested in my note for the purposes of defence and the allied subjects on the basis of treaties and agreements between the Hindu federation, confederation or union and Muslim confederation, federation or Union and Princes'

confederation or union with power to retain their own army and also power to secede from the All India Defence Council under certain conditions impelling such a step.

6. Then the question of entering into British Commonwealth of Nations arises and again the British Commonwealth of Nations merging themselves into a comity of nations of the allied powers, including Russia or excluding Russia, should take place. The important thing is that the three federations, confederations or unions of India must have independent representation as independent States in the world assembly of the allied nations and they always should have a right to represent the whole of India, as central defence council will be only for the purposes of the defence of India and will be the creation of the Hindu and Muslim federations, confederations or unions. This will give three votes to India in the world assembly and thus the strength of the voice of India from world defence point of view will remain powerful and intact as we will have all-India defence committee of our creation on the basis of treaty. It is true that the working out of the details of the Pakistan scheme will take a little time. But as the general principle of freedom and self-determination has already been accepted, the only questions to be settled are the details of the form of independence, namely the Pakistan and Hindustan federation, confederation or union. The principle of freedom, self-determination, independence and the conception of the scheme of the independence of India, will have to be adjusted to the idea of dividing India with a view to have united India on the basis of treaties and engagements. I do not want to anticipate further developments. It will be for you to make decisions as our Quaid-i-Azam with plenary powers to negotiate on behalf of the Muslim League with all the parties concerned.

7. These are the ideas which occurred to me and the same I am submitting with all humility to you in continuation of my Memorandum which I have already submitted. It is for you to reject the whole of it or a part of it and draw up your own plan which we, the Muslim Leaguers, would be ready to accept and support in full confidence in your leadership as our Quaid-i-Azam.

8. I, of course, like to pay my respects to you when you are slightly

freer from the discussions between you and the English Cabinet Mission.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD YUSUF
Nawab, Kt.

PS. I shall stay in Delhi till 14th April 1946 at Marina Hotel.

[1]See F. 469/33-9, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See Nos. 39 & 44, *TP*, VII, 83-7 & 95-103.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Towards the Popular Verdict*, Vol. IV, Karachi, 2000, 599, note 1.
[4]See No. 46, *TP*, VII, 110-6.
[5]Ibid., No. 43, 93-5.
[6]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 589, note 3.

12

Abdus Sattar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/271-4
[Original in Urdu]

QUETTA,
4 April 1946

Leader of the nation and king of Pakistan,
With respectful regards and *salaam*

I wish to bring to your kind notice the position of Muslim League in Baluchistan. The following office-bearers of the Provincial ML were elected a few days ago:

President	Qazi Mohammad Isa
Vice-President	Shah Jehan Khan and Haji Rehmatullah, contractors
General Secretary	Sardar Ghulam Mohammad Khan
Salar, Muslim National Guards	Malik Jan Mohammad Khan

2. Various disputes have arisen due to these elections, based on the following complaints:

i. Qazi Isa has not been taking interest in the affairs of Baluchistan for the last three years or so, whereas Congress workers are busy in winning over Leaguers in the rural areas to Congress.
ii. Both the Vice-Presidents are illiterate contractors and will get busy with their business. Consequently the League will

become weaker due to their negligence.

iii. The General Secretary is alleged to have been elected on account of his wealth and loyalty to the British Govt. He is also illiterate while Mohammad Hashim Khan, his opponent, was well-educated but not so rich.

iv. *Salar,* Muslim National Guards, is unfit for this office as he is illiterate and lacks the qualities of a soldier. The need is for an energetic person as *Salar.*

3. The general complaint is that a small number of people were called to participate in the elections. Therefore, it is requested that fresh elections be held. Also, Qazi Isa may be instructed to reorganise the ML in the Province and spend more time here. Further, the League-supporting press should be strengthened.

4. Efforts may also be made to settle the disputes in the Province otherwise the disgruntled elements might form Zamindara League or join the Congress front organization Anjuman-i-Watan, and work against the Muslim League interests.

I bring these facts to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam as an ordinary member of the Muslim National Guards.

Your loyal soldier,
ABDUS SATTAR PAKISTANI

13

S. M. Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/288-9

SUBZI MANDI, DELHI,
5 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing this letter to you in the hope that you will go through it and give a proper consideration to it.

The recent years in the past have brought a great political development amongst the Musalmans of India and particularly of the area described by you as Pakistan. The political development has been brought mainly through indirect approach rather than direct. Looking at the conditions both in India and outside, it becomes imperative that time has come when a direct approach to our political development is necessary. So far, the approach was mainly based upon foreign factors

that is the British Govt.'s attitude to the Muslims as a community. Now, that the British Govt.'s authority is to be withdrawn, voluntarily or otherwise, it is essential that our political issues are decided in an independent way of thinking and not by asking privileges, safeguards and reserved rights. The international conditions are by far strongly in favour of the former method if we are to live as independent and developed human beings. Due to lack of political development in the Muslim masses, the task of shaping their political future was a trust in the hands of those better developed and occupying a higher social and economic position. For a considerably long time in the past, the methods adopted by our leadership (the Muslim League) were considered to be right and good since creation of separate electorates, reservation in Govt. jobs and other preferential treatments were all that brought satisfaction and advantage to the supporters of our leadership and which they could not get otherwise under free and open competition.

But with the end of War and other natural [*sic*] developments in the country, the situation has by far changed. The Muslim masses, who are real backbone of Muslim community, have also gained some political development to think independently of their old leaders and champions. The complicated issue of Pakistan raised by the old leadership has started creeping into the brains and minds of Muslim masses also.

As a religious issue and slogan, 'Pakistan' may appeal [to] the masses but when they come out of that sphere and have to deal with social, economic and inter-political [party] problems, it brings all confusion and disappointment to them. Due to more education, rational, religious thinking and broad inter-political ideologies, the old appeal of Islam in danger holds no ground now. The time has come when Muslims should start thinking for themselves first as normal human beings and then as religious devotees and never in terms of fanatic religious *goondas*! The teachings of our holy Book were framed never to create the sort of ideas which our political leadership has started to push into Muslim brains. It is still time that our present political leaders should start thinking in rational ways and for the benefit of the Muslims in general and not only for a few privileged top shouters of Islam in danger. It is not Islam that is in danger. It is their privileges and self-interests that are in danger. They know well that under an international political development every individual shall have a right to take part in the government. They are afraid that under one united Indian Govt. the housetop-shouters may be bypassed by the newcomers from the.so-called lower ranks of the Muslim masses and those who have a more rational outlook in their political ideas.

Pakistan is being demanded in the name of Muslims so that the present housetop-shouters of Muslim League may enjoy dictatorial rights in the said areas, eat, drink and be merry and always keep the down-trodden Muslim masses under their heels by frightening them with the slogan of Islam in danger.

Let it be known to all those concerned in the present creation of self-interests and general political chaos that time is changing very much faster than their brains which are apparently stuffed with old and bygone ideas.

You, being in the privileged position of holding the present sole leadership of Muslim League, have all the responsibility for that and it is your duty to bring a change which is so necessary in the rustic brain of the Muslim League, otherwise the time is not far away when you will have to see your own political death along with that of your sole monopoly of Muslim representation. You will see the results of your political efforts shaping the same way as did Hitler's, Mussolini's and Tojo's. Do you think that extreme and fanatical political ideologies, just as Hitler and Mussolini had, can ever survive? No and never. It is a frigid law of nature and it holds good for every human being, irrespective of his being a Muslim or Hindu or Sikh or Christian. Have you not seen all the Christian people in Europe having the same civilization, religious faith and social customs, conflicting among themselves and cutting off each other's heads? How can you bring the theory of Islamic culture and religion in social unity as an excuse for Muslim separation from political unity? Do you think Muslims of NWFP shall tolerate culture of Punjabis or Sindhis or Bengalis or Assamese? Do you know that a Bengali Muslim shall think a Bengali Hindu nearer to his culture and habits than a Punjabi or Sindhi Muslim? Do you know Pakistan shall have as many nationalities and cultures as you claim about India? Every district of the Punjab has its own culture, customs and even the language that is spoken. Have you ever been to Kangra in the north and D.I. Khan in the west and Ferozepore in the south and Karnal in the east of Punjab? What have you to say about their nationalities and cultures? How can it be possible that Hindus who have lived [for] millions of years in Pakistan-defined area, can ever start thinking that the name of their motherland (place of birth not only of theirs but that of their hundreds of forefathers), is Pakistan when they know well it [is] Bharat or Hindustan or India and they know it long before you got the new invention of Pakistan saying that there are two nations and countries [*sic*] in India.

Do you know that Hindus have started now taking very seriously

the danger of your political stunt and that underground preparations are going on for a civil war to finish the Muslims? Do you know that so long as there is one Sikh in the Punjab, he will not allow it to be ruled by your majesty? He will take the full toll of yourself and your comrades in arms before you can reach the seat of your fascist govt. in the so-called Pakistan.

Cannot you think, how foolish it is to assume that the two zones of Pakistan—Eastern and Western—can ever have any connection with each other unless there is a corridor? You might be thinking, let you have the Pakistan conceded, and then you will again put [*sic*] Islam in danger and demand a corridor. You must know that once Pakistan is conceded, the Hindus are not going to sit calm and digest your Pakistan easily. With the creation of Pakistan there shall be permanent ending of Hindu-Muslim political inter-relationship. Hindus shall be far bitter in their feelings against the Muslims. Their resolve shall be to build military strength far more than that of Pakistan. Their natural development in science and industry shall be a net asset to them in achieving their success. The result will be that when your majesty raises the issue of a corridor, which you will and must, a clash will occur. The result is evident and that is the death of Muslim community. You along with your imperial Pakistan, dictatorial powers and all plans of rule over the Muslims of India shall see your fate sealed in an unknown grave where nobody will even shed a tear, for your being responsible for all the loss and calamity which you will bring to so many human beings and particularly the Muslims.

I pray before *Allah* the Great that He may send some light to you to take mercy upon the Muslims or He may put you off your brain and allow you rest in some asylum so that all the ten crores of Muslims may get relief from the chronic disease which you have created and which is taking a fatal turn for them all.

Long live the Indian Muslims!

Yours very sincerely,
S. M. RAHMAN
M.A., LL.B.

14

Nathoobhai Mati & Others to Mirza Mohammad Ismail
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1106/48-50

RINGAS,
JAIPUR,
5 April 1946

Respected Sir,

We, the undersigned Musalmans of several villages in Sekar, Jaipur State, beg leave to submit respectfully the following for your sympathetic consideration:

Your honour's accession to the *Dewanship* of Jaipur has been a source of great satisfaction and pride to us all, and in the hope of getting a just and equitable redress of our grievances, we bring to your notice certain recent happenings in Sekar.

In the Jaipur State in general and Sekar in particular, the Musalmans are, of late, facing circumstances which are far from happy. Close upon the painful incidents of murder and *hijrat* of the Musalmans of Ramgarh, their persecution in Lachhmangarh and the *Dargah-Dharamsala* controversy in Fatehpur, has come the unfortitude [*sic*] persecution of the Musalmans of village Ringas, which claims only fifteen Musalmans among its inhabitants. They have always enjoyed peaceful existence. But times have now changed. The Hindu *goondas* have made these handful of them as their latest target. Details are heart-rending, but as truth cannot be tampered with, we would relate a recent occurrence briefly for your honour's kind consideration.

On the 10th March, 1946, certain local Hindu *goondas* decided to take out their *holi* procession with music being played before the mosque, with threats of social boycott and violence to the Musalmans in case they placed obstructions in their way. The Musalmans got nervous at this news and they forthwith informed, by means of a registered letter dated the 13th March, the officials at Sekar headquarters, praying for protection. In the meantime, H.H. the Rao Rajaji Bahadur of Sekar was also approached. He was gracious enough to order the police authorities to take note and do the needful in the matter.

At night came the Superintendent of Police to the spot and made inquiries. The Hindus expressed intentions of taking out their

procession with music before the mosque—an action without any precedent. The Superintendent of Police, therefore, persuaded them not to play music at least during the *namaz*, but the Hindu *goondas* were adamant and overbearing. They also invited *goondas* from the adjoining villages. Accordingly, a wild mob consisting of Jats, Rajputs and Chamars, armed with guns, swords and *lathis*, was soon in the village. The senior officer, too, visited the spot in the meantime and left with orders to the police to allow the procession to pass only as keeping with the old custom. On Musalmans' entreaties for more energetic arrangements, the senior officer sent the *Faujdar* also with a posse of police by the morning train. And on the *Faujdar*'s advice, the Hindus actually agreed to proceed with the procession in a peaceful manner as was the usage since the days of old. The Musalmans were also informed accordingly and they got satisfied with the assurances given by the administration.

But the unexpected happened, as unfortunately the Hindus did not keep their pledge. Exactly at 2 p.m. when the Musalmans were engaged in their *zohr* prayers, the *goondas* raised a huge noise and pounced yelling upon the defenceless *namazis* inside the mosque. The Police constables were also helpless. The Musalmans were taken unawares and received bullet wounds, *lathi* blows and beatings in quick succession. The mosque was desecrated, human blood ran like water. Not only that, but dwelling houses of the Musalmans in the village were also raided and women-folk molested. Even children and pregnant women were not spared.

In this barbarous orgy of violence one Musalman and his wife died on the spot while almost all Musalman inhabitants sustained serious injuries. As many as 30 Musalmans are lying in the hospital at Sekar, the condition of most of them being reported as serious. Such has been the treatment meted out to [*words missing*].

As an aftermath, some 30 Hindus have been since arrested by the authorities, but the Hindu capitalists are now trying their utmost not to let the ends of justice meet. It is needless to say that this riotous persecution was wholly unjustifiable, uncalled for and inhuman. The poor Musalmans of the village have been completely boycotted by the Hindus who do not allow them even to take water from the wells.

With due respects we have approached your honour, craving for

orders for an immediate inquiry into the affair and soliciting help, justice and protection from you.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
The most obedient and loyal Musalman
residents of Ringas and other villages,
NATHOOBHAI MATI AND OTHERS

15

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/292-3

VICTORY HOTEL,
ROHTAK ROAD, KAROL BAGH,
DELHI,
6 April 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am still waiting for your reply to my letter of [24th] March[1] asking you to join the All India Azad Muslim League, which is being proposed.

An All Parties Conference in this connection will be held tomorrow, the 7th April, at the above address from 11 a.m. onwards and will last probably for a day or two more. I most cordially invite you to this Conference and in view of the meeting of the Convention you have proposed tomorrow, you may come at any convenient time during these days. I assure you [that] in view of a message sent by the Muslim League Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, last night to the effect that I should not institute Azad Muslim League, but should bring all parties round to Muslim League, that I have no ill intentions against the League headed by you provided that:

i. the Muslim League stands equally for the rights of all Musalmans, high and low;
ii. posts are not monopolised but given freely to all without distinction;
iii. the aim of the League is to get freedom from the British people by united effort of Muslim and non-Muslim elements;
iv. the conditions of Pakistan are such as will give as much security to the residents of Pakistan who are Muslims as to

the Muslim residents of non-Pakistan.

I am communicating the reply to Nawabzada's message through you in order that something substantial may come out, if possible.

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]No. 589, Vol. XII, 678.

16

Inayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/57-8

DIRECTORATE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS,
CHAMBER OF PRINCES,
NEW DELHI,
6 April 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in receipt of yours of the 1st instant,[1] and thank you for the same. I agree that you are very busy nowadays and won't press for an interview unless it be convenient for you. As for the scheme, I am giving only light hints regarding it to you in this letter. I am sorry I cannot entrust it to any messenger. If you agree to the subject-matter, we can verbally discuss the details at a convenient time.

In 1941, when Mr. Mashriqi was in jail, I was ordered by the then Khaksar high command to suggest a scheme for establishing the Khaksar supremacy. I suggested a scheme which I am presenting to you with certain modifications that are necessary due to the changed times. The Commander approved of it and ordered me to carry it out. But before I could start working, I was arrested in connection with the general round-up of the Khaksars. That officer has since died. It thus happens to be so that I am the only person who knows of the scheme at present. It is, therefore, safe to try it.

I suggest an armed revolt simultaneously throughout Pakistan in case negotiations fail. If possible, Muslim members of the three forces may also be instigated to revolt. I am not sure of this, but as for the civilians' revolt, I have every hope that if I am given a chance and means, I can effect it. At present, I may hint that the struggle may be evaded in an honourable way for about a year. During this period I may be authorized to lead batches of students to propagate the cause of the League and recruit primary members. I may be also given

permission to use one column of the *Dawn* for the news of these batches which may be named *Bunyanun Marsoos* or lead-treated fortress.

As for the procurement of ammunition, I take full responsibility. I have also got a full scheme for re-establishing peace when required.

If you agree with the subject-matter, i.e., armed revolt and mutiny, I will explain the details to you verbally. Please do not put it away as impracticable unless you have heard me. You can, however, put it away as unwise. In that case I will obey your command and give up the idea. I believe that without the *Ameer's* consent the wisest thing works as [an] unwise thing. But if you have doubts regarding its practicability only, please give me a chance to try to explain fully.

A soldier of the *millat*,
INAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, Delhi/72. Not printed.

17

Muhammad Yousaf Saraf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/270
[Original in Urdu]

6 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You are no doubt aware of the restrictions imposed on the freedom of press and platform by the Govt. of Kashmir State. The Muslim Conference planned to hold a meeting in Jam'e Kumharan, Bandipura, on 5 April 1946, about which the local police was informed in writing two days in advance. When the Muslim Conference workers came out to make an announcement of the meeting, the *goondas*, hired by the Secretary of local National Conference, attacked them. The violence soon spread to other areas with attacks on members of the Muslim Conference. Several workers of the Muslim Conference were severely beaten up with stones and sticks by the armed *goondas*. One of the victims fainted and had to be rushed to the hospital. Respectable persons were insulted and attempts were made to violate the chastity of the ladies. The office of the Muslim Conference was also attacked and its signboard stolen. The Islamic flag was removed from the office of Muslim Students' Union and every effort was made to cause damage to the Muslim Conference. Even after the arrival of the S.P. and the S.D.M., the workers of National Conference continued to

indulge in indecent and violent acts.

Sporadic attacks on Muslim Conference workers are still continuing. The Muslim Conference has also been asked to provide a guarantee of peaceful behaviour. Our civil rights have been trampled on and the freedom of platform has been denied. You are requested to kindly intervene in the matter.

MUHAMMAD YOUSAF SARAF
Publicity Secretary,
Kashmir Provincial Muslim Conference

18

M. Ghaus Chaudhari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/129

HASAN CHAMBERS,
BOMBAY,
7 April 1946

My dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sure that you must be busy with thousands of problems but I am confident that you will surely spend [*sic*] a few minutes of your several hard-working hours to go through this letter. This letter is something like "must penning" one.

You are the great leader of a great nation. You have saved Islam from being lost in the dust. Your great and able leadership has awakened the Muslims, not only in India but in the world. My love and respect is with you. May the Almighty God guide you through the thorny path that may come in your way.

I am the son of K.S.A.K. Chaudhari, B.A. Our native place is the Punjab. I am a great lover of liberty like my father. My father was a Superintendent of Bombay City Police but luckily now he has retired as he would never serve the Hindus.

The Bombay Government has proved to be a great enemy of the Musalmans. The Muslims here are being very ill-treated. We all know that the restrictions imposed in the city are on every soul in the city. The Hindus are let off scot-free every time and everywhere. The Muslims are being harassed. For example, if Muslims are attacked by Hindus no help is given to them by the police but on the contrary they help the rioters. If Hindus are attacked then a big police squad together with the military rushes to the spot immediately and arrests

any Musalman whom they happen to see. They even enter the Muslim homes and arrest them even if they are asleep. We are helpless and can do nothing except to yield to the captors.

The Hindus tease and worry the Muslims by asking them to go to Pakistan. Where is Pakistan?

I had written a number of letters and articles to be published in the *Bombay Sentinel* and the *Times of India*. But to my great surprise none of these appeared anywhere or on any date.

I am definite that you are the eyes and soul of Musalmans. Please see that the Muslims are treated on the same footing as the Hindus in the Congress Government and Hindus on the same footing as the Muslims in the League Government.

Many ask me [for] the definition of Pakistan and its meaning. I hope and pray so that you may clear these points for me, if possible.

There are many other things to be written but I am certain that the above-mentioned [facts] will be sufficient. By the way I must not forget to mention our *Baqar 'Id*. We were not allowed to offer *qurbani* of a cow. The police refused protection, thus many could not offer *qurbani*. Is this not harassment? We are not allowed to do what our great-great-grandfathers have been doing from the ancient times. I hope you will make an inquiry into these matters in order to save the Musalmans from further destruction.

I will not take much of your precious time but close with great love.

May God give you long life and strength to fight for the rights of Islam [*sic*].

Your obedient servant,
M. GHAUS CHAUDHARI

19

Mohammad Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/74

21 RAJPUR ROAD,
DELHI,
7 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been called here by Prof. A. B. A. Haleem of Aligarh to assist him in examining the economic implications of certain proposals relating to Pakistan. I am doing this gladly, but over and above this I

believe there must be many issues on which you require the assistance of an economist to collect and sift the data for you. I should consider it the greatest privilege of my life if I could be of any the least [*sic*] service to you in this direction.

I am a professional economist and a senior professor in a University College at Lahore. I would take long leave or even give up my post, if necessary, for there could be nothing more worthwhile than an opportunity to serve you[1] and the cause for which the *millat* stands.

My offer is of course to serve you unconditionally and in a purely honorary capacity. I am here for another two days after which I shall be leaving for Lahore, where my permanent address is:

152 F Model Town, Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD HASSAN
Professor, Hailey College of Commerce

[1]Jinnah replied that the Planning Committee of AIML was dealing with economic issues and thanked him for the offer of his services. See F. 1106/181, *QAP*, Not printed.

20

S. Hissamuddin to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (82)

8 WESTERN COURT,
NEW DELHI,
7 April 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Before I put my appeal about this evening matters and request your honour I like to point out that it is a natural law in any nation or religion that if a person is not satisfied with the judgement of the lower court of law, he has to proceed to the higher judge to get justice. Therefore, I am writing to your honour that the last time I sent my application to Qazi Isa that I am going to stand on Muslim League ticket for my own constituency for NWFP but when I arrived at Peshawar they told me that my application was not received in time and it was time barred. I appealed about it, but no answer has been received as yet. I met Qazi Isa this evening and he told me that he had forwarded my application to your honour in time. I am sure you must have forwarded it to the proper channel but no action was taken. I am sorry to say, Sir, if I would have stood on your ticket in

my constituency which was almost of military cantonments, I could have easily beaten the Congress nominee, and I am also positive as I [*sic*], your honour to give due consideration to my case[1] immediately and I should be appointed one of the four members of the subject committee from Council of State.

I have, etc.,
S. HISSAMUDDIN
Brigadier
KT, CIE, OBE, IDSM
Member, Council of State

[1]He eventually secured a seat in the Council of State as a non-party member. See Appendix XIII.7, Vol. I, Part II, 616.

21

Talebur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/306-7

4 NATHER BAGAN STREET,
CALCUTTA,
8 April 1946

My adored leader,

I do not know whether you remember your kind letter acknowledging the receipt of a copy of my *Sarbaharader Pakistan* (People's Pakistan). As I promised, I send you herewith a copy of another book of mine, viz. *Pakistanbader Karama-bikash* (Evolution of Pakistanism). The book was published a fortnight ago. It is a historical survey of Muslim politics from the so-called battle of Plassey to the present day showing how step by step the Muslims of India unconsciously marched towards the goal of Pakistan. The book is unique in Bengali literature. It is selling like hot cakes. I regret I printed only a thousand copies. I assure you, my dear leader, I have no commercial motive behind this effort. I want to preach the ideal of Pakistan. The price of the book has been so fixed as to barely cover the printing expenses.

I know fully well that you are over-worked. Yet I venture to inflict this letter on you only to give you the satisfaction that every one of your soldiers is doing his duty in his own sphere of activities. We cherish no reward other than our national independence.

If I am allowed, I may say a few words about Pakistan. If the East Pakistan is to consist of the provinces of Bengal and Assam with

their present boundaries, I am afraid, that will not be Pakistan in the sense that in it the Muslims will not be in a comfortable majority. So in order to make Pakistan a predominantly Muslim State, some part of Bengal, the present Burdwan Division at least which is predominantly a Hindu area, has got to be left out of the East Pakistan. The river Hugli may form the natural boundary of this Pakistan in the west.

Again the two Pakistan areas, namely, the East and the West, cannot form one state. It is geographically impossible. In the event of hostility with Hindustan, the two areas are bound to be cut off from each other to the immense difficulties to each. We cannot conceive of eternal friendship with Hindustan. Each of the two Muslim areas is also big enough to maintain a separate state existence. It is desirable that there should be two sovereign Pakistan States bound by a treaty like one of Saadabad variety.

Though this is not the time to enter into a discussion as to which of the many "isms" should form the basis of Pakistan States, yet I venture to suggest that our States should be socialistic. Socialism is the only safe way by which we can get rid of Hindu capitalist and Hindu landlord who to-day dominate our economic life and to a great extent our political life too. Pakistan, dominated by Hindu capitalists and landlords, will bring no liberty worth the name to the Muslims, nearly 95% of whom are poor peasants and day-labourers. It is only in the name of socialization of all means and sources of production that we can safely and justifiably get rid of the non-Muslim exploiting class (Muslim exploiters being practically non-existent). I submit these few points for your kind consideration.

To-day Muslim India is passing through one of the most critical times in her history. But you may rest assured that Muslims all over this sub-continent are confident that as long as their Quaid-i-Azam is at the helm of affairs, they are perfectly safe. The war of nerves launched against the Muslims by Mr. Attlee and pursued by his colleagues and his ally, the Caste Hindu Congress, has so far failed to produce its desired effect. The Muslims, specially the Muslim youths all over India, instead of getting nervous have become furious and more militant in spirit. There is no denying the fact that the Caste Hindus, with a few exceptions here and there, are the most intolerant and illiberal people in the world. We will rather die to a man than accept Caste Hindu rule. There is a growing determination among the Muslim youth that if the British Government rejects our demand and make an unholy alliance with the Caste Hindus, they will not hesitate to seek alliance with Soviet Russia to break off that

unholy alliance. We will not tolerate Hindu or Anglo-Hindu domination. This is our grim determination.

I humbly beg your pardon for taking so much of your valuable time.

Your most devoted follower,
TALEBUR RAHMAN

22

Nazeer Hussain Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/88-9

REHMANPURA,
ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
9 April 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With due respect I, the leader of a small group, subject to your kind jurisdiction under Pakistan, beg to lay the following lines for your sympathetic consideration:

At present India is passing through a very momentous phase of political history, and it would be cowardice, rather a treacherous act on the part of every Muslim, whether young or old, rich or poor, to avoid this political struggle for existence which is going to bring about complete independence of Pakistan.

We are under a moral, national and high pious obligation to lay down our lives for Pakistan, which has now become a life and death problem of the Muslim community in India. It would be both sacred and secular duty of everyone of us to march forward at your direction and not to stop and stand in order to measure the length and breadth of the consequences connected with any kind of movement. "To do and die and not to question why, at your command", would be our motto.

The Muslim India has been completely revolutionised through your ceaseless efforts. Your kind honour has created a progressive realisation among the Muslims, who are now fired with full patriotic spirit.

In the light of these facts, it is evident that if you stand firmly by your principle and we, too, also maintain our adherence to you in its entirety we are confident that no human power on earth can prevent us from achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan.

Sir, the field is set, the army is ready and we now require only your sign "march on" and that will do.

I, therefore, in the capacity of group leader, Rehmanpura Section, offer the humble services of my colleagues for any serious situation likely to arise in the near future.

[*Names of persons omitted*]

An early reply shall be [*sic*] humbly solicited.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
NAZEER HUSSAIN SAYED
Law student

23

Munavarali Fidaali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/317-8

THASRA,
DISTRICT KAIRA,
10 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I, the undersigned Munavarali Fidaali, a Muslim Leaguer of Thasra, most humbly beg to request you as follows, which if your honour thinks fit, may be put into action.

When the Congress Ministries in Bombay, Madras and other Presidencies [*sic*] had resigned, a Day of Deliverance was observed throughout the Presidencies [*sic*]. Again, the time has arrived when the Congress comes forward with the old and more bitter ideas towards the Muslims to form Ministries in Bombay, Madras, etc. If, therefore, we want to impress the English people, viz. the three Ministers[1] on deputation to my humble mind it has struck me that the Muslims of those provinces should raise a great hue and cry against the Congress, and in every village and city, where the Muslims reside, meetings must be held and resolutions to the effect that they will [not] again be placed at the mercy of their enemies, and that they oppose this state of affairs, must be passed in public meetings, and

one day should be observed as the day of opposition by the Muslims.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours faithfully,
MUNAVARALI FIDAALI

[1]British Cabinet Mission.

24

Zubeda Begum to M. A. Jinnah

F. 959/46-7

8 KANDAPPA MUDLI STREET,
VEPERY, P.O., MADRAS,
10 April 1946

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I, Zubeda Begum, a student and by the grace of *Allah*, the most exalted, a servant of His servants on my own behalf and on behalf of my fellow Muslim girl students of our school, respectfully offer salutations and greetings to our revered Quaid-i-Azam.

We are very grateful for the compliments you have paid to the Madras electorate for having returned the League candidates in all the constituencies. Whatever our opponents may say, they ought to have realised from the instances of forfeiture of deposits by our opponent nominees that the Muslim League is a powerful organisation, manned by a selfless, straightforward, courageous and undaunted leader who can never yield to the honeyed words of the Congress people and who is ever prepared to lay down his life for the Muslim community. We all feel that we are quite safe under your leadership. When we read in the papers that you are prepared to receive bullets if need be, we all felt sorry. If you lose your life it will be a loss to the Muslim world, and the Muslim community will find itself at the mercy of the enemies of Islam. We assure you that the Madras Muslim girls will come forward to fight and be prepared to receive bullets on our chest first. We are wedded to the cause of Islam, and the achievement of Pakistan under your able leadership is our goal. We assure you that the girl students of Madras are solidly behind you and that all our prayers are for the achievement of Pakistan.

May *Allah*, the most Merciful, give the Quaid-i-Azam a long life,

sound health and success in all his undertakings, is the prayer of,

Your obedient,
ZUBEDA BEGUM

25

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/42

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
11 April 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received an air mail letter from Nazimuddin and am reproducing an extract from the same for your information:

> It is of utmost importance that when Mr. Hoover visits India in connection with food situation that Mr. Jinnah or Nawabzada, preferably former, sees him and gives him a written note explaining the Muslim case. Behind the scenes I am doing all I can to explain the Muslim point of view. I am afraid there is general lack of understanding of Muslim case and great sympathy for freedom of India. It is an uphill fight. Effective Muslim League propaganda is very badly needed here.

The sentence that is not very clear to me is "I am afraid there is general lack of understanding of Muslim case and great sympathy for freedom of India". Muslims are equally anxious about the freedom of India.

I am afraid he has not expressed [*sic*] well in the above few lines.

I hope you will find time to see Mr. Hoover as you must be extremely busy with all that is now taking place at Delhi.

With my best regards to Miss Jinnah and [your] self.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

26

Mir Jafer Khan Jamali to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (83)

37 PATUADI HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
11 April 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you are fully aware, I have always been in the forefront in my efforts for the organisation and promoting the strength of the Muslim League and in this I have neither spared bodily endeavour nor financial sacrifice. For over five years I carried out my campaign in the cause of the League in Baluchistan Province but owing to differences with Qazi Isa my work in this backward Province was greatly handicapped with the result that I had to approach you several times in appeal and seek your kind intervention. But my appeals remain unanswered to this day. In the meanwhile some of my friends in Sind sought my co-operation in their efforts to organise the League in their Province and I have therefore been occupied for the past two years in the League organisation work in Sind, where too I have done solid work to which the Sind League can bear witness.

The League work in Baluchistan is even at present far from satisfactory and in view of the highly critical times that face us at present it is urgently necessary that the League organisation work in Baluchistan be taken up in right earnest without further delay, as otherwise the League as well as the Muslims in this Province may be affected in a manner which it may not be easy later to remedy.

I therefore earnestly request that you will be graciously pleased to permit me to resume my work in the cause of the League in Baluchistan Province and take up enrolment of members and organise effective propaganda throughout the length and breadth of the Province.

Looking forward to an early reply, with respects,

Yours sincerely,
MIR JAFER KHAN JAMALI
MLA, Sind

27

Edward E. Lacy to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (84)

1 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
LONDON, S.W.1,
11 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to wish you success in your great stand for the freedom of Muslims of India.

I have a special interest in this, for I was in India when the Muslim League was founded and I aided in drawing up its charter. I had gone out to India to edit the Indian *Daily Telegraph*, the first Anglo-Indian journal in India to champion the cause of Muslims. Having been appointed a correspondent of *The Times* in northern India, I was able to secure a backing for Indian Muslims in that great journal.

When Syed Ali Imam agreed to support Lord Minto's scheme for a mixed [or joint] electorate, I wrote very strongly against the scheme and against him and eventually I was asked by Raja of Mahmudabad[1] and other leading Muslims to proceed to London and put the facts of the Muslim case for a separate electorate before the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley. I was able to convince Lord Morley of the injustice to Muslims of a mixed electorate and as you know, the scheme was dropped.

I left India during the 1914-18 War to take up a commission in the Royal Artillery; was later made Director of Eastern and Muslim propaganda, [and] afterwards entered the Foreign Office as Officer in charge of the Eastern Section of its News Department.

I visited India in 1920-21, when I was attached to the Prince of Wales' staff, and then saw for the last time my old friend, the Raja of Mahmudabad, whose Manager, S.M Habibullah, is still alive in Lucknow.

Knowing something of the wiles of Congress, may I express the hope that you will be more than equal to every move it may make and succeed in achieving Pakistan in which every Indian Muslim will be able to live in peace and comfort. May the blessings of *Allah* rest upon you.

Sincerely yours,
EDWARD E.LACY

[1]Maharaja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan, father of Raja Amir Ahmad Khan.

28

E. Stanley Jones to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (911)

3 BATTERY LANE, DELHI,[1]

12 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As one detached from both the Indian and the English side of things and yet deeply interested in finding a solution of the present problems confronting India, I would make the following suggestions as a possible way out:

i. Iwould recommend to the Congress the acceptance of the principle of Pakistan and proceed to implement it. To form Pakistan, provincial lines could be redrawn on the basis of plebiscite.

ii. That there be two constituent assemblies working side by side, one dealing with the India constitution and the other, the Pakistan area constitution. There would be mutual consultation on matters of mutual concern. These two constituent assemblies would thus have certain overlapping functions.

iii. I would recommend the above, provided the Pakistan area in turn agrees to enter into agreement with the Indian government regarding defence and foreign affairs and other areas of mutual interest.

iv. If the Muslim League is unwilling to accept the above I would recommend that there be one constituent assembly in which all who desire to come would participate. If any area did not desire to participate it could decide by plebiscite at a later date as to whether it wanted to join the Federal Union.

v. In the meantime, to set up the machinery for the operation of these steps a provisional government should be established in which all parties are represented on a basis mutually agreed upon.

I should be grateful if you will kindly indicate whether you would be willing to accept the above in whole or in part.[2] I need not tell you that this [suggestion] is entirely on my own, and in setting these things before you I represent no one but myself, except perhaps the millions who desire a solution to be found that India may go on to an orderly progress.

Yours very sincerely,
E. STANLEY JONES

[1]The permanent address given by him was: 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.
[2]See No. 57.

29

Mohammad Ismail Kazi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/337

3 FAY LODGE,
MOULVI'S COMPOUND,
CART ROAD, SIMLA,
12 April 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Reference your speech to the [Legislators'] Convention, published in the *Dawn* of 11th April 1946, quoted as "What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not [for] theocracy, nor for a theocratic state. Religion is there and religion is dear to us. All the worldly goods are nothing to us when we talk of religion; but there are other things which are very vital; our social life, our economic life, and without political power, how can you defend your faith and your economic life?"

As a layman, the first part of your statement, defining the aim we are fighting for, that it is not theocracy, nor for a theocratic state, appears to be contradictory to the following portion, that "religion is there and religion is dear to us."

Will you kindly elucidate your point in stressing that we are not fighting for theocracy? Does it mean that the State we are fighting for will be based on principles other than those of Islamic laws?

I earnestly believe that you will very kindly do the needful by clarifying the point raised, as it may create certain misunderstandings among Muslims who are fighting for Pakistan with Islam as its fundamental basis.

One of the Pakistani soldiers,
MOHAMMAD ISMAIL KAZI

30

Mohammadally to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (909)

PALAIS MANIAL EL-RODAH,
CAIRO,
12 April 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I am addressing you this letter, not as an Heir Prince to the throne of Egypt, but simply as a good Muslim, who loves his religion and the welfare of his brothers-in-Islam, and as an old man who travelled since [*sic*] sixty years round the world and visited India, I cannot admit that the Muslims of India do not get their fair demand.

India was governed by Persians and Moghuls who are Muslims from [*sic*] many many years, later on the British have [*sic*] conquered India from the Moghuls, but nevertheless the Muslims of India have occupied, till to-day under the British rule the highest native functions. It would, therefore, be unjust to see that all those rights would be forgotten and you would fall down.

My view is that India is a continent, not a country, and you cannot govern and look at the welfare and administration of 380 million [people] with ten or twelve ministers.

Look at China and its history; never have the north and south been ruled together. Nations with more than 300 million people cannot be dealt [with] like those of three to thirty millions.

India ought to be cut in three parts: the south, the west and the east, and as the Muslims in India are nearly the third of the population, they ought to get the west with Delhi as capital, the east may begin at Benares etc.

I hope and wish that all the Muslims—Sunnis, Shias and others, will keep close together and not shrink [*sic*] in their demands and rights. With the Almighty's blessings, I hope you will obtain justice.[1]

With my compliments to all your brothers-in-Islam, believe me,

Sincerely yours,
MOHAMMADALLY
Prince

[1]Jinnah thanked him for his sympathies for the Muslims of India. See *SHC* (910). Not printed.

31

Abdur Rashid to Pethick-Lawrence (Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 959/48-9

TANDO WALI MOHAMMAD,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
12 April 1946

Respected Sir,

I, the undersigned, as an acting President of the Hyderabad Sind Muslim Students' Federation, desire to [lay] a few facts before your honour about the real sentiments of the Muslim students of this place.

We have full faith and confidence in the leadership of our esteemed Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who is the sole leader of the Muslims, and the result of the recent Assembly elections has shown that almost cent per cent Muslims are with the Muslim League.

Hyderabad (Sind) Muslim students consider it a fact that Pakistan Scheme has been framed by the Muslims, solely due to advancing cruelties, inflicted by the Hindus over the Muslims in the whole of India.

All India National Congress is the sole representative of Hindus; [and] in case, the Britishers quit, the Hindus of India want to dominate us. In reality their motto is to establish *Ram raj* in India, which we will fight tooth and nail.

We, the students, desire full independence and don't want to have change of masters. The salvation and destiny of Muslim nation lies in the establishment of Pakistan.

We want to have Pakistan or perish.

The slogan of *Akhand Hindustan* is a political fraud to make the Muslims always remain slaves.

The Muslims are a brave, frank and straightforward nation; they are not like Mr. Gandhi who outwardly preaches *ahimsa*, but his inner voice always preaches confidentially to the Hindus to prepare themselves in right earnest to crush and kill the Muslims and establish *Ram raj*.

If you are really sincere, Sir, in granting full independence to India, we desire and earnestly hope that you will be just agreeing to our scheme of Pakistan. We want to have Pakistan or perish.

But in case Pakistan is not offered, we the Muslim students of Hyderabad, Sind will die as martyrs, whenever there will be a signal or call given from [*sic*] our beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

With best respects,

Yours most obediently,
MAKHDUM ABDUR RASHID
B. A., LL.B
Acting President,
Hyderabad (Sind) Muslim Students' Federation

32

N. U. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 106/108-11

NAIM MANZIL,
CIVIL LINES, ALIGARH,
13 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Excuse me for the trouble and intrusion on your precious time when I take the liberty of forwarding these papers to you as I am obliged to do, as I find none interested in the cause of Musalmans more than your goodself.

I was employed in the Govt. H.& S.Factory., Cawnpore, since 1941, wherefrom I was transferred to Amritsar to organize its new branch during 1942. After having served there till January 1946, my services were terminated with effect from 1.3.1946, without any consideration of my work, seniority and efficiency. Many Hindus and Sikhs, who are far junior to me, have been retained and have been transferred to Cawnpore branch permanently. The necessity for reduction of staff due to cessation of hostilities was not felt in their case.

Consequently myself and a few others, who were victimised, came to Delhi from Amritsar on 11.2.1946 and after contacting Sir Zia Uddin, Sir Yamin and several other members of the League Party, we were told that Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang had been entrusted with the job of receiving grievances of the Supply Dept. We handed over all facts and figures to him and also explained everything personally.

Mr. Nairang was bound for C.P. at that time and told us to see him in the last week of February. This time he assured us that cut motions will be put up in the Legislature and the matter will also be

taken up with officials of the Dept. concerned. Later, he told us that he has handed over the necessary papers to I.C.S. Mr. A.T. Naqvi for necessary action. It may be mentioned here that I stayed in Delhi for over three weeks in this connection, coming all the way from Amritsar but nobody showed any sympathy or seriously endeavoured to help us. We three were running after Mr. Nairang at the time and place he wanted us to meet.

Our last meeting with the worthy MLA was on the 8th March 1946, when we were asked to meet him at 38, Western Court, New Delhi, at about sunset. After knocking at the door we kept waiting for about 15 minutes when Mr. Nairang putting his head out of the door (no doubt knowing what was our business with him) without even giving an access to his room, told us to go and see him at some other time as he did not know when he will be able to meet Mr. A.T. Naqvi.

If our representatives take the trouble of comparing their attitude with those of Congressmen they will find that their Hindu colleagues even leave their seats in the Assembly Hall on receiving a chit from an ordinary man, who wants to put up his troubles and grievances before them. It is simply an irony of fate that our representatives in a majority of cases are mere lukewarm. If such is the real state of affairs the poor Musalman does not know at whose door he should knock.

It will be observed that it is now over two months but no action appears to have been taken in right earnest although it was promised that he will take up such matters in consultation with the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature.

I had a mind to pay my respects to you, but unfortunately, the heavy programme, which was before you in connection with the sentence passed against Capt. Rashid, I did not like to disturb you. Now, I am obliged to refer this matter, with due respects, to you, without any idea of levelling blames at the door of anybody. I am also forwarding copies of notes,[1] etc. which were given to Mr. Nairang in this connection.

Thanking you in anticipation and requesting for some suitable action in order that the Government may not ignore the proportion of Muslims in different departments under the garb that their services are not required due to termination of war, whereas Hindus and Sikhs are still holding very high posts without any fear of retrenchment.

Yours obediently,
N.U. SIDDIQI

[1]Not traceable.

33

M. Esmail Naeem Lukhesar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/21

23 EDWARDS ROAD,
LAHORE,
13 April 1946

Our respected Quaid,

We have been, since 1923 planning trade and industries, particularly for our nation in the Punjab, Delhi and North-West Frontier Province, and the little development that is now seen amongst our people we can justly claim 80% share out of this.

Side by side [with] our audit and income-tax practice, we added the planning side in 1932. With much difficulty we have trained a good staff to answer enquiries and [do] research in problems which cannot be answered immediately. May we suggest that our Muslim League should also organize departments in the central as well as Provincial Leagues and begin working on the problems, which would directly help in our economic uplift? We are suggesting this work to be taken up by the Muslim League apart from the Muslim chambers and then synchronizing as and where this may be possible. This would bring confidence. Being fully conversant for this particular job, we can also place our services at your disposal and will answer all enquiries from the Central Muslim League and the three Provincial Leagues as may be referred to us by them. It is understood that all such correspondence will be kept confidential by us if marked as such by them and that complete information, technical and otherwise along with statistics, will be placed with your bodies.

Looking forward to your instructions at an early date.[1] It may be mentioned that we are always prepared to answer questions about ourselves and in regard to the planning to organizing Departments of the various Muslim Leagues in reference to trade, commerce, finance and industry only. It may not be out of place as well, to mention that we are the only one institution of its kind in the northern Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
MOH[AMMA]D ESMAIL NAEEM LUKHESAR
Manager,
Planning Department,
Naeem and Company

[1]Jinnah suggested that he get in touch with the President of the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce since ML was essentially a political organisation. See *SHC*, Punjab II/22. Not printed.

34

Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah
F. 853/13-4

[*Original in Urdu*]

8 BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Thank God that the nation is responding enthusiastically to your call for funds for the Muslim League. I suggest that you should also appeal for volunteers, who could under your guidance work tirelessly, as we are short of good workers. Even a team of fifty devoted persons under a sincere and sagacious leader like you can work wonders. In this connection I offer my services which may be utilized at your discretion.

i. I have some experience of political work which I have been performing quietly for the last five to six years. Recently, I have been elected President of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation in place of Mian Bashir Ahmed.
ii. I am M. A. in English and can address both in English and Urdu. As a student, I took part in declamation contests and won prizes. I also made political speeches for organising Muslim Students' Federation in 1937. In the conference of Muslim students, held at Rawalpindi, I had moved the main resolution. I can write well in Urdu and English and am author of four books in Urdu.
iii. Presently, I am the honorary Editor of an Urdu political newspaper, namely *Nawa-i-Waqt* of Lahore. This paper is known for independent and honest views.
iv. I am working also as an editor in a news agency.
v. I am over twenty-five years old.
vi. I would prefer to work in the Punjab where I have contacts and command some influence. I need no financial remuneration from the Muslim League.
vii. I believe in working quietly and shun disorder and agitation.
viii. I do not seek any publicity. The Govt. has failed to purchase me. Thank God, I earn my own living and am not dependent

on anyone. You can, therefore, rely on me.

ix. For any additional information, a reference could be made to Mian Bashir Ahmad, Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, President, Provincial Muslim League, or Syed Khalilur Rahman, Secretary, Provincial ML.

Wassalaam

An humble person,
HAMEED NIZAMI

35

Hamid Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/119-21

153C TIMARPUR,
DELHI,
14 April 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

May I encroach on a few moments of your most precious and extremely busy time? I should have made these suggestions through the press, but I am a Government servant and have, therefore, no alternative but to approach you privately.

1. What I have been able to gather from the press, as a lay reader of current political news, indicates that the British are very keen on having some sort of co-ordinating machinery set up between Pakistan and Hindustan. We are, of course, as determined as ever not to have central control—not to have an agency centre even. Could we not, however, have something like an Indian League of Nations or a small-scale Indian U.N.O?

Without giving up in any way our sovereign power as an independent state, we might enter such an organisaton on equal terms with Hindustan. The function of this organisation will be co-ordinative in so far as free consultation can help in that direction. Such an organisation will provide a ready-to-hand and, perhaps, enduring machinery for consultation and co-ordination, without in any way detracting from the sovereign status of either Pakistan or Hindustan.

2. Another matter, which has been exercising my mind, is the position of the so-called nationalist Muslims, after Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement of March 25. He said: "The issue of freedom and self-determination is settled in principle. We have now to work

out, the means by which Indians can themselves decide the form of their new institution."

Mashriqi and Azad and their respective adherents have, so far, maintained that their differences with the Muslim League rest on the issue of India's freedom; the League's standpoint gives a pretext to the third party to stay on. Now that the British have settled that issue once for all (even Mr. Gandhi vouching for their sincerity), what is it that keeps the nationalist Muslims from joining their own nation in this fateful hour? I would beg you to have a suitably worded appeal issued by the General Secretary of the League to the Jami'at, Ahrar and Khaksar Muslims, calling on them to return to the fold of Islam. If they choose even then to stay away, they will demonstrate to the whole world that they do so not because of love of *Bharat mata*'s freedom but for less worthy and more personal motives.

I am submitting this to you in all humility—conscious as I am of my ignorance of constitutional theory and international law. But you might make some use, however small, of trifles which, in my anxiety for our future in this country, I regarded as deserving of some attention. Pardon me if I seem to have intruded to no purpose. In that case, I shall rest contented if this letter finds its way to your waste-paper basket.

Yours in love and reverence,
HAMID AHMAD KHAN
Lecturer of English, Delhi Polytechnic

36

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (85)

DISTRICT MUSLIM LEAGUE,
8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
14 April 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a cutting from the *Morning News* of 14 April 1946, containing my article on Mr.Attlee's remark regarding minority's veto.

[*Para 2 omitted*][1]

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Relates to sending a Muslim League delegation to Malaya.

Enclosure to No. 36

MR. CLEMENT ATTLEE'S DICTUM X-RAYED[1]

Mr. Attlee's dictum that no minority will be allowed to veto the progress of a majority[2] can be met by the following arguments:

First, that the question is not of veto of minority but of agreement of nations. There is no instance in the history of the world of any federation, confederation or even of unitary democratic state which has been founded without the willing agreement of its constituent peoples and parties. Federation means and presupposes agreement of unity in diversity.

But how can the Hindus and the British evolve federation or confederation without a genuine agreement ? How can a democratic constitution be enforced and worked without agreement as to its constitution and working in a sub-continent described by Sir John Simon in the Simon Report as the land of minorities, and which in reality is the sub-continent of two major nations and several nationalities.

Secondly, there is no majority nation which is in majority in every province of India. In fact there is no majority and no minority in India as a whole as there is no majority and no minority in Asia or Europe as a whole. It is absolutely wrong to regard Hindus as an all-India majority and the Muslims as an all-India minority. It is a false, misleading and mischievous misconception. The Muslims are in majority in Muslim homelands and the Muslim Provinces of Pakistan and the Caste–Hindus are in majority in the Hindu Provinces of Hindustan proper–U.P., Bihar, C. P. and Bombay. The Muslims are in majority in the North-West and North-East Zones of India where the Hindus are a minority. The Hindus similarly are in majority in the Gangetic Valley of India where Muslims are in minority. Thus the Muslims and the Hindus or both a majority and a minority at one and the same time in one are other parts of India, exactly as the Russians, the Germans, the French, and the English are majorities and minorities in Europe.

So there is no question of an all-India Hindu majority and an all-India Muslim minority but the question is of agreement between two major nations who are in majority in their respective homelands of Pakistan and Hindustan and who are in minority in the lands of their opposite party.

Thirdly, even recognizing the validity of Mr. Attlee's dictum,[3] namely, that no minority should veto the progress of a majority it comes to this that the Sikh minority of the Punjab and the Hindu

minority of Bengal has no right to veto the progress of the 70 per cent Muslim majority of the land of Pakistan.

Likewise the Muslim minority of U. P., Bihar, C. P. and Bombay have no right to veto the progress of the Hindu majority.

[1]The *Morning News*, 14 April 1946.
[2]See F.12/6, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]Jinnah regarded Attlee to have "done rope-walking" and of having fallen into the trap of false propaganda. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 518-21.

37

Manzoor Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1107/199-202

160 AMEEN LANE,
FEZ ROAD, QAROL BAGH,
DELHI,
16 April 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

With the greatest of respects that a human being can command for another and in the best constructive spirit, I hereby give expression to some of my views which, in the present context of things, when passions are running high and the Muslims have declared their readiness for every possible sacrifice, may appear to be somewhat out of place but which all the same I must ventilate, insignificant as they are, in view of the great encouragement that independent thinking has received among our people by the inspiring lead graciously given by you. I also realize that by forwarding these suggestions, I am only carrying coals to Newcastle. But I have my right as one belonging to the lowest ranks of your army to approach the highest temporal authority that I recognize at the time in your august person as President of the All India Muslim League, and I hope this explains everything by way of an apology in anticipation.

That we shall have to fight against very heavy odds, in the event of the enemy camp gaining the upper hand, is a foregone conclusion. First, there would be the British-cum-Hindu alliance, both at home and abroad. Secondly, there are those Muslims who for one reason or another still remain under the influence of our opponents, and their number is by no means negligible in spite of their spectacular defeat at the polls. Therefore, it is suggested that before you send

forth the call for action it should be officially declared in unambiguous terms that the Muslim League is not for an internecine war against the Hindu people but against those Hindu-vested interests, which, have combined with British imperialistic forces, to crush the aspirations of the Muslims and other backward people for self-determination. In other words, the fight should be aimed at the government of the day which denies us our right to live as we please. The possibility of such a course of action leading us automatically to a clash with the Hindu public cannot be ruled out altogether and that we, as a nation, look forward to a showdown in that direction, is equally true. But in following the line of action, suggested by me, there are some very patent advantages.

In the first place, not only the responsibility for any untoward consequences shall have been shifted from the shoulders of the All India Muslim League, as a respectable organization and the would-be governing authority of the Pakistan areas, but it will also produce the great psychological effect upon the public mind in general in so far as it will take the wind out of the sails of those propagandists (Muslim quislings included), who dub the League as a body thriving on the disruptive programme of the British for creating division among the ranks of the so-called Indian nation. Not only that; it will also enable us to avoid the great, yet grim contingency of a clash with those of our misguided brethren who, in the intensity of their fanatically antagonistic attitude, may even go to the extent of siding with the Hindus, should civil strife come about as a result of a direct appeal by the League in that behalf. That would be an unfortunate beginning and a bad augury for the future, for when passions subside and people find themselves to have become fratricides in the heat of the moment, they may react against their own convictions to the detriment of the collective good.

Our main job is to put the entire Muslim nation on the right track. Exceptions there shall always remain but they only lose their significance and become invalid when they are brought down to the point of negligibility. We are not concerned with, and certainly not afraid of, what other people in this sub-continent can and will do to us so long as we succeed in winning over the dissenters from amongst ourselves. You will admit that the strength of the League, formidable as it already is, consists, so far, only in its organizational efficiency and, rightly or wrongly, the sincerity of our intentions is measured by our misguided co-nationals in terms of our personal suffering and sacrifice. Therefore, in order to root out their baseless convictions, our foremost duty is to give a direct lie, on the one hand, to their main argument

that the League is a British creation, by making them a present of our utmost suffering and sacrifice in the interest of the cause which we espouse and, on the other hand, avoid playing at all costs the role of disrupters that is maliciously and wrongly attributed to, and has come to be nonsensically associated with us in the minds of these nationalist Muslims at the behest of the cunning Hindu politicians. And this can be done by adopting the procedure suggested by me in the preceding sentences which I hope will receive the attention they deserve in view of the gravity of the situation and the importance of the subject they dwell upon.

Whatever action you may direct us to take should, by its very nature, be slow, yet steady. The fact cannot be hidden from you, with your fingers on the national pulse, that we as a people are one of the most sentimental and can be led to any lengths, without regard for the consequences. Our past history bears ample testimony to this and this very characteristic of ours has all along been exploited by interested parties in different directions for the achievement of their own ends. Gandhi is today what Muslims made of him with their frenzied activities during the *Khilafat* days. Ahrars exist today because of Kashmir, Shaheedganj and Qadian. And therefore, Sir, I most respectfully suggest to you, the greatest living symbol of our hopes and aspirations, to convert us into a fire that smoulders slowly but surely till the whole world feels its warmth and not in a sudden flame that can be easily dealt with by local fire-fighters.

With the vast resources that the Hindus have at their command, they have already been able to misrepresent our case abroad and with the help of the British they would be in a still better position to do so. We should, therefore, avoid everything that may lead us to be painted abroad as war-mongers and unreasonable fanatics who do not believe in democracy of the western conception and all that sort of propaganda which places a people in a false position with an initial handicap. Already there is a sinister move in the Hindu press to draw parallels between you and Hitler in and out of season. Hardly a day passes without someone calling you a prototype of the defeated European dictator. Obviously it is all part of a well-laid plan to prepare ground for future use. It gives rise in me to the feelings of the greatest anguish and pain to hear all this about an individual who has spent the major portion of his invaluable life in the midst of parliamentary activities and who now represents a people whose conception of life itself is based on the equality and brotherhood of men. And from what vile and filthy quarters all this emanates? From quarters whose very foundations are laid on the charred bones of the

oppressed and the persecuted—the victims of a fascist social order, the like of which the world has seldom produced. Great God! What a world! But such is propaganda and it has got to be negated and exposed somehow to the exclusion of other less important things. The British are silent about it right now. Yet the day may come when, God forbid, they enter into an open alliance with the Hindu worshippers of Luxmi [goddess of wealth] and move all the resources of their empire in the service of this Machiavellian falsehood—that fascism is raising its ugly head again, this time in India. Then it would become easy for Iqbal to achieve world fame as Nietzsche, Jinnah as a re-incarnation of Hitler and Muslims, of course, as the "discontented" Germans who always ask "for more". That I am not drawing upon my imagination can be fully borne out by the incessant display in the Hindu press of all our activities after the pattern, I have made an attempt to describe. It is time for us to think how we are to counteract this mischievous brand of publicity or else it would be too late.

Pakistan has already reached the level of an international problem, and to seek global sympathy for our cause is of the utmost importance and to gain this end we shall have to see to it that we are not flashed across the world as fanatic aggressors whose appetite feeds on what we imagine we can get. Incidentally I may mention that statements like the one made by Mr. Suhrawardy in his speech delivered at the [Legislators'] Convention, whereby he transformed our last demand into our latest do nobody any good. On the contrary they do a lot of injury to our cause which is still in an advanced stage of infancy. Hence I would suggest that such commitments had better remain conspicuous only by their absence. Our interest lies in putting before the world our demand in clear-cut and precise terms and not modifying it every now and then to suit the tempo of a particular occasion and, above all, demonstrating to the world-at-large that we have no designs, real or potential, on any other people and that when we put up resistance it would be not in the capacity of aggressors but as the injured and the wronged. Nor for the matter of that have we any means of destruction at our disposal. We will only be axing our own feet by pretending to have any and going to the battlefield with that misconception in our heads.

Our slogans should be "Pakistan for the people and democracy" and "Pakistan and Victory" rather than "Pakistan for Islam" and "Pakistan or Perish." Why should we talk of "perishing" on the eve of our first struggle? We should, in brief, give up the "Now or Never" mentality and, instead, aspire for our freedom "today yes, if possible,

tomorrow certainly." Words in themselves are nothing but they do count a lot when they are used as a means of giving expression to a particular set of attitudes and desires. The world is sick of pure, orthodox religion and when people in the far-flung corners of the earth hear about a movement being launched for the revival of the past glories of a certain faith, whether you call it a complete code of life or give it some other name, they begin with distrusting it, and to lose the sympathies of humanity on a political plane is to lose the very battle itself in these days of highly-developed international character of human relations.

Democracy, democracy and democracy should be the parrot-cry on our lips from henceforward—let others make their own interpretation of this hydra-headed institution as they please. But DEMOCRACY in block capital letters should it be—for others to hear and see, and for us the live embers of republican Pakistan with the necessary Islamic background, smouldering within us slowly but surely to carry us through any and every eventuality. Through this and only through this course of action lies our salvation or else all our bombastic announcements and talk of bloodshed may come to meet with a different fate which I pray to God may never be.

I had been thinking about all this for a long time and I am glad that I have communicated the contents to one who is the reservoir of all that is good for us. Now it is for you to judge if the thoughts given expression to above have any validity?

The favour of a mere acknowledgment under your own signature will be received as a mark of the greatest honour.

Wishing you Godspeed in everything you do for the nation, the best of health for many days to come and in the best of reverential moods.

I am,

Yours devotedly,

M. AHMAD

B.Com., LL.B.

38

Agnes St. Ives-Currie to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 1107/197-8

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
16 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As a standard-bearer of Islam, your burden is indeed heavy and a word of cheer often lightens the load. I have sent to Lord Pethick-Lawrence one of my pamphlets, *The Terrorist*, of which you have a copy, in which I made a reference to the superior manners and culture of Muslims. My only regret, I told him, was that I could not meet him and give it to him straight from the shoulder—I also put in a plea for myself reminding him of the injustice of there being no European women in the Assemblies to speak for the European women, and urged him to bring this to the notice of the Viceroy and his councillors before leaving India. Were I on the Legislative Assembly, I could voice a great many things in the interest of the Muslims. It is an open secret that under the nose, Europeans are for Muslims. They are more like us than any other oriental race, especially in our religious beliefs—*Baqar 'Id*, does it not recall God's order to Abraham to sacrifice Isaac?

Yours truly,
MRS. A. ST. IVES-CURRIE

[1]Jinnah thanked her for writing to him, saying he had noted her views. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/24. Not printed.

39

Chaudhri Aleem Yar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/139-41

BHOPAL HOUSE,
CANTONMENT ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
16 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Premier Attlee in his notable speech in the House of Commons on

March 15, gave the correct lead to the Cabinet Ministers, visiting India, by declaring that we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of the majority.[1] Unfortunately, we have not been able to understand these fifteen epoch-making words in their right context and hence the difficulty in reaching some amicable settlement.

Taking into consideration the fact that if the Muslims are in a minority in some provinces, the Hindus too are no better in the Muslim majority provinces. Lord Pethick-Lawrence has made it quite clear that the Muslims are not a minority but a great community. The Premier's reference to the minorities is political and not communal. As a result of the recent elections, it has been clearly established that Congress forms the majority party in some provinces while the Muslim League in others, and as such, the Cabinet Ministers must abide by the verdict of these two political parties without paying much attention to the small minority, which may be opposed to power being entrusted in their hands. In other words, the first task of the Cabinet Ministers is to bring about independent units and in so doing they must be guided by the Premier's statement that a minority should not be allowed to veto the advance of the majority. Therefore, the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan should not be torpedoed on the ground that the Hindu minority is opposed to it, because in that case the Muslim minorities in the Hindu provinces will have similar right to veto the advance of the Congress and this will make matters worse. So the only right course is to proceed on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan and in no case should the minorities in these areas be allowed to veto the advance of the majority.

As to the Indian States, they may be given the choice to join either of the two federations, and, with the willing consent of these independent sovereign units, there shall emerge the United States of India in not very far distant future. When States with diametrically opposed policies and national outlook can give birth to a world organisation known by the name of U.N.O., there is no sense in arguing that Pakistan and Hindustan once separated, shall never agree to join in matters of common concern. I hope that the leaders of our country will realise the gravity of the situation and achieve independence from British yoke at any cost, for once India is free the entire outlook will change and a new relationship will emerge out of the present hatred, distrust and disunity. May I have the honour to have a few words from you as a message to the youths of India, who are getting

impatient to reach their desired goal of freedom, peace and prosperity.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Sincerely yours,
C. ALEEM YAR
B. A. (Hons.), LL.B.
Organiser,
The Indian Youth Liberation Front

[1]See Statement by Clement Attlee, F. 12/6, *QAP.* Not printed.

40

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/45

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
17 April 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had another letter from Nazimuddin, addressed from London, an extract of which I give below:

I went to India House where I was told that one of the questions that will be discussed at Geneva is whether the League of Nations should recommend that U.N.O. should be made Trustees of the mandated areas. There is considerable difference of opinion as Great Britain is not in favour of such a resolution specially as it affects Palestine. Commonwealth nations could not come to an agreement on this question. Government of India have not yet decided what they are going to do. I am consulting the Palestine Arab representatives here to find out what they want. Of course, they do not want mandated or trusteeship, but what will help them most is through other controversial issues in which England and Russia are opposing each other. Apart from this it is essential that someone should be in England to put the Muslim point of view before the foreigners, be it the British or the American public. Our case is simply going by default, and although just now the struggle is in India but if there is any settlement and the three Ministers decide to support the Congress demand, before finally deciding the question, they are bound to report to the Prime Minister in England. Some activity in London on our part may influence

the decision. At present against Mr. Jinnah's statements, those of Nehru, Patel and Sapru speeches are published in such a way as if Mr. Jinnah is holding out against a settlement. A press conference is being organised for me in which about twenty reporters will be present and I hope, *Insha Allah,* the papers here will publish my interview. If this is successful, then on my return from Geneva I may keep pulling strings from behind. If I return to India, I will be one of the many who will be tackling this problem and I doubt if I can contribute very much, but I feel that here I can be of some service. In the United States, I find that the Americans are very keen that India should get independence and that the British in their own interest are putting up the Muslim question. Even the reporters told me that mostly the Congress case is placed before the American public. They hardly ever get the Muslim side, apart from Mr. Jinnah's statements and speeches. I gave a long interview to the United Press of America before my departure and I was assured that it will appear in some of the papers. I spoke to the State Department officials in Washington and to some of the leading businessmen. After all, I only met a handful of people. I am also trying to get in touch with the representatives of Arab countries. They may influence Great Britain. Even Casey felt that this was necessary. Unless Mr. Jinnah wants me to go back I feel I will be more useful here. If I have to stay to do propaganda on a large-scale, funds will be necessary. Mr. Jinnah must be approached for it. A lot will depend whether my press conference reports will get publicity. If it is published in English papers and Indian papers there is hope that we may be able to get our point of view to the public. I hope and pray that you all will be able to bring about a settlement so that we may have independence and peace in India. I have given you the exact extract so that you may know how Sir Nazimuddin's mind works, and if you will kindly give me instructions, I can telegraph Nazimuddin to stay on and do League work in England.[1]

Hassan arrived yesterday and I hope your second interview with the Mission has been successful.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

[1]Jinnah replied that Nazimuddin's stay in London at the time would not be of much use. See *SHC,* Bengal III/46. Not printed.

41

Klang Indian Muslims' Association to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 557/182

KLANG SELANGOR,
17 April 1946

All Muslims of Klang District, Malays, Indians, Indonesians and Arabs strongly and whole-heartedly supported the Pakistan demand and the stand of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah at a Muslim gathering in Klang Mosque on the 16th April. There is not a single nationalist Muslim at Klang.

KLANG INDIAN MUSLIMS' ASSOCIATION

42

Habibur Rahman Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/369

VILLAGE MATUAIL,
P.O. DEMRA,
DACCA,
18 April 1946

Venerable Sir,

As a champion of the Muslim cause I have always held you in high esteem and I have ever been an ardent supporter of the Muslim League in all its activities. I have followed your drive for Pakistan without a flinch. But allow me to say, Sir, I have now started feeling puzzled over the problem of safeguarding the integrity of Pakistan from invasion of [*sic* for by] alien territories all around. Indeed, I cannot find any suitable answer to this problem either from your speeches reported in the papers or from any other source. Would you be so good as to favour me with your solution about this problem.

Yet another question that baffles me is: in the event of Hindustan not agreeing to enter into business relationship with Pakistan, how the industrial organisations would be run in Pakistan, as almost all mineral resources of present India would belong to Hindustan? It seems it might not be possible to produce consumer goods at competitive prices with imported raw material and consequently

Pakistan is likely to suffer severe economic upheaval. I should be glad to know how you propose to deal with this matter.

Trusting this letter will find you in the best of spirits and soliciting the favour of an early reply,

I remain,
Ever in admiration,
Yours sincerely,
DR. HABIBUR RAHMAN KHAN

43

A. N. A. Kader to M. A. Jinnah

F. 831/109-10

KOOTHANALLUR,
TANJORE DIST.,
MADRAS,
19 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Recent central and provincial elections have proved to our opponents and others that the Muslims are solidly behind the All India Muslim League to achieve Pakistan. The defeat which our opponents received at our hands has so much upset the entire machinery of the Congress that they are at present up to do anything to cause harm to the Muslims.

The province of Madras has seven per cent Muslims of the entire population. There are places where Muslims are in a majority but in general they are an insignificant minority. So it seems that the Congress have issued commands to their respective working committees and presidents to adopt measures such as non-cooperation of Hindus with Muslims in their daily transactions of business, commerce and agriculture. Also Muslims are being refused water, coffee, tea and other refreshments in Hindu hotels and houses from where Muslims have always had the privilege of hospitality, a situation contrary to that of north India. Brahmin overlords, who are owners of most of the agricultural lands, are inducing Hindus not to cooperate with the Muslims in the cultivation of paddy fields.

Muslims are being boycotted in places like Orathanad, Ammapet, and Thirunageswaram and elsewhere in Tanjore District and Hindus are not purchasing articles from the Muslim shops.

Therefore, we presume that as very responsible leaders like

Sardar Vedarathnam Pillai, Kamaraja Nadar and Mulangudi Gopala Krishna Ayyar have been taking part in adopting resolutions to non-cooperate with the Muslims in all respects, the Congress have purposely and stealthily set afloat this scheme to coerce Muslims in order to bring them round to their Congress fold and also we presume that these signs of non-cooperation are first steps of a civil war in the country.

As it is spreading like wild fire, we request that statements may be issued to the press by the Central All India Muslim League, warning the Hindu Congress of the dire consequences, in case they have purposely adopted such a course as their policy.

We are owners of paddy fields and lands where Hindus are employed as cultivators. If they boycott them, the problem of food will become acute and also the harmony, which is at present and has been existing, will turn into that of estrangement and mistrust.

So we humbly pray that immediate action may kindly be taken and hence this letter has been directly addressed to your goodself.

Yours truly,
A. N. A. KADER SAHIB
Secretary,
Muslim League, Koothanallur

44

Syed Mobarak Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 222/1-2

ALI MANZIL,
GULZARBAGH,
PATNA,
19 April 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will pardon me for encroaching upon your so precious time. In addressing this communication to you I am reminded of the old adage "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread"[1] and that is my excuse. I have no doubt that Muslim interests are quite safe in your hands.

My humble suggestions are that in the proposed formation of the Interim Government and in case of a Central Government in future, it [these] should be provided in the constitution and at the moment

there should be clear understanding:

a. that the voice of the Muslim ministers and Muslim legislators in shaping and deciding the policy of the Government of India in regard to the Muslim countries will prevail and will be the policy of the whole Government, which will be adhered to,
b. that no bill may be proceeded with if it is considered by a community to affect it adversely unless three-fourth [of] members of thatp articular community or sect as the case may be, agree to it.

With apology once again and respects, I close now.

Yours sincerely,
SYED MOBARAK ALI
MLC

[1]Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Criticism.*

45

Viqarun Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/31

5 DANEPUR ROAD,
LAHORE,
21 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Just to tell you that our thoughts are with you and that we pray for your good health to keep as it does [*sic*] in spite of the heat, which is very trying, at least I find it so.

I presided over the Women's Anjuman meeting and if you had been there, I am sure, I would have made you smile because I actually bossed [over] our famous lady speakers, our MLAs and others—to stick to ten minute speeches. I succeeded in getting through the meeting by 1.45. We started at 10.15.

Just as I start to get to know more about the working of various organisations here and seeing the obvious mistakes that are being committed—I start to think about the remedies. How true it is when we say that we can learn best from others' mistakes. Sometimes the magnitude of the task ahead frightens me and then my thoughts

revert to you and I pray that you may be given a long life so as to guide us.

God bless you. With all our kindest regards,

Your sincerely,
VICKY NOON

46

T. Ahmed Choudhury to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/90

KUMARPARA,
SYLHET,ASSAM,
21 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am feeling extremely embarrassed to write to you over more or less a business matter in these days of your extreme activities and mental pre-occupation.

I want to compile a booklet under the caption, Quaid-i-Azam's message to the students and youth from the speeches and addresses you delivered in the past. I would also like to add a chapter giving a sharp sketch of your life.

So, may I have the honour of requesting you to let me know at your earliest, whether I can have the necessary permission for the same.

A letter[1] from Abdul Matin Chaudhury, is enclosed herewith, and I hope it will serve the purpose of introducing me.

With *salaam*

Yours obediently,
T. AHMED CHAUDHURY
Ex. General Secretary,
Assam Provincial Students' Federation

[1]Not traceable.

47

M. A. Faruki to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/191-95

ABADAN,
IRAN,
21 April 1946

Honourable Sir,

Made bold by your recent speech, asking Indian Muslims to help Arabs in Palestine, I take this liberty to place before you a few bold facts about the attitude and treatment of so-called Islamic countries towards the Indian Muslims.

When in India, I had great respect, sympathy and regards for these countries and had resented deeply the actions of anybody or any power who tried to intimidate, bully or exploit their rights. I was just one of ten millions of Indian Muslims who cherished these feelings and sentiments towards the Islamic world.

On coming out to Iran, I was rudely shaken out of my reverence for these countries when I witnessed the grim realities face-to-face. We Indians (95% of them being Muslims) are treated in such a humiliating way that the most staunch *Manuist*[1] will be shocked.

We have no civic rights or protection and are sharply cut away from social life, marked social outcasts. The natives adopt an organized hostile attitude towards us and their hatred for us has no end.

None of us dares to walk alone on streets after dark for fear of being waylaid and whipped. Beating and robbing the lonely Indians has become a matter of routine in these parts.

April 2nd was an Iranian festival; Indians were seized and mercilessly thrashed in open streets and public places by the native crowd; their valuables, even garments and shoes, were snatched away from them; two men were stabbed. The native policemen stood by and watched revelling in Indians' plight and praising the vulgarity of their countrymen.

I went and complained to the City Police Inspector who paid no attention to me whatsoever, pretending that he did not understand my wailing. Disgusted, I turned away.

Two thousand of us Indians live in constant danger of riot. If an Indian ever quarrels with an Irani, the police always acquits the native and inflicts heavy fine on the Indian. I have hundreds of

eye-witnesses who will testify [to] these words.

If the Iran Government does not want us in their country, they can openly say so and ship us back to India, but it is cowardly to torment us when we are at their mercy, helpless and unprotected.

In twenty days from 2nd instant to 21st instant, 18 Indians have been attacked, beaten and robbed and things are getting from bad to worst day by day.

This is our plight in a country credited with age-old tradition of hospitality, the others may be worst. Some leaders, who have visited these places, will refuse to believe me. They only met the appointed people who made every endeavour to make good impressions, they stayed in best cities and were shown only the best of every thing. If they come here and stay among the masses, the brutal and un-believable truth will be brought home to them in no time.

In 1942, on the eve of *Id* the local populace raided the Indian colony, plundered and brick-batted the innocent Indians who provoked nothing [*sic*] the local police on pretext [of] quelling the riot joined the offenders and fired at the Indians. Despite our lamenting, the British Consulate took no action. The reason that the incident was short of a massacre was the intervention of Indian soldiers then stationed here.

Had this outrage been committed against any Briton they would have shaken the Iran Govt. from its very foundations.

Now when we hear the most prudent of Muslim leaders urging the Indian Muslims to give financial help and moral support to the Muslims of other country, our indignation and resentment is justly aroused. We Muslims here are whole-heartedly with League and have unshakable confidence in your leadership. But we cannot help or cooperate with our executioners, just as much as we don't want to cooperate with those who are opposed to our ideals and ways of life Don't fail us and we will not fail you and will not shrink from any sacrifice that you will demand from us.

Muslims outside India speak of themselves as Iranians, Egyptians, Arabs, Turks and Afghanis and never as Muslims. They are ages away from any conception of pan-Islamic nationality as coveted by our leaders in India.

Recently, the Arab League proposed to revive the common Arab citizenship (not Muslim citizenship) which once extended through whole of Islamic empire from Spain to the fringes of China (including India). Common nationality will give Arabs two loyalties, one to their country and another to Arab nation as a whole.

Where do the Indian Muslims fit into this framework of Islamic empire?

There are thousands of Iranians and Arabs in India prospering in business, digging gold out of its famished lands. Not a dime do they spend for the good of that country but rake [*sic*] their every nerve to smuggle it to their homes. We lose tons of gold this way.

During the war we have been shipping supplies of vital necessities to Iran and what she gives us in return: insult, hatred and maltreatment.

Justice and fairness demand that for every Iranian, Arab and Afghani trader in India, there should be an Indian trader in those countries. In Iran every effort on Indians part to open a business [*sic*] is curbed vigorously by the government and Indian doctors are not allowed free practice.

Can't we get wiser before it is too late? I can bet upon my life that if ever Indian Muslims are flung into a struggle for their lives and survival and be in a tight place, not a cent's worth of help will come from them, our brothers in faith.

Shall we not spare our bottom *annas,* threads of garments, grains of food, our sympathies and our sentiments to redress the miseries of our own flesh and blood whose sufferings are acute and tremendous, who stand alone in a hostile world.

Do these people have priority over our orphans, our own naked and famished and disease-devastated people?

Is it not the foremost duty of each champion of the Muslim cause to devote all his might to educate, clothe and feed his own people to lead them to a free, prosperous, fuller and honourable life?

Thousands of Indian Muslims here are in the rank and file of your army. We feel proud and congratulate you upon your gallant fight.

We hope to hear from you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. FARUKI

[1]Refers to a believer in Hindu caste system as originally expounded in Manu Smriti (The Code of Manu), a treatise on legal and allied topics.

48

Ali Ikarkar Hadjar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 476/4-5

PUTTALAM,
CEYLON,
22 April 1946

Muslims of Puttalam Ceylon assembled at mass meeting 21st April. Resolved ardent support national aspiration of our Muslim brothers of India for separate homeland Pakistan and place complete confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and assure our assistance and help in the struggle for the attainment of Pakistan. Urge British Cabinet Mission to honour world Muslim feelings in the hour of trial and win the support and sympathy of the Muslim world to reconstruct Britain's economic life and political prestige.

ALI IKARKAR HADJAR
Secretary, Puttalam Muslim Mass Meeting

49

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/417

BOMBAY,
22 April 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You are insisting upon Pakistan but have you thought [*sic*] the great deadlock it has created in political atmosphere by your such insistence? Do you think that by dividing India into two parts, Pakistan and Hindustan, the Muslims in this country shall be more happy? I do not accept it if you say so. Pakistan shall only create hatred towards the Muslims in Hindu majority provinces and they shall be suppressed or oppressed as a reciprocal measure if the Hindus or other communities in Pakistan are suppressed. Again when the provinces that you can include in Pakistan are themselves Muslim majority provinces, they can have no fear of other minority communities at all. In provincial government, automatically the Muslims shall have great power in

their hands, and on the other hand, the other communities should seek some relief or privileges for protecting their interests.

Secondly, by gaining Pakistan do you think that you will be able to make Muslim community much richer as a whole? You may make a few rich persons ten times richer than they are now. That does not solve the problem of millions of Muslims who are very poor in the provinces you wish to include in Pakistan and Hindustan. Pakistan can't solve the problem of poverty among the masses. Pakistan can't solve the problem of education or removing illiteracy of Muslims. You may be able to remove illiteracy to some extent but it can also be removed by India remaining united.

I love Prophet Muhammad [PBUH], I love his preachings, I love many of the *dargahs* in Hindustan. I do not think that any of them have asked to quarrel and fight for such things. Islam is based on sacrifice for the poor. *Dargahs* like Khwaja Gharib Nawaz, Haji Malang, Fariduddin and others are giving the same benefits to the Hindus who come to them that they give to the Muslims. Equality and humanity are great principles of Muslim religion. You are a lover of Islam. You also must be following them.

Otherwise, I would suggest you to work in Hindu majority provinces for the welfare of the Muslims residing or doing business there. You may fight with Congress or Hindu Ministries in Hindu majority provinces for the welfare of the Muslims in those provinces and get justice for them for their business, welfare, education and public work. If you do that it is much worth [*sic*] useful. May I insist upon you, Muslim League and other interested Muslims, to do this useful work.

And finally to create communal riots for these things is the worst. The world is passing through a great crisis. There is a danger of great famine in India this year. And to add insult to injury, if communal riots are started and thereby thousands are murdered day and night, it shall only be a curse to Islam and not a boon. Islam means not to those beloved Muhammad Prophet [PBUH] and others but who preach this rioting as a fad.

Kindly consider all the above very carefully and do what you think best.

Your brother,
[UNSIGNED]

50

A. K. Esmail to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC II/52

EASTERN HOUSE,
ASOKA ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
24 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wonder if you could possibly find some time to see me some time this week. I have come all the way from Uganda (British East Africa) and am the Honorary Secretary of the Uganda Muslim Group. Perhaps you remember I wrote to you last year and you were kind enough to reply. There are certain matters agitating the mind of the Muslims of Uganda, and I am instructed by the Muslim Group to see you in that respect. I shall be very much honoured if you would kindly manage to grant me an interview[1] at a time and place most suitable to you.

Thanks [and] with regards,

Sincerely,
A. K. ESMAIL
Advocate, Notary Public & Commissioner for Oaths
Kampala

[1]Jinnah gave him a provisional appointment for the 1st of May 1946. See *SHC*, FC II/53. Not printed.

51

M. A. Azim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/439

NAYAGAON, LUCKNOW,
24 April 1946

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks to you, today we are shock-proof against the diplomacy of the British Government and they cannot and will not be able to prevent us from seizing Pakistan. In Pakistan lies our deliverance, our defence

and our destiny. God bless you, dearest Quaid-i-Azam, that it is you who is the cause of our solidarity, strength and honour.

To achieve our national goal of Pakistan we have to cope with innumerable difficulties in the face of incessant threats of violence, civil war and suppression, but we shall never rest content until we seize the territories that belong to us and rule over them. We are awake and determined.

You commanded us to train ourselves, equip ourselves and educate ourselves for the task that lies before us. For this we need an active organisation of Muslim National Guards. With your permission I venture to forward herewith[1] a skeleton constitution for the Muslim National Guards which will enable us to penetrate deepest into our nation, so that we may be organised to meet all eventualities.

I am a humble servant of yours,

M. A. AZIM

[1]Not traceable.

52

Qazi Mohammad Isa to Muhammad Saleh Akbar Hydari[1]
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 850/14

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
25 April 1946

Sir,

I draw your attention to the one-sided propaganda and publicity carried by your news films called the 'Indian News Parade'.

In at least two editions, the recent tour of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Malaya was shown in great detail, and the running commentary was very prejudicial. Also, the 'Indian News Parade' while showing at great length the meeting of the Congress leaders with the Cabinet Mission showed the Quaid-i-Azam for a very brief time and that too while he was coming out of his own house.

I feel it is my duty to bring to your notice this one-sided publicity and propaganda carried by the Government department and I earnestly

hope that you will be good enough to issue the necessary instructions to officials responsible for it.

Yours obediently,
Q. M. ISA
Member in Charge,
Publicity & Information Department, AIML

[1]Member, Viceroy's Executive Council for Information and Broadcasting.

53

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (86)

PESHAWAR,
25 April 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am receiving a number of reports about the suspension, harassment, transfers, dismissals and victimization of Muslim officers on the plea that they had helped the League in the last election. The Congress ministers are out to wreak vengeance. Do I have your permission to publicly state that if and when the League assumes office, the cases of all such officers will be reviewed and that they will be reinstated?

We have started our *tanzim*. Soon the work of enrolling League and enlistment of Muslim National Guards will begin. I am soon going round the Province and will try to induce district workers to hold District Pakistan Conferences in each district.

All eyes are centred on you and we all pray to *Allah* to grant you the strength and guidance to lead the Muslims to victory. *Aameen*

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

54

Soewandi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1110/52

CAIRO,
26 April 1946

Sir,

It is a great honour for me, on the occasion of my short stay in Cairo on my way home from the preliminary talks in Holland, to have the opportunity of writing this letter to you. Being cut off from the outer world because of the still unsettled situation, Indonesia is unable to get in touch with you except with great difficulties.

Since the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia in August of last year,[1] the Indonesians have been favoured with your keen interest and sympathy in their cause, for which I, on behalf of those 70 million [Indonesians], wish to convey to you our heartiest gratitude and gratefulness.

It is the hope of seventy million Indonesians, and we are sure, that India would secure her independence too in the very near future, as no power on earth can prevent India with her four hundred million population united by their common aim to live as a free nation. Our relations went back to more than a thousand years ago, when the great kingdoms of Crivijaya, Majapahit and Mataram brought prosperity to the people of Indonesia. Indeed, a close co-operation between our respective countries is of the utmost importance for the maintenance of our common interests. There is no doubt that an independent Indonesia and a free India will be great friends, inseparable in storm and shine.

In conclusion, the Indonesians heartily hope that they will not be deprived, in time to come, of your most valuable help and assistance in their cause.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
SOEWANDI
Chief of the Indonesian Delegation

[1]The people of Indonesia had declared independence from the Netherlands in August 1945, following the Japanese surrender, and named their country Republic of Indonesia, with Dr Soekarno as fir st President. Formal transfer of sovereignty by the Netherlands, however, took place in December 1949.

55

Miss S. J. M. Umar to Pethick-Lawrence
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 883/462-6

1057 HAVELI AZAM KHAN,
BAZAR CHITLI QABAR,
DELHI,
26 April 1946

Sir,

I do not know much English, being a non-matriculate, so I do not know how to address you. I hope you will excuse me for beginning the letter with only Sir.

I belong to a very poor Muslim family and am an employee of the Central Government of India. I am writing this letter in consultation with about one hundred office-fellows and an equal number of educated and uneducated female friends and relatives—all Muslims. It may, therefore, be taken as the Muslim labour's point of view. For the sake of brevity I will deal with a few points.

EDUCATED HINDUS' MENTALITY

I was educated in a Hindu school and even in the office all my immediate officers are Hindus. On the basis of deep study of their actions and words and on the strength of bitter personal experience (which can be substantiated from written records), it is as certain as the inner voice of Mr. Gandhi that well-placed Hindus, (and all of them are Hindu Congress which is out for the most tyrannical *Ram raj*) have an inborn hatred against the Muslims. They become most inhuman, most brutal and most merciless when dealing with Muslims in every walk of life.

WHY THIS MENTALITY

a. Democracy is unknown to Hinduism which is a collection of superstitions. It creates differences among different sections of its followers. The condition of the untouchables is worse than dogs. The Muslims are not followers of Hinduism and they are considered by Hindus as the fifth caste below the degree of untouchables. Water or food, if touched by a clean and healthy Muslim, will not be used by a dirty Hindu but hatefully and proudly thrown to dogs. It actually happens in Govt. offices where there are educated Hindus. In the name

of religion they have boycotted not only Muslims but all non-Hindus, socially, economically, culturally, and in short in every '- - ally' [*suffix*] except politically for selfish ends and lust for power.

b. During the last two hundred years, poisonous propaganda has been made against the Muslims in [the] history books and in the false but mighty press of the Hindu capitalists. The Muslims are painted blacker than devil and enemies of freedom. The foreign countries are misled and misinformed about the Muslims.

c. A wave of consciousness among the Muslims, their rising from two hundred years' long slumber, their demand for their legitimate rights and the growing strength of the Muslim League have shattered the dream of Caste-Hindu domination and checked the march of Caste-Hindu capitalism. They are, therefore, jealous, envious and enemies of the Muslims.

d. All Govt. offices were monopolised by the Hindus. The Govt. of India have now at last realised the injustice done to the Muslims and have issued strict orders to maintain and observe communal ratio. This has maddened the educated Hindus and sharpened their fury and hatred against the Muslims. They are the greatest mischief-mongers and they have created an unquenchable heat and tension in India today. Search the residences of Hindu Govt. servants—not only clerks but big officers also, and you will find deadly weapons there.

THEIR AIMS

i. Their sole aim is the establishment of *Ram raj* and crushing the Muslims. For this purpose false and baseless propaganda by all possible means is being done against the Muslim League which represents the Muslim masses. Daily atrocities on the Muslims in Hindu majority provinces, eviction of Muslims from Assam, mis-representation of the seat of learning, the A ligarh University whose students awakened the Muslim masses, the plight of the Muslims in Kashmir and other Hindu States, establishment of factories and industries in Hindu provinces, the issue of arms licences to Hindus by Congress Ministries, the establishment of semi-military underground organisations by the Hindus.

ii. From the above, I have tried to show that there is a hard, fast and distinct line between the Hindus and the Muslims whose every aspect of life is diametrically opposite and this is the

state of affairs from the point of view of a Caste-Hindu in practice, whatever be his selfish assertions on paper for his selfish ends.

BOTH THE WORLD WARS FOUGHT IN VAIN IF CONGRESS GIVEN POWER

The aims and objects, the policy and aspirations of a party can be judged, not by its sayings but by its actions. The Congress claims to stand for democracy but it stabbed the democratic powers in the back in 1942. The Congress showed sympathy to China but was glad and prepared to welcome Japan to India. The tables were turned against their wishes and hopes. They began to flatter your Government in Britain. They say [*sic* for claim] to be just to the Muslims but in practice, are doing the worst injustice to them. Their present slogan is of trade concessions to Britain but will they fulfil their promise after getting power is a question for you to think and decide in the light of past experiences and present utterances of Mr. Gandhi, showing his love for *khaddar* and dislike of foreign medicines.

Mr. Gandhi says he stands for truth and non-violence. But he plays with words which are open to several interpretations. This is not truth but murder of the truth. The whole press of his devotees is also full of falsehood. As for non-violence, Mr. Gandhi's utterances like "Do or die", "Quit India", "Shed fear of civil war" and "Every one must die one day" show what he means by non-violence. He is befooling the whole world. He is throwing mud in the eyes of America, England and China.

In view of these, if the Congress is given full control over the whole Indian sub-continent, I prophesy that out of this apparently humble, non-violent and truthful Mahatma and his big financiers will raise dictators before whom the memory of Hitler will sink into insignificance. They will be a menace to world peace. Any help to instal them into power on the whole sub-continent will be to defeat the high principles for which the last two Wars were fought.

Mr. Gandhi advised your nation to learn to be Brahmins. My humble request to your nation is to learn to be true Christians.

WHAT THE MUSLIMS WANT

The Muslims want to earn the gratitude of the whole world by saving it from the misdeeds of the yet-to-be super-Hitlers. They want balance of power in India. They want to establish free, independent democratic Government with universal franchise—giving full rights of citizenship and generous safeguards to non-Muslim minorities in

the provinces where they are in majority without the interference, machinations, conspiracies and plots of the majority of the Congressmen. The Muslims do not want to replace imperialism by capitalism.

IS PAKISTAN A RELIGIOUS DEMAND?

My answer is in the negative. As already stated, the Hindus on account of their religious restrictions boycotted the Muslims of all provinces in such a way that they remained backward in education, trade, industry and commerce. This common economic backwardness of Muslims everywhere in India and the common inborn hatred of Hindus against the Muslims (and this hatred has become the second nature of Hindus) give the idea of oneness to the Muslims, inhabiting the different parts of this sub-continent. As their culture, common language, history and traditions etc. are quite distinct from those of Hindus, they declare themselves [as] a separate nation. The idea of common economic backwardness and Hindus' inborn hatred gave birth to the idea of a separate Muslim nation.

DEFINITION OF A NATION

The world is ever changing. Whatever is correct today can be wrong tomorrow. Whatever the previous definitions of a nation, carefully stored in books, they have become out of date now. In the light of experiences of today we have to define a nation. When one twentieth of the human race declares that they are a separate nation this is sufficient reason to recognize them [as] a separate nation. This reason cannot be set aside because there is no precedent or because bookish definitions do not support it. Definition of a nation is, after all, man-made. It is not the command of God which cannot be changed. When a vast number of people say that they are a separate nation, whatever be the reasons, it must be accepted.

INDIAN UNITY AND AN ORANGE

India was never one and it will never remain one. It is temporarily unified for administrative purposes by the powerful hand of England. As soon as that powerful hand is withdrawn the Indian unity will vanish and the differing peoples will separate. Take the example of an orange. It is one like unified India. Peel it off, it will be found to be composed of eight or nine separate peels [*sic*]. From outside the orange is one but from within it is disunited. Only the powerful cover representing the British administration has kept together the separate several peels of it, representing the peoples of India.

TRADE CONCESSIONS

Mr. Gandhi is ready to give you trade concessions. If he be true in his

promise, I will respectfully remind you that Pakistan areas are backward in trade and trade with Pakistan will be more fruitful to England. Pakistan will require more than Hindustan from your country.

REASONS FOR THE RECOGNITION OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

The British Prime Minister has said in a statement that India has established its claim for self-government because during the last twenty-five years its armies twice played a major part in upholding the cause of democracy. May I point out that during the first World War, Muslims constituted more than 70% of the Indian Army. Again in the second World War, the ratio of the Muslims in the Army was more than their share as justified by population. Moreover, the Muslim League allowed all the Muslims to contribute their mite towards war efforts in their individual capacity (and I, too, gave up my studies and joined essential Govt. service) but the Hindu Congress, not only did not allow Hindus to co-operate with the Govt. in the war efforts but actually sabotaged the war efforts. Consequently in the second World War the share of the Muslims in winning [the] war was about 60%. This being the basis of the recognition of the claim of Indian self-government and the sacrifices of the Muslims being in majority, I trust you will not allow the Hindu minority to veto the march of Muslim majority to Pakistan and uphold the statement of the Head of your Government.

RESULT

The Muslims are a separate nation and NWFP, Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, Bengal and Assam are their homelands. This is the minimum demand of [the] Muslims. Muslim women support it.

In the history of a nation, once there comes a time when Government servants cannot remain silent. That time has come. So I have given you the trouble of knowing the ideas of ordinary Muslim women. In doing this if I have gone against the Govt. Servants Conduct Rules, I am prepared to face the consequences. I realise that clarification on certain points such as defence, boundaries etc. remains but the letter has become lengthy. I am prepared to explain these points personally, if so desired.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
MISS S. J. M. UMAR

56

Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/453-4

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

AMRITSAR,
26 April 1946

Honourable Jinnah Sahib,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am an humble volunteer of the League and it is useless to mention what I am doing in support of the cause of the League.

I am attaching herewith an application[1] by the Mazhabis.[2] This community has given about one and a half lakh men in the war. The Sikhs are not giving them their due rights and are usurping their rights. The Sikhs claim them to be a part of their community just as the Hindus were claiming the connections with the members of the Scheduled-Castes. The Mazhabis are very backward while the condition of the Scheduled-Castes was quite different.

I am helping them to be separated from the Sikhs, a little mention of which is made in the attached letter,[3] sent to the members of the Delegation [Cabinet] Mission, who have refused to call them for interview on the ground that their representatives are Sikhs and they were granted an opportunity.

The reason for the separation is given in the attached letter. I have tried my best to keep them away from Dr. Ambedkar and the Congress by political tricks. I have made them disappointed [*sic*] from these leaders. They have much faith in your honour.

I wish your honour to help them in getting an opportunity for an interview with the Mission. I am their interpreter. I will see your honour before seeing the members of the Mission, if such an arrangement is made.

Mr. Ambedkar had assured them to make such arrangements and to take them in his car to the Mission. They are illiterate and were pleased to accept his offer, but I tried to keep them away and was successful. They are under my thumb, but I am giving them the right suggestions and wish them to be nearer the League. Their population is more than one-third of the Sikhs in the Punjab, and the number of the soldiers in the military is ten times [more] than them.

I am sure your honour will help them for an interview with the

Mission. It will injure the demand of the Khalistan or Sikh State.

Awaiting an early reply and help,

Your honour's most obedient servant,
CH. BADRUDDIN AHMAD,
Typist, District Court

[1]See F. 883/455-8, *QAP.* Not printed.
[2]Low castes converted to Sikh religion.
[3]Not traceable.

57

M. A. Jinnah to E. Stanley Jones

SHC (912)

27 April 1946

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 12th April,[1] and thank you for it.

I have read your suggestions with very great interest, but I hope you will understand it is not possible for me to discuss them by means of correspondence, but I thank you all the same for giving me an idea, which represents the wish of millions of your countrymen, who desire a solution to be found that India may go on to an orderly progress.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

E. Stanley Jones, Esq.,
3 Battery Lane,
Delhi

[1]No. 28.

58

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/384-6

WRITERS BUILDINGS,
CALCUTTA,
27 April 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour of introducing to you Lt. Col. Jaipal Singh,

M. A. (Oxon.), President of the Adibasi Mahasabha, the representative national organisation of the tribals, the aboriginals, of Chotanagpur plateau—(1) Santhal Parganas, (2) Hazaribagh, (3) Manbhum, (4) Singhbhum (Tatanagar), (5) Ranchi, (6) Palamau, (7) Chattisgarh and (8) Sarguja—which forms the natural buffer between Hindustan and Eastern Zone of Pakistan. You will be delighted to meet Mr. Jaipal Singh, who is known to me since 1920 as an honest, sincere, straightforward and completely trustworthy man of strong character. He is an Adibasi [aboriginal] by race and Christian by religion, and a supporter of the Muslim League and a friend of the Muslims by honest conviction. During the Congress Ministry of 1937-39, he fought the Congress tyranny shoulder-to-shoulder with the Muslims of Chotanagpur. He always stood by the Muslims and came forward to fight for and champion the cause of the Muslims during Hindu-Muslim riots in Ranchi and Tatanagar. He was the first to arrive on the scene to help the Muslims when a mob of Hindus attacked the mosque at Doranda (Ranchi). He and his people, the Adibasis, have definitely aligned themselves on the side of the Muslim League and Pakistan. Mr. Jaipal has presided over many Muslim League meetings and Adibasis and Muslims are working side by side in Chotanagpur.

The Adibasis, Mundas, Santhals, Oraons, Bheels, Korwas, etc., etc., are a pre-Aryan non-Hindu, non-Aryan people who bury their dead bodies like the Muslims and believe in the life after death. They do not worship idols or objects of nature. They have faith in one God, *Singhbhonga*, and thus there is cultural affinity between the Muslims and Adibasis. Economically the Adibasis and the Muslims both stand on one footing of have-nots. Politically the Adibasis and the Muslims are both separatists as they both stand for and demand separation of their homelands of Jharkhand and Pakistan from Hindudom. The Adibasis regard the Hindus as their centuries-old enemies and exploiters and call them *Dakus* (usurpers and dacoits) because the Hindus usurped their country where the Adibasis ruled as original settlers.

The Adibasis are in majority in the Chotanagpur Plateau which is also the richest in mineral wealth in India, if not Asia.

Mr. Jaipal Singh is undoubtedly the leader of the Adibasis and commands their unstinted love, loyalty and confidence. He is to work in fullest co-operation and amity with the Muslim League. The Jharkhand Free State will work in union with Pakistan State as two equal free and sister nations in matters of defence, security and economic development for the good of the sons of the soil.

The Adibasi Mahasabha's demands are two:

a. Immediate separation of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur

from Bihar and their constitution into an autonomous Governor's Province to be named Jharkhand.

b. Formation of a "Jharkhand Free State," consisting of the Adibasi regions of Chotanagpur Plateau, as a free self-governing state in perpetual alliance and union with Pakistan in common matters.

The Adibasis are a very brave, honest, cheerful and straightforward martial people. But although their homeland is rich in minerals and trade and industrial prospects, the Adibasis themselves are very poor.

They need five kinds of help, and I strongly feel and believe they should get it:

i.	Urgent relief for sufferers of Tapkara mass murders by the Congress in Ranchi on 2-3-41 in which 150 families were very badly affected	Rs. 5,000
ii.	For a booklet on Tapkara Congress mass murder orgies	Rs. 5,000
iii.	For *Adibasi Sakam,* a weekly bilingual journal in English and Adibasi languages for one year	Rs. 20,000
iv.	Lump sum for political propaganda	Rs. 10,000
v.	Annual help for political propaganda	Rs. 10,000
	Total	Rs. 50,000

In view of the fact that the friendship, alliance and co-operation between the Adibasis and the Muslims is of utmost importance to the interests of both the peoples, and the oppressed Adibasis deserve our sympathy on humanitarian as well as political and economic grounds, I appeal to you to kindly help the Adibasis Mahasabha in their fight for freedom. I request you:

a. to immediately sanction at least Rs. 50,000 for help of the Adibasis from the Central League Fund as they need money urgently,

b. to authorise me to make necessary arrangements for cementing stronger ties with the Adibasis,

c. to grant interview to Mr. Jaipal Singh and encourage him in all possible ways.

Yours sincerely,
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY
Chief Minister, Bengal

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M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad

F. 31/3

27 April 1946

Your Exalted Highness,

I thank you for the telegrams which I received from you. I received the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari every time, he desired during his recent visits here and placed my views before him and I need not assure you that my friendly assistance would be always at your disposal.

From reports received by me I gather that there is a talk of your reconsidering the appointment of Sir Mirza Ismail as the President of your Executive Council. I do not want to add anything to what I have said previously. I think it will be a mistake.

I have thought of two names who may be a very great asset to you in your counsels and the Hyderabad administration. First is Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, who, I think, will make a very capable President of your Council and second is Mr. Ghulam Mohammed,[1] who, for some reason or other, left Hyderabad, but I understand, he severed his connection with you in a most friendly and cordial way.

If you can secure these two gentlemen—and it is not very difficult to do so—they will be of great and valuable help to the State. In any case, I would request you not to decide the matter finally; and I think I will get to Hyderabad positively in June, when I can tender my views for your consideration. Of course mine is only a friendly advice and finally it is for you to do what you think best as you are the final judge and authority to adopt such course of action as you may think proper.

As you must be observing from the newspapers, for the present I am buried head over heels in connection with the Cabinet Mission that is now in Delhi.

Hoping you are keeping well; with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

H.E.H. The Nizam,
Hyderabad,
Deccan

[1]Finance Minister of Pakistan, 1947-51; Governor-General of Pakistan, 1951-55.

60

Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/476
[*Original in Urdu*]

MISRI SHAH,
LAHORE,
28 April 1946

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Admittedly you are our great leader. The Muslims have voted for the Muslim League thus adding to your prestige. God has blessed us with a leader like you. Presently the main issue is the independence of India and we wish to get rid of the British rule while you are harping on the demand for Pakistan. This has created a deadlock. Will you bear with your followers who, I hope, have a right to speak their mind? Presently the Muslims are more worked up than Hindus for attaining independence. The Cabinet Mission has conveyed the message that the British Govt. desires to grant independence to India. Now it is your duty to seek independence for the Muslims. We are prepared to sacrifice our lives at your bidding. In case you fail in your mission, you will earn a very bad name in the world opinion. All the communities in India will have to unite as no single party can succeed in achieving independence. You represent ten crores of Muslims whereas Gandhi leads twenty-five crore Hindus. In case of civil war, the country will be weakened and the hold of British Govt. will become stronger, and it will crush the demand for independence. The existing ray of hope will then disappear. It will be your greatness to strive for independence in collaboration with the Hindus. This is the time for you to act and attain glory.

Your obedient servant,
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

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Bhimrao R. Ambedkar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 175/5

22 PRITHVIRAJ ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
28 April 1946

My dear Jinnah,

As I heard that Mr. Dalmia was about to leave Delhi for some hill station, I hurried to establish contact with him in order to get him interested in my college scheme. I saw him today and placed before him my appeal for funds for the college. He has expressed his desire to do something but he said that he will consult you before he makes his decision. I was glad to hear from him that you had already spoken to him about the matter. I have to collect about twelve lakh [rupees] for the college. Out of this, I am expecting at least three lakh [rupees] from Mr. Dalmia. I was glad to find that he has a great regard for you and also has great faith in your judgement. I have no doubt that if you put in a word, he will not hesitate to give the amount I have mentioned. I am writing to you to apprise you of what has transpired between me and Mr. Dalmia so that you may know my mind in case Mr. Dalmia talks the matter over with you, which is quite possible.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph. D., D. Sc., Barrister-at-Law
Member, Governor-General's Executive Council

62

Fateh Muhammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/27-8

DAULA NANGAL,
BATALA,
DISTRICT GURDASPUR,
28 April 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Muslim League high command is going to meet the Cabinet Mission, [and] if they ever decide to do so, in a Round Table Conference, the following may please be borne in mind:

1. Sikhs are not a separate nation from Hindus. They are part and parcel of the Hindus. In this connection you might have read a pamphlet written by Khan Muhammad Yaqub Khan, editor of *The Light*, Lahore. He wrote the said pamphlet at the instance of late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. A copy of the same can now be supplied to you, if desired. When the Sikhs have refused to join hands with the Muslim League, it is essential that the Muslim League should not accept the Sikhs as a separate nation but should assert that they are part and parcel of the Hindus and thus be given their share out of that of the Hindus.

2. The Hindus have celebrated their *Ram Naumi* festival on the 10th April 1946, throughout the length and breadth of India. During the processions taken out by them, their cry was for *Ram raj*. This is brought to your special notice. Congressites, Mahasabhites, Sanatanists, Aryasamajists and [adherents] of all other creeds joined the processions and the cry for *Ram raj* was unanimously made by the Hindus of all shades of opinion.

3. The Congress Ministers are touring the districts of the Punjab and are holding meetings through the Congress Working Committees, wherein the ministers are very boldly making Congress propaganda and exhorting the people to submit their grievances to them through the Congress committees. Thus they are trying their best to establish *Ram raj* in the Punjab. Official diaries of the police bear full testimony to the above fact.

4. The Muslims of the Punjab are eagerly looking forward to the day when you succeed to establish Pakistan in India. We are all

praying for your long life and success in the present struggle.

I hope this will find you in good health.

Yours sincerely,
FATEH MUHAMMAD
Secretary,
All India Majlis Khadiman-i-Harmain

63

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/6

ISMAIL BUILDING,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY,
29 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Furness, a Member of the British Food Mission and a good friend of the Rt. Hon. Mr. A. V. Alexander,[1] whom I met in Washington, had given me a letter which he was keen I should present personally to Mr. Alexander. On my return here I posted the letter to him as it goes without saying that no member of the League should see any one of the Cabinet Mission without your prior consent. I have now received his reply, a copy of which I enclose.[2] I have not replied to this letter but await your guidance.

Please also let me know whether I should submit a brief official report to you, as President of the League, of my work on the Food Delegation and my work in connection with League in the U.K. and the U.S.A.

I also enclose an extract from a letter[3] written to me by Mr. Ronald Sinclair, Consul for Great Britain in New York, with whom I got quite friendly whilst I was there. He is now on a month's holiday in London from where he has written. I was pleased that before I left New York, Mr. Sinclair was one of the staunchest supporters of Pakistan.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

[1]First Lord of the Admiralty and Member of the British Cabinet Mission that came out to India in March 1946.
[2]Enclosure 1.
[3]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 63
A. V. Alexander to Habib I. Rahimtoola

SHC, Bombay II/7

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
26 April 1946

Dear Mr. Rahimtoola,

Thank you for your letter of 22nd April[1] enclosing one from my friend Mr. Furness.

I should have been very pleased to meet you and make an appointment for this purpose if you had been living close at hand. The arrangements of the Cabinet Delegation, however, are such that meetings frequently have to be arranged at short notice and I should not like to make an appointment in advance with the risk that you might come all the way from Bombay only to have to wait for some hours. If, however, you should find yourself in Delhi on other business and would care to get into touch with my Private Secretary, I would do my utmost to arrange an appointment with you then.

Yours sincerely,
A. V. ALEXANDER

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure 2 to No. 63
Extract from Mr. Ronald Sinclair's letter

SHC, Bombay II/8

A little matter I wanted to mention to you in strict confidence concerns, one Mubarak Ali Khan. This little man is a resident of New York, and I only mention him because he recently left for India where I have reason to believe he intends seeking an interview with Mr. Jinnah and will in all probability try to come to some arrangement whereby he would be appointed official or semi-official representative of the Indian Muslim League.

Mubarak Ali Khan is a bit of an imposter. He has recently given himself the degree of doctor (of what?). Actually, he is illiterate and is an ex-lascar, who reputedly jumped off his ship and remained illegally in the United States, some 24 years ago. He pestered the British Consulate for a passport and on the strength of statements, which subsequently proved to be false, he was given one, and [he]

promptly flew to India. This was some few weeks ago. He makes a great show of running a Welfare League for Muslim seamen, and he makes a still bigger show of writing letters to prominent political figures, including the President of the United States. We all know the type and I need not warn you, but he might take in other people in India who know nothing of America. He is a bit of a trouble-shooter, and if I may venture the opinion, would do the Indian Muslim cause no good if he were [was] given any encouragement or grounds for styling himself an official representative of Indian Muslims. I would not have mentioned it but since the man is over in India at present, and will almost certainly try to see Mr. Jinnah I think it advisable you should be warned about him, but please treat this as strictly confidential.

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Evelyn Wrench to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/48

THE *SPECTATOR*,
99 GOWER STREET,
LONDON W.C.1,
30 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was so glad to get your letter of the 15th,[1] and to know that the book had turned up safely.

My wife and I so much appreciate your greetings and are following with deep interest the discussions in India. I am sure that Muslim India owes a great deal to you, and I certainly hope that a solution, satisfactory to all concerned, will be reached.

With kind regards to you and Miss Jinnah from us both,

Yours sincerely,
EVELYN WRENCH

PS. People here are, I think, beginning to understand the Muslim position.

[1]Not traceable.

65

F. H. Elkhairabadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1112/48-53

CONFIDENTIAL/PERSONAL

30 WESTERN COURT,
NEW DELHI,
[*Undated*] *April 1946*

Dear and revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly refer to my letter of March 1946,[1] with which I enclosed copies of my letters to the Parliamentary Delegation and the British Cabinet Mission. I do venture to hope that you have kindly found time to go through them.

Today I am sending to the Cabinet Mission a further instalment of my views on the subject of Pakistan. May I hope so much that you will be interested to read it.

There is a matter to which, incidentally, I would draw your attention although it does not directly concern the issue of Pakistan. This relates to the future of such Muslim Indian States as have an overwhelming Hindu majority of the subjects, viz. Hyderabad, Bhopal and Rampur etc. My greatest anxiety is about the dominion of the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar. I presume that the sovereignty of the Indian States is going to be preserved in the Indian constitution and some safeguards will be provided, but if they once come under the orbit of a Hindu-dominated federation of Hindustan, they are sure, in course of time, to lose their sovereignty and independence. The history of the Federal Government in America shows that the Federal Centre tends to assert itself and the federating units tend to become weak. Unless you secure for them the right to accede to the Muslim Federation or the Union of Pakistan and to secede, if necessary, from the Hindu-dominated Central Federation, to which they may geographically belong, the future sovereign status and independent existence of the Muslim States of Hyderabad, Bhopal, Rampur etc., are in great danger. Constitutional safeguards and autonomy that may be conceded will only provide for their temporary protection. In the long run the factors of their geographical position and the statistical predominance of Hindu population of their territories are bound to tell.

Transfer of responsibility from the Princes to the elected representatives of the people is irresistible and, do what we may, the tide of democracy cannot be stemmed. This will in the ordinary course of political evolution,

if not by a sudden upheaval brought about by revolutionary forces, result in changing the Muslim character of these States. If things are allowed to go on normally and we do not make a special effort in this behalf, the Muslim rule in these States will be wiped off or reduced to mere puppetry. And it will be no consolation for us Musalmans to have nominal or titular Muslim monarchs, who will reign but not rule.

I wonder if His Exalted Highness, the Nizam has ever given any serious thought to this problem. A two-fold plan for averting or minimising the danger of the *Hinduisation* of these States has suggested itself to my mind.

As regards the political danger, I think the only way to meet it is to encourage a colonisation of Musalmans from the Punjab, the N.W.F.Province and Baluchistan. I believe there will be many Musalmans of these provinces, who will be eager to settle in Hyderabad, if they are granted facilities and suitable concessions. As you are aware a large part of the Frontier and Baluchistan is barren and the soil is inhospitable. The people inhabiting the tribal areas are poor and hungry for lands. In the western Punjab, the soil is very fertile but the incidence of population per square mile of cultivable land is too much. In the Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Gujrat Districts of the Punjab, there are a large number of men, who do not possess more than four or five *bighas* of land and their holdings on an average are small and scattered. Some of these men have gone to Bahawalpur and Sind for the sake of land. The Muslim inhabitants of western Punjab are hardy, virile and industrious but many of them are finding it hard to keep body and soul together. Hitherto the army has provided them with means of livelihood. This avenue of employment will be greatly curtailed with the passing away of British rule and they will be faced with starvation. In the dominion of Hyderabad Deccan, vast areas of cultivable lands are lying fallow. If H.E.H. the Nizam gives such lands properly squared out to these people to settle in on a system of payment by easy instalments with other generous concessions in regard to price of land, land revenue etc. he will on the one hand be helping his co-religionists of the Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan and on the other hand having settlements of Muslim martial races, who will prove a bulwark of defence and a pillar of strength to the Asifiya Dynasty in case of internal Hindu revolt.

These Muslim colonies in Hyderabad will create a sort of 'Ulster'. H.E.H. may take a leaf out of the history of England and follow the

example of King James. These Muslim colonies in Hyderabad will also slightly influence the population factor in favour of the Muslims. But even against overwhelming odds these men will effectively help the Nizam in resisting a Hindu revolt in his dominions. I understand that there is already a colony of Arabs in Hyderabad and these Arabs have been a source of strength to the State. Lakhs of acres of uncultivated lands, which are in gift of the Nizam, should be rendered cultivable with the help of tractors and other modern agricultural implements and irrigated by tube-wells or canals and then given to the new settlers. This will transform these barren tracts into rich and fertile lands inhabited by flourishing and prosperous colonies of loyal and sturdy Musalmans.

The other point is that the Nizam is one of the richest men in the world. His wealth in gold, silver and jewels and in gold and silver coins is reported to be fabulous. All this money is his personal property (*Milk-i-Khas*). He has, therefore, every legal right to utilise or dispose of it in any manner he chooses. In the first place all this wealth is lying idle in the coffers of the Nizam and it amounts to unproductive hoarding. We could put up with this, if there were no danger of all this wealth being ultimately usurped by the Hindu subjects of the Hyderabad State and of its being lost to the Muslim ruler. I greatly fear that the Hindu subjects of the Nizam will seize all this money and hoarded wealth of the Nizam when they get power. When that time comes, and come it must sooner or later with the establishment of responsible government and a representative assembly, the Nizam will not be in a position either to retain the present personal possession of his treasures or to transfer it to Pakistan. My suggestion is that H.E.H. the Nizam may make use of it to the mutual advantage of his own self and that of the Muslim nation in Pakistan. The Pakistan Government will need money in the initial stages of its existence for its economic and industrial development. The Nizam can provide it in a very generous measure. In fact he has more than what the Pakistan government is likely to need for the purpose. I, therefore, propose that H.E.H. the Nizam should set up a commercial and industrial bank in the capital of Pakistan (North-West Zone) to be named the Osmania National Bank of Pakistan. This bank should lend money preferably not to private industrialists and private trading concerns but to the Pakistan Government for agricultural development, irrigation schemes, industrial projects, building of railways, airways and other nation-building activities. The safety of the capital of the bank and the repayment of the loans by the Federating Units of Pakistan will of

course be guaranteed by the Central/Federal Government of Pakistan. In this way the Nizam's money and wealth will remain safe for him and his dynasty for all times to come and the greatest financial problem of Pakistan will be solved.

I have one more point to urge which concerns vitally the well-being of the Muslim State of Bahawalpur, which has an overwhelming Muslim population. Lakhs of acres of land have been brought under cultivation by the Bahawalpur Canal Project and this State bids fair to become the biggest and the most prosperous State of the Punjab. Unfortunately, however, a large part of this newly-irrigated land has been sold on very easy terms to non-Muslims, mostly Sikhs. They have almost got it for a song and they are paying back as they earn. This process of non-Muslim colonization has not yet stopped. There are still lands to be given and no preferential treatment is being meted out to the Musalmans. A considerable number of Hindu and Sikh agricultural settlements have sprung up. This policy of the Bahawalpur Government is short-sighted and prejudicial to the interest of the Musalmans of Bahawalpur as well as of the Bahawalpur Government. Already these non-Muslim colonists have created trouble in Bahawalpur State and I am afraid in no distant future, an awkward and troublesome minority question will crop up in the State. In my opinion the Nawab Sahib should put a stop to this and give lands by way of sale or lease only to Muslim settlers from the Punjab, the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan.

Finally, I would request you with all the fervour at my command to take up these matters in right earnest with the rulers of the Hyderabad and Bahawalpur States. I am told that in Bhopal also there is scope for Muslim colonization and out of the same consideration that I have pointed out in the case of Hyderabad, His Highness, the Nawab of Bhopal, may also examine this problem and earnestly consider a scheme of giving all cultivable lands in the State to Muslim settlers.

We regard you as the Commander of the Faithful at the present critical time of Muslim history in India. We look up to you for guidance and help and we are all at your beck and call, ready to lay down our lives for the sacred cause of Pakistan. When you give the word of command, we are sure that your wise leadership, farsighted statesmanship and sure grasp of realities will carry us victoriously to our goal of Pakistan, as it has carried

us through our difficulties and dangers in the past.

Long live Quaid-i-Azam! *Pakistan Zindabad*!

You may make any use of this letter you like.

With regards and respects,

Yours faithfully,
F. H. ELKHAIRABADI

[1]Not traceable.

66

Tafazzal Hussain Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/245-6

RAPC TRAINING SCHOOL,
MEERUT,
[*Undated*] *April 1946*

Our very dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to request you earnestly not to fall back from our demand to solve the Indian political deadlock which is intimately attached with our economic, social, cultural, religious and all [other] spheres of our daily life, by anything other than the Pakistan issue for which we shall live and for which we shall die. *Insha Allah*, we shall be able to face any situation, whatever it may be, only if we can remain united under one banner as we are today; and if we are alert about the Mir Jafars.[1] By *Allah*, we shall never be defeated in the Plassey.[2]

There runs a rumour here and there in the country that we are going to submit to the demand of our enemy of placing Calcutta as an international city, and West Bengal, from Howrah onward, to Hindustan. If that be the case, I myself cannot naturally believe in the satisfaction of the general public, because firstly we shall lose a great portion of strength of our trade and business and, secondly, when the question of transfer of population arises, wherefrom we shall lend our requisite land? This is neither my suggestion nor advice. As a true Muslim I cannot commit myself to such grave audacity, but I can tell it is one of the aspirations for which we youngsters raise our voice.

May *Allah* excuse me. One un-Muslim Muslim, Dr. [Syed] Hossain, has now reached India and will meet you shortly after taking the

parshad of his religious leader, the living god (*Allah* excuse me), to try to convince you to adapt yourself and your nation to his philosophy. I request you fervently not to give him entrance into your room till he washes his mouth with the holy *Kalima* and believes in the Islamic philosophy.

Muslim India is very very annoyed with him for his sinful utterances and will not wait very long to transform their wishes into actions if he continues to commit the same nuisance in our land too, or he shall have to fly away as he did eight years ago.

I am a humble soldier of the Indian Army and fought in the War to save my King and my country for money and livelihood. We are going to be released soon and shall all be your most obedient soldiers under your command. Some brothers of mine had the fortune to show their respect to you at Lahore. One of our papers in Bengal (I know one which commented on this) was glad to see that soldiers of the Indian Army also have begun to pay you the tributes, perhaps this paper did not think [*sic*] that not even a single soldier voted against your order and surely cent per cent Muslim soldiers will wait for anything you command, but there may be a few exceptions who were entrapped and thereafter influenced by the Independence League.

But we now care not their job is finished [*sic*]. As far as the Indian Army is concerned, I am [one of] a multitude of soldiers. We fought for our King and country and thereafter we are all attentively waiting to fight for our faith and nation. So long we fought for money, hereafter, if true Islamic blood runs in our veins, we shall fight for Heaven.

I am writing this letter not for my selfish end but for my self-interest to be the first, at least one of the first victims of the bullet shot in case of necessity. There is always a pride to lead than to follow.

May *Allah* bless you and our nation,

Yours one young brother,
The humble servant,
TAFAZZAL HUSSAIN KHAN

[1&2]Mir Jafar's defection to East India Company led to the defeat of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey in 1757 and the loss of Bengal to the Company.

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Des Raj Gupta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1120/110-15

MODERN HAPPY SCHOOL,
LAWRENCE ROAD,
AMRITSAR,

[*Undated*] *April 1946*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

SOME PROPOSALS TO SOLVE INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

I am encroaching upon your valuable time especially when you are too busy these days. I am neither an expert politician nor a scholar but only a student of politics. I have been feeling something about the constitutional problem of India. In case I do not express myself whether I am right or wrong, then I shall not be true to myself and to my country and so under this impression I am writing to you.

I have the great privilege of reading your speeches in the book *The March of a Nation*[1] and I found in them sincerity, true feeling and patriotic urge. I have been feeling that the religious sentiment of the Hindus of not mixing up with the Muslims for years has been a great hindrance in bringing these communities nearer to each other. If a community or an individual is prohibited to use temples, utensils or public wells, *halwais* and hotels, and to touch food of another community, then it is natural for that community or individual to feel isolated and segregated even when its problems of defence, transport, food and clothing may be common. If I had been in the place of a Muslim, I would have felt likewise and this is why we find separate shops, hotels and an all-round urge for a separate state and this sense of isolation has become so acute that it has become difficult for these communities to live together under one central Government.

I totally agree with you that the federation has been a creation of independent, autonomous and willing units. In Canada, Russia, and the U.S.A. the federal units were independent and autonomous and they agreed to come together under a federation for common purposes like defence, foreign affairs, economic problems and means of communication. You believe that the Muslim majority provinces combined under one federal government, namely Pakistan, should

be an independent State, and it feels no necessity to join hands with Hindustan for the settlement of common problems. You may be right in thinking so, I need not question that. In a recent press interview you told that North-East and North-West zones of India, which are our homelands where no less than 70% of the population is Muslim, should be separated and constituted into independent sovereign States, and again you say that under Pakistan regime, one-fourth of the area of India is required.

In the Punjab, more than twelve districts[2] are such where Hindus are in clear majority, as you will find from the chart given below:

[*Chart omitted*]

So according to your viewpoint these twelve districts will have to be demarcated and seventeen districts of the Punjab will come under Pakistan.

In Bengal you will find that eleven districts[3] have clear majority of non-Muslims and the chart is as follows:

[*Chart omitted*]

So the second unit of Pakistan can have seventeen districts of Bengal, and the District of Sylhet, where the Muslims are in clear majority, can be united with Bengal, and the other three units can be Sindh, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and Kashmir. If we add these areas we will find that they constitute one-fourth of India.

[*Chart omitted*]

I hope you will agree with me when I propose demarcation of provinces like this. If an area, where a community is in majority, remains under another, then it is always troublesome as we find parallel examples in Europe. An independent Sikh State can be created in those districts where Sikhs are in majority and it should be combined with Sikh States. Where Hindus are in majority they can be united with Delhi Province and so under this scheme:

a. Pakistan will consist of seventeen districts of Bengal together with one district of Sylhet; sixteen districts of the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, Baluchistan and Kashmir State,
b. The second unit will be Hindustan consisting of Delhi including Hindu majority districts of Punjab, U.P., Bihar together with eight districts of Bengal, U.P., C.P., Orissa, Bombay, Madras and Assam with three districts of Bengal.
c. A Sikh State [comprising] Sikh States together with those districts

where Sikhs are in majority.

d. Federation of Indian States.

I hope you will agree with me when I say that no unit should be forced to join any federation without its consent. I, therefore, propose that if any unit of Pakistan wants to join any other federation it should be free to do so and if it wants to remain independent it should be free to do so and this can be decided by plebiscite. If you are confident that the Muslims want Pakistan then no force on earth can prevent them from doing so even when the minorities vote against it because that minority will have insignificant force. It depends upon Muslims and if each unit wants [to be a part of Pakistan] let it show to the world that masses of each unit are behind the Muslim League and there will be better ground for establishment of Pakistan, and the relations of the units of Pakistan will be cordial. Let us show to the world and Congress that all Muslims living in each unit want Pakistan. The plebiscite should be taken after every three or four years on the basis of adult franchise. When the new legislatures are established then this voting can be taken also. I am writing to the Congress leaders for excluding non-Muslims on the question of plebiscite and let the majority of the Muslims decide that.

I hope that you will also agree with me when I say that these federations cannot work successfully without a connecting link between them, as regards means of communication, transportation, minority problems and prevention of epidemics. All the States should be under treaty obligation:

i. Every Federation will be bound to each other in matters of defence of the country as a whole and the defence of a unit from external aggression.
ii. Treaties should be made as regards the peaceful passage of railways, use of roads, aerial navigation, sea passage, prevention of epidemics and use of rivers.
iii. Every State will be bound to protect minorities and they will get fair share in legislature, offices and schemes of betterment that are followed by the Federation to promote individuals economically, politically, culturally and socially.
iv. Minorities will be guaranteed freedom of religion, speech, press and platform, associations alongside the majority, provided it does not in any way injure the sweet relations of communities.

v. All the federations will be bound to remove the system of untouchability of the Hindus towards the Muslims and untouchables or of the Muslims towards untouchables gradually, by p assing laws and through preachings, press, platform, radio and films.

For the settlement of these [issues] a central body is necessary. Pakistan should send four representatives and one of them will represent minorities. Similarly Hindustan will send four representatives of whom one must be Muslim and Sikh States will send two and one of them will be a Muslim; and States will send four, two of them will be Muslims. So the Central body will consist of seven Muslims, six Hindus and one Sikh, and all matters should be decided by two-third majority.

For the settlement of disputes, each Federation will send two judges, one Hindu and one Muslim, and the Sikh Federation will send two judges, one Sikh and one Muslim. So in all, there will be eight judges of which four will be Muslims, three Hindus and one Sikh, and they will also decide cases by two-third majority.

Now we have to think about the means that should be adopted for making these Federations more cordial. The first problem is how to protect the minorities. There may be communal representation, but no communal voting. Secondly, we have to learn something from Europe. We should encourage all India unions of *kisans*, labourers, commerce, students and women. All these associations should be voluntary, and in this way we should change the direction of the people from communal interest to trade interests, and this will make the relations of the Federations more peaceful and cordial. An All India organization, for promoting communal harmony, should be created that should preach among the Hindus and Muslims, removal of the system of untouchability. Such institutions can help a good deal in bringing these communities together and will make the relations of federations more cordial.

These are some of ideas and suggestions about solving the consti tutional problem of India and for promoting harmony between different nations. I do not know whether these will be helpful or not. If they are, you may follow and if not, you may ignore them. I hope

you will not mind this long letter.

With respect,

Yours,
DES RAJ GUPTA
M.A.

[1]Published by Malik Book Depot, Lahore, 1945.
[2]Kangra, Rohtak, Simla, Hisar, Karnal, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Gurgaon, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Ferozepore, and Amritsar were mentioned.
[3]Chittagong, Darjeeling, Bankura, Midnapur, Hugli, Burdwan, Calcutta, Birbhum, Howrah, Jalpaiguri and 24-Parganas were mentioned.

68

Report by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League Central Fund

F. 59/198-9

[*Undated*] *April 1946*

With the cheque of [for] two lakh rupees given to Mr. M. A. Ispahani, an account was opened in the Habib Bank Ltd. on 11.3.46, in the name of All-India Muslim League Central Fund. Two members of the Committee attended meetings of the Parliamentary Board to assess the demands of constituencies for their electioneering requirements, all of which were met in good time which considerably improved the situation. Khan Bahadur Muazamuddin Hussain, one of the members, went on tour to take stock of two districts, viz. Noakhali and Tipperah, and to give them the necessary funds that were required for fighting the election. By the grace of God, the results of these two districts have been cent per cent. Mr. Suhrawardy toured three districts, viz. Jessore, Khulna and Bakerganj. Not only were his demands met for these districts but the Board had to send further funds to Khulna and Jessore to meet emergency demands. The defeat of Nausher Ali in Jessore was entirely due to our timely help, financially and otherwise; but one of the seats at Khulna was lost to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, although we were assured by the candidate, the *Maulanas* sent from U.P. and Sir Hassan Suhrawardy that this seat would not be lost. Bakerganj was completely in the charge of Mr. Suhrawardy and we were without any news from the 15th to the 19th, to send financial help and to flood the district with League workers and students—the

result has been that we have lost one seat to Fazlul Huq, another to his nephew Khan Bahadur Afzal and the third to a Proja candidate set up by Fazlul Huq at Ferozpur.

The Dacca District was as bad as Bakerganj but the good and untiring work done by Messrs Shahabuddin and Noorudin brought us 100 per cent success and the fund spent in this district was helpful.

Gafoorgaon constituency, south of Mymensingh, was lost due to lack of information. Mymensingh District League wanted Rs. 3,000 for this constituency; we granted Rs. 4,000 as we knew that the opponent was strong and the selection to fight this *Maulana* was not a very good one. The Provincial League Office in Calcutta has no organisation worth the name and the workers connected with it are unreliable and dishonest. We brought this fact to the notice of Mr. Suhrawardy. The seats lost in Behrampore and Faridpur by the League candidates selected by the Parliamentary Board to the old Leaguers of the district is a great misfortune because unfortunately the League-minded people of the district did not vote for the Board's candidates but worked quietly for the others who, since elected, have declared themselves to be old Leaguers and they want to join the party. The north Bengal success was to a very large extent due to the propaganda made by the President of the Assam Muslim League, Maulana Bhashani.

With the short time at our disposal we have tried our very best to help the situation with the money at our disposal. The accounts are being called for and then we will finalise and send the same.

The Committee's views are that the money which was contributed by the Central Fund came just in time and saved at least 20 seats which would have been further lost to Muslim League. There were two more seats on which by-election will take place. One is [that of] Fazlul Huq and the other of Dr. [Abdul Mataleb] Malik, both of them have been returned from two seats. Dr. Malik is a Leaguer who was returned from Nadia District as well as from River Transport Constituency. We hope to secure these two seats for the League, viz. one of Fazlul Huq and the other of Dr. Malik.

69

Nizam of Hyderabad[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 31/4

CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
1 May 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of 27th April[2] and have noted its contents.

As far as the possibility of either of the two gentlemen mentioned by you to succeed the Nawab of Chhatari as President of Council, when his term expires in September next [*sic*], I am afraid neither I nor the Government of India will approve of this, since they are not quite fit for such a high position having no experience of an Indian State at all. But as regards the third person, I am ready to take him on certain conditions provided he gives me a written assurance that he will be useful and helpful to the State (in this difficult time when the Indian States are to play their respective role)—a proposal of mine with which the British Resident agrees. In fact, His Excellency the Viceroy already knows this and thinks my proposal a good one.

In the end, as you yourself say, the selection of the President of Council is entirely on the choice and discretion of the Ruler and nobody else, is true provided the Crown Representative also should [*sic*] approve of the arrangement as this is an important question to decide after taking everything into consideration.

I trust you have understood how things stand in this connection, and I shall be glad to see you in June next as some other gentlemen of high position are also coming here on my invitation in that month, since I know them for a long time for the discussion of the burning topics of the day.

Hope you are keeping well, notwithstanding the great strain you are undergoing on account of the Muslim League work.

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

[1]The original letter contains several errors of expression, etc. Minimum changes have, however, been made in the printed text.

[2]No. 59.

70

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 113/14

NEW DELHI,
1 May 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I consider it necessary to draw your immediate attention to the very serious situation that has developed in Assam owing to the oppressive policy of mass eviction of Muslim immigrants that is being pursued by the Congress Government there.

I have been receiving telegrams and reports from responsible Muslim leaders that the houses of hundreds of Muslim immigrants are being systematically demolished, their food crops being destroyed—and this too in these days of scarcity and famine. The evicted persons are not only being rendered homeless and destitute, but even being denied the facilities of rationed articles from Government-controlled supply agencies being available to them. Punitive measures are being taken against Muslim League workers, working for the relief of the sufferers.

During my recent visit to Assam, I had discussed the question of impending evictions with Sir Andrew Clow, the Governor, and pointed out to him the serious consequences that would follow if the policy of mass eviction was pursued by the Government. I understand that Sir Andrew Clow has gone on leave and a new Governor has taken over [the] charge.

The ruthless execution of this vindictive policy by the Congress Government has created an explosive situation, consequences of which it is difficult to foretell.

I would request you kindly to give your personal attention to this matter and take immediate steps to protect the Muslim immigrants from atrocities by the Congress Government in Assam.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

71

M. A. Jinnah to Habib I. Rahimtoola

SHC, Bombay II/9

2 May 1946

Dear Mr. Habib,

I have received your letter of the 29th April.[1]

As regards your seeing any member of the Cabinet Mission, in your personal capacity, I see no objection.

As regards the information about Mubarak Ali Khan,[2] I have noted it.

With reference to your making a brief report concerning your work on the Food Delegation, I think it will be useful.

You must have already learned from the newspapers that I am leaving for Simla on Saturday, the 4th instant, as the venue has now been changed from Delhi to Simla.

Thanking you for all the information that you have given me, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Habib I. Rahimtoola, Esq.,
Ismail Building,
Hornby Road,
Fort, Bombay

[1]No. 63.
[2]See Enclosure 2 to ibid.

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M. A. Jinnah to T. Ahmed Chaudhury

SHC, Students I/91

2 May 1946

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st April,[1] but I cannot approve of the caption, "Quaid-i-Azam's Message to Students and Youth", as that would be misleading. But you are at liberty to make any selection from my speeches and addresses that I delivered in public. You are also at liberty to write a short sketch of my life, but the title must not be as you propose. You can certainly compile a booklet under the caption "Selected Speeches and Addresses delivered by

Mr. Jinnah" and you can add to it a short sketch of my life.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

T. Ahmed Chaudhury, Esq.,
Kumarpara,
Sylhet, Assam

[1]No. 46.

73

Muslim Residents of Village Rodey to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/498-9
[Original in Urdu]

VILLAGE RODEY,
TEHSIL MOGA,
DIST. FEROZEPORE,
2 May 1946

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is submitted that we, the Muslims of Village Rodey, are under tremendous pressure for the last two months since we had voted for the Muslim League candidate. The Akali Party is teasing us, has made our life miserable and also keep[s] insulting us. We cannot go out to deposit our household refuse and even ease ourselves at home. We are at the mercy of God and have sent this letter surreptitiously. Kindly make some arrangements immediately for our safety.

The village *Panchayat* comprises Sikhs only which imposes fines on us by concocting false cases. It is even difficult for us to leave our residences. You are again requested to make necessary arrangements very urgently. We bank on Muslim League only. A Muslim candidate was put up by us for election to the *Panchayat* but he was forced to withdraw.

Yours obediently,
MUSLIM RESIDENTS OF VILLAGE RODEY

74

Zaffar Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/57

RAWALPINDI CITY,
2 May 1946

Dear Jinnah,

I have read in the newspapers that Allama Mashriqi, founder of Khaksar Movement, has put up a proposal, named 'Azad Muslim League', in front [*sic*] of all Muslims and all Muslim leaders so that all Muslim leaders may come on [to] one stage and fight for freedom.

Allama Mashriqi says that all parties should change their names and come in[to] 'Azad Muslim League' so as to fight for freedom unitedly against the British rule and not against the Hindus who are our neighbours.

As the question of freedom of India is in a very delicate position and there is also a question of life and death for the Indians, it would be a great misfortune and a great foolishness if Indians fight each other at this serious time.

On account of the above circumstances, I think that the proposal of 'Azad Muslim League' will be very useful for the Muslims of India and this will be a good luck for the Muslims if they are united at this serious time.

In this case, Allama Mashriqi seems to be quite honest as he has declared that I [*sic* for he] will be the first man to destroy myself [*sic* for himself] and my [*sic* for his] movement for the sake of Islam and for the sake of union among the Muslims if all other smaller parties come in[to] 'Azad Muslim League'.

Allama's proposal looks very peaceful and very useful for the freedom of India and union among the Musalmans of India.

As the time is very little [*sic* for short] and the condition of poor Muslims is growing worse day by day, I will request you to kindly join the 'Azad Muslim League' along with your party at once.

I assure you that if we all Muslims come under 'Azad Muslim League', it will be a great blessing of God for us and no power of the world will be able to stand against us. God be with us!

I am,

Yours obediently,
ZAFFAR MAHMOOD
B.A., LL.B.
Advocate

75

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (87)

P. O. AMHERST STREET,
CALCUTTA,
3 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I do not like to disturb you in midst of important negotiations. May *Allah* bless you with His infinite *nusrat* and crown your efforts with complete success! *Aameen*!

But I beg your permission to submit the following points for what is [*sic*] may be worth:

NO CONFEDERATION

Firstly, Muslims in East India do not at all accept any scheme of confederation, loose or tight, as they believe it will be only the thin [end of the] edge[*sic* for wedge] of Hindu fascism to dominate Muslim state and break Muslim integrity.

Secondly, there is no example of any successful confederation in history. It is mere theory.

Thirdly, a confederal union between two such diametrically opposed social organisms as Pakistan and Hindustan and two such peoples as democratic Muslims and caste-ridden fascist Hindus will be entirely incompatible and unworkable in practice. It will gain nothing and promote conflicts and discords from the very beginning.

ARE BRITISH SINCERE? IF SO, WHY THEY INSIST ON UNION?

Fourthly, if the British are really anxious to quit India and part with power why [do] they ideologically insist on confederation or union? Is it because they are not sincere and want to grind their own axe and keep British power in India as an arbiter between Pakistan and Hindustan in a confederation which can be maintained only by a third party or a foreign power?

PROBLEM OF DEFENCE

Fifthly, the question of the defence of, and of the relationship between, Pakistan and Hindustan can only be settled after and not before the creation of sovereign Pakistan.

Sovereign Pakistan will enter into treaty relations with Hindustan only after creation of Pakistan State. Pakistan State will be ready to sign a tripartite defence treaty with Britain and Hindustan for a definite period but never for all time to come.

6. Sixthly, the argument of having federal for confederal union for a defined period of five or fifteen years is only the death trap for Muslim India.

NO MUTILATION OF BENGAL, ASSAM OR THE PUNJAB

Muslims will not accept mutilation of the Punjab, Bengal or Assam. It will be most unjust to Muslims and most harmful to Bengali-speaking people of East India.

SOCIAL BIOLOGY OF BENGAL POPULATION PROBLEM

Firstly, it will be from the view-point [of] human geography or social biology of an impossibility because Bengal is not only the largest of all provinces in India but also the most thickly populated country [*sic*] in the world, its density of population being the highest in the world ranging over 779 per sq. mile and over 1000 per sq. mile in East Bengal. The rapidly growing population of Bengal is finding natural outlets of expansion in the sparsely populated valleys of the neighbouring countries of Arakan(with 63 person per sq.mile), Assam valley(219), Chota Nagpur(277 persons per sq. mile). Hence further restriction of the living space for the Bengalis will be disastrous for them.

The condition of the human geography and natural economy of the growing population of Bengal precludes any arbitrary vivisection of the Bengali-speaking zone of East India Delta region which is a self-contained cultural, geographic and economic unit. It will be a war against the time and the tide of the social biology of the population of Bengal.

ECONOMY AND RIVER SYSTEM OF BENGAL AND HER INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

Economic division or mutilation of Bengal and Assam will be ruinous for the national economy of the Bengali-speaking Delta region It will stunt its growth, cramp its industry and commerce and destroy all chances of developing and rationalizing its agriculture and irrigation system because it will make improvement and management of its river system and irrigation impossible. Its river must originate in Jharkhand.

FINANCIALLY BOTH OF THE DIVIDED BENGAL WILL BE RUINED

Financially Bengal has been most unjustly treated because the Centre has denied to Bengal the natural expansion of the resources of her revenue with the result that the biggest province of India is very low if not lowest in economic and national developments. Financially Bengal will be ruined by a further subtraction of its territory. Both of divided Bengals, viz. East Bengal and West

Bengal, will be bankrupt from the very start.

DIVISION WILL DISPLEASE BOTH

Politically, division of Bengal will please neither the Bengal Hindus nor the Bengal Muslims. It will displease both. It will be an unnecessary weakening of both the Muslims and the Hindus without any real gain to anyone.

Culturally it will destroy the union of the Bengali-speaking region of East India Delta region which has developed a very strong cultural and racial Bengali nationalism.

Practically speaking, separation of Burdwan Division will place this small island of supposed Hindu majority in a very disadvantageous position. The branch of Burdwan will be cut off from the trunk of the tree of Bengal but will not be able to be jointed[*sic*] with any other body. Burdwan can never be grafted with any other body-politic but Bengal. Burdwan will be more foreign in Bihar than it will be in Bengal. The Bengalis in Bihar know what is Biharism. Bengalis in Bihar are being treated like aliens.

JHARKHAND STATE OF ADIBASIS IS A BUFFER BETWEEN WEST BENGAL AND BIHAR

Geographically and ethnologically speaking, Burdwan cut-off from Bengal will also be cut-off from Hindustan because in between Western Bengal and Bihar proper intervenes the Adibasi country of Santal parganas and the Chota Nagpur Division which is not part of Bihar and which is not a Hindu majority province but the homeland of the pre-Aryan non-Hindu Hundari tribes and aborigines of India who are determined to form their independent Adibasi state of Jharkhand free from Bihar to Hindustan[*sic*]. Hence Jharkhand will divide Burdwan from Patna Division of Bihar. This is the most important argument against amputation of Burdwan from Bengal.

HARIANA PROVINCE

The proposal for Hariana Province is only a *Bania* device to mutilate Punjab and grab Delhi in Hindustan. Every brick of Delhi is sacred to Muslims and has been consecrated with the blood of a *shaheed*, saint, or a *sultan*, and the whole of Delhi-Shahjehanabad to be more correct is a standing monument of Islamic sovereignty, culture, and civilization.

Muslims were the majority in Delhi but the British after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857[1] destroyed and uprooted Muslims declaring them as a rebel community and enemy of British *raj*. Old families and *mohallas* were destroyed. Muslims were forbidden to enter or settle in the city till 1864. All the properties of Muslim nobles and families of Moghul

chiefs were auctioned out to Hindu *Banias* and *Mahajans*.

The wonderful renaissance of Muslim population and power in India after the Mutiny is a miracle. Muslims will never forget right to sovereignty over the Delhi Province consisting of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Member, Parliamentary Board,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League

[1]The abortive war of independence against the British leading to the deposition and incarceration of the last Moghul emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar. That a Muslim League leader should, in 1946, have seen fit to refer to the war as a mutiny is, to put it mildly, rather surprising.

76

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/245-6

AMIR MAHAL,
ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS,
4 May 1946

My dear leader,

A Ministry has been formed in Madras. Inasmuch as there is no Muslim in the legislature outside the Muslim League party, there could be no Muslim Minister. The leader of the League party here gave an interview to the Orient Press on the question of Muslim representation in the Ministry. A copy of the press cutting is enclosed herewith.[1] You will notice that the statement is couched in language which is neither dignified nor in accordance with the League policy, so far as I can understand it. We are not out to become Ministers somehow, unless and until the major question of Pakistan is settled. Without reference to this interview, I issued a statement (copy enclosed),[2] for I felt it my duty to keep the flag of the Muslim League as high as it ought to be. In this connection, I shall be thankful if you will kindly let me know whether yourself or the Nawabzada gave a direction to Mr. Mohammad Ismail, Leader of the League Legislative Party in Madras, to pursue the matter and get a place for a Muslim Leaguer in the Madras Ministry. In view of your recent advice to Mr. Chundrigar of Bombay against coalescing with the Congress in the Ministry, I felt [that] conditions being the same in Madras, we ought to follow the same policy.

So far as the tripartite conference is concerned, the Congress has once again deliberately or mischievously persisted in the old game of irritating Muslim Leaguers by selecting two Muslims out of four Congress representatives for this conference. They have, however, by this very act conceded the fact that Muslims are a separate nation to be treated on the basis of equality with the Hindus. Now that you have agreed to participate in this conference, the Congress press and the Congress leadership have persisted in their policy of united India and a strong Centre. I hope that the British Ministers are able to see through the game and realise that it is the Congress leadership that is really intransigent and obstructing the progress of the country towards independence. They cannot, any longer, charge the Muslim League with intransigence or obstructionist tactics. If the conference fails, the entire blame should be laid at the door of the Congress. They do not want independence. If at all they want power, they want its monopoly so that they could reduce the 100 million Muslims to the position of permanent helots. God forbid! Muslim India is not dependent for getting Pakistan at the hands [*sic*] of either the British Government or the Congress. It has acquired the necessary sanctions [*sic*] for wresting it with its own strength. *Insha Allah*, we will succeed very soon.

Wishing your efforts every success, and assuring you of the whole-hearted support of South Indian Muslims in the fight for freedom,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

[1&2]Not traceable.

77

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/22-4

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

While we admire whole-heartedly the courage with which you are carrying on your fight with the Hindu imperialists, we wish very much that you let the world know more clearly and unequivocally why you want Pakistan. No doubt the resolutions of the recent

Muslim Legislators' Convention[1] have gone a great [*sic*] way to explain your position, but I hope it will be possible to clarify the points still further. At the same time, is it not possible to state the conditions to be fulfilled if under any circumstance Pakistan should agree to be a member of a federation or confederation or co-operate with Hindustan for any common purpose? I venture to give a few suggestions to explain what I mean.

Why Muslims want Pakistan?

i. Hindus and Muslims are divided into two peoples, not because of any fundamental differences in political ideology or programme in the sense in which western peoples understand politics.
ii. Hindus and Muslims are divided not because of the intolerant religious attitude either of the Hindu or the Muslim. In religious matters no two communities in the world have shown greater mutual toleration and appreciation than them.
iii. The Hindus and Muslims are separated not because of anything done by the Muslims or because the Muslims want to remain separate.
iv. The Hindus and the Muslims of India are unalterably separated into two peoples by the social organisation of the Hindus based on the hereditary castes which keep them as two aliens from birth through life to death.
v. The Hindus themselves are divided into hundreds of exclusive castes without any bond of common destiny and equal fellowship or hope of unification.
vi. However much the Muslims might try to identify their destiny with that of the Hindus, the castes will keep them eternal strangers without any community feeling or social intercourse. It is not possible for the Muslims and the Hindus to become one people as in other countries of the world. In no other country in the world, except India, are the different religious communities prevented from enjoying a common social life as equal citizens.
vii. It is, therefore, the Hindus who have, throughout the centuries, treated all other religionists as aliens and untouchables and refused to associate with them. It is the Hindus who have compelled the Muslims to remain a distinct nation without any hope of unification.
viii. Two centuries of common subjection to British rule and enforced political unity have not brought the two peoples

any nearer in their lives. They are mutually untouchables.

ix. If the Hindus and the Muslims cannot live together as one people as in other countries, there is no meaning in yoking them to a mechanical political unity. It will mean complete frustration to the minority community and constant friction to the majority.

x. Political independence is not merely a question of advantage or practical convenience. It is a supreme question of man's self-respect and dignity. The Hindus want to be masters in their own land, sovereign rulers without any taint of domination by Britain or any other power. Muslims want the same thing for themselves. They want to be masters in their land without any taint of domination by the Hindus.

xi. If theH indus want provincial autonomy for the Hindu provinces, the Muslims want it for the Muslim provinces. The Hindus want to protect their culture, and so the Muslims want to protect their culture. The Hindus want to redistribute the provinces on a cultural basis, and that is what the Muslims also daim. If the Hindu provinces want to unite iato federation, the Muslim provinces want to be free to do likewise. If the Hindu *Rajas* want to retain their sovereignty, the Muslim *Rajas* also would retain it. The Hindus want political rights in proportion to their numerical strength, and so do the Muslims in every way. The Muslim claims are based on perfect mutuality in every way.

2. The Muslims are prepared to preserve the internal unity of India on a strictly mutual basis as stated below:

a. Hindu India and Muslim India can unite as two equal and sovereign States by treaties or agreements made for common objectives.

b. If the Hindus want political unity in India, they must first concede equal and common and free citizenship and a common social life for all without the exclusiveness of caste. This they have to do first among themselves and then extend equality and common social life and citizenship to the non-Hindus. Until then, they have no moral claim to political unity.

c. If two independent States like Pakistan and Hindustan are likely to endanger the peace of India or offer scope for aggression by other parties, the Muslims will be prepared to accept any condition which the Hindus accept providing for the surrender of certain powers to the U.N.O. for preserving peace between the two countries and for preventing aggression.

3. The Muslim claims are based on perfect mutuality, but the Hindus want to be treated as a majority all over India and to keep the Muslims as a minority. The Hindus want to be supreme masters in their land but they will not concede that right to the Muslims in their land. The Hindus want to preserve their insulting social exclusiveness and separate nationality, but would compel the Muslims to disown their nationality. The Hindus want political rights in proportion to their number, but would not allow the Muslims their rights according to their numerical strength. The Hindu claim is like one [*sic*] claim of a conqueror who has a right to impose terms on the conquered by sheer force of numerical superiority and strength.

Yours truly,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM
General Secretary,
Indian Social Congress

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 4.

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A. Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1122/55

21 BIRDWOOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 May 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Do please glance through the attached note—at least the portions marked in the margin.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
A. AZIZ

Enclosure to No. 78

F. 1122/56-8

THE CORRECT MUSLIM ATTITUDE

THE OBJECTIVE

Our objective is not interminable arguments but a practical solution that secures us freedom from a Hindu-dominated centre

and gives us real power (complete and unfettered) in areas where we have a workable majority. No Muslim has any intention of denying a similar right to Hindus. Every Muslim desires to live in peace with his Hindu neighbour in Pakistan as well as in Hindustan. Muslim feeling is strongly in favour of just and friendly treaties with Britain and also with Hindustan. It is scandalously malicious to say that Muslims desire to establish any kind of theocratic government in Muslim areas. Muslim ambition is to ensure that in Pakistan at least, there will be no legislative and executive discrimination based on religious or sectarian differences. Muslims are sincere advocates of the policy of helping the backward and of securing complete equality as regards civil liberties.

THE POLICY

Muslim policy is honest and straightforward. A confederation (much more so a federation) has grave disadvantages even from the Hindu point of view. Muslims are sincere in their desire to join a Union if the Union functions with regard to agreed subjects such as Defence, Foreign Affairs, etc., provided it is assured that the Union will have no legislative powers as regards taxation. The Union may legislate as regards questions of procedure (not judicial) in so far as such legislation is necessary to invest officials with power to carry out their duties. Funds for Defence and Foreign Affairs must be secured through agreed contributions from the units that join the Union.

The Congress is now perhaps resiling from the position repeatedly admitted by all Congress leaders, that units should have the right of secession. In the Simla Conference this point should be ventilated but if possible the right of secession may be kept in abeyance for as long as British troops in India can be relied upon for preserving peace between the component elements of the Union. As regards the composition of the Indian Army of the future, it should be settled that racial proportion should be on the pre-1913 basis and members of the Union should have complete liberty to enlist and train territorial battalions for internal security as auxiliaries to the police.

Mass Muslim action, unless it is absolutely necessary, is inadvisable for sometime to come. It is an easy threat to indulge in, but a difficult task to carry out in a sustained effective manner. Whatever is ineffective is suicidal.

OUR DIPLOMACY

As far as possible, we should, consistently with our national self-respect, avoid the accusation that the burden of failure rests on

Muslim shoulders. Every possible means should be devised to shift the burden of failure to the Congress totalitarian mentality. It will be the height of wisdom to appear to be accommodating without sacrificing essentials. What matters most is the freedom from Hindu domination over Muslim areas. A few hundred square miles or a few hundred thousand people this way or that do not matter so much as the acceptance of the principle that our claim is just. Miles and men can wait. Power once lost may not come again for a longish bit of time and may involve us in a dreary struggle, the end of which no one can foresee. What is recommended is not undignified submission. That would be an eternal disgrace. A wise course has to be adopted that secures reasonable but real independence. Our arms must always be open to embrace all those (the Princes, the Untouchables and other non-Congress elements) who are convinced that we are the true advocates of practical Indian independence.

If we fail in diplomacy, that is, if we alienate the sympathy of those who are in favour of Pakistan, we fail in our policy. The consequence will be utter failure and the Muslims may succumb to a dismal kind of defeatist mentality. Danger will come to us not from our traitors but from the lukewarmness of our non-Muslim supporters. We must woo the non-Muslim Pakistani with real diplomatic skill.

A.AZIZ

79

Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah[1]

SHC, Punjab III/64

AMBALA CITY,
4 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Today was a day of shame for me and I do not know how I can show my face to the three hundred Muslims of Ambala City who, evading an order under Sec.144 Cr.P.C. (prohibiting assemblage of more than four persons anywhere within a five-mile radius of Ambala City), had gathered six miles away from the City on the roadside merely in order to see you just for a minute or so.

I wrote, wired and prayed you personally to stop your car at that spot. I even requested you to allow me to sit in your car by the side of the driver because I thought this was the best way of avoiding a

mistake. But, as fate would have it, you refused my request for a lift, your car did not stop, and the three hundred persons who had undertaken the six-mile journey had to thank their [lucky] stars and return disappointed and broken-hearted. They were taunted by someone who said, "A Congress Minister would stop his car even if one man signed to him to do so, but the Quaid-i-Azam does not care for even three hundred Muslims."

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG

[1]See No. 85.

80

Muhammad Amin el-Husseini to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (88)

PARIS,
5 May 1946

To the great brother and leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah. May God protect him!
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have heard your statement [1]commenting on the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry on Palestine appointed by the British and the Americans and I thank you very much and I take this occasion to request you to redouble your effort in the matter of supporting your brothers, the Muslims of Palestine, in their struggle to drive away the most unjust people in history who are without an equal [*sic*]. We are today hanging between life and death and it is not hidden from anybody and you know it very well that the Muslims of Palestine alone cannot drive away these unjust people—the Jews and their brothers in England and the Americans. For this purpose all Muslims should join together to help and back the Palestine Muslims. Otherwise the Muslims of Palestine will be swallowed by the English and the Americans and the Jews. God may not allow it for otherwise[*sic*].

MUHAMMAD AMIN EL-HUSSEINI
Mufti of Palestine

[1]In a press statement on 1 May, Jinnah had described the Anglo-American Committee Report as "the grossest betrayal of the promises made to Arabs". See F. 810/2, *QAP*. Not printed.

81

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1133/183-4

AMMAN,
7 May 1946

Transjordan striking today in strong protest against the severest blow the Arabs and Muslims ever received since the days of the Moors. Is looking forward for [*sic* for to] the great assistance and valuable backing of the rightful leader of all Muslims of India expecting using to the utmost his good offices in putting an end to the recommendations of the Jewish Anglo-American Committee on Palestine.[1]

AN ARAB YOUTH

[1]The Committee had, *inter alia*, recommended that (i) 100,000 of the Jews persecuted in Nazi Germany (the Third Reich) should be admitted into Palestine immediately; (ii) until Jewish-Arab hostility had yielded to detente, Palestine should continue to be governed by Britain under the mandate given to it by the League of Nations after World War I; and (iii) Palestine should be neither a Jewish nor an Arab state. The Committee suggested no maximum annual rate or figure for immigration into Palestine and felt that this was for the Government of Palestine to determine. See No. 143, note 2, *TP*, VII, 341.

82

Mohammed Hassan Kubba to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 479/15-7

BAGHDAD,
7 May 1946

The whole Iraqi nation condemns the recommendations of Anglo-American Committee on Palestine [which] aims at utter destruction of very existence of Arab nation in Palestine, tantamount to open conspiracy between Committee and British-American sympathisers of Zionism for the oppression of all Arabs and Muslims in utter contempt of their dignity and violation of their rights. I am authorized by decision of Chamber of Deputies in its session held 5th May 1946 to condemn and protest against cruel recommendations denying justice to the rights of the Arab and Muslim nations. We therefore consider impossible implementation of such recommendations which will inevitably lead to disturbance of peace

and tranquillity in the countries of the Middle East.

MOHAMMED HASSAN KUBBA
President,
Iraqi Chamber of Deputies

83

Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 469/40-9
[Extracts][1]

YUSUF CASTLE,
NAWAB YUSUF ROAD,
JAUNPUR, U.P.,
7 May 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to congratulate you on masterly statesmanship with which you are carrying on negotiations with the Cabinet Mission and the Congress.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

I am positive that no scheme other than that of a confederation of Hindu and Muslim zones, building a sort of a central body for the purposes of defence and intimately allied matters on the basis of treaties and engagements between three parties and later on bringing in Indian States and thus creating a Union for the purposes of defence and very closely allied matters, will be realistic and sound.

The crux of the matter probably would be whether you would have a right to secede from the Union under certain conditions or you will merge yourself in the Union permanently for the purposes of defence and connected matters with power to enter into bilateral agreements and engagements for economic and internal defence purposes.

EXISTENCE OF ZAMINDARI SYSTEM

There is a vital matter which concerns a very important section of the Muslim nation, namely the existence of the zamindari system. We have rightly embodied in the Lahore Resolution that you will extend protection to the economic minorities also but it is obvious that a very wide application of this principle may not be free from difficulties. However, in view of the fact that the Muslims are mainly agriculturists, leaving out a few provinces where no zamindari system practically exists, and it will be a long time before there is

industrial development in the Muslim nation, agricultural expansion on modern lines is of vital importance for the Muslims, and zamindars can easily fit into the rural economy of the country in this democratic age. Zamindars can play an important part in the rural areas in helping cottage industry, small-scale industry, and even in some cases comparatively larger scale industries, and thus building the economic wealth of the nation on the basis of private enterprise along with the fully nationalized industry and large-scale industry controlled by the State.

There are twenty-two lakhs of zamindars, big and small, in U.P., and their life is linked with more than ten million people whose livelihood is dependent upon the existence of zamindars as they are really the creators of these provinces and so far as there is no class to be compared with them or to replace them. There is room for economic development for all classes and there is no occasion for economic struggle and strife on the basis of class hatred. In fact the elimination of zamindars will create a great crisis in the United Provinces, as probably in some other provinces also, and it will do tremendous harm to the Muslim zamindars who are a very important section of the Muslim nation. I hope you will kindly see that the question of abolition of the zamindari system should be put beyond the power of legislators.

When I had my interview with the [Cabinet] Mission they assured me that they are inclined to use their good offices but obviously they cannot fight for it as they were offering independence in one form or the other to the Indian peoples.

Ch. Khaliquzzaman has raised a cry that the capitalist and the zamindari systems should simultaneously be abolished, that is to say when the industry is nationalized, zamindari should also be nationalized. It will only amount to confiscation of lands with some compensation and thus committing economic murder of the zamindars.

The question of adjustment of interests between zamindars and tenants and regulation of relations may be desirable while the question of elimination and destruction of zamindars should not be permitted in the conditions and circumstances of India.

I hope you will very kindly give your first consideration to this problem as soon as constitutional questions are solved.

THE ABOLITION OF TITLES

The next important question is: should there be an occasion for you to call upon us to make all sacrifices. It should not necessarily

take the form of abolition of titles as the title-holders should make all sacrifices demanded of them without renouncing titles. This is a form of recognition and encouragement to those from whom efficient service and large-hearted benevolence is expected. It is absurd to say that the conferment of titles is an introduction of inequality between man and man. With a view to provide incentive and motive power for men to do their work honestly and efficiently and for the encouragement of private benevolence, the importance of titles cannot be sufficiently emphasised in a country like India where titles have been conferred during the Hindu period and particularly during the Muslim period and further during the British period upholding the titles introduced during the Moghal period along with the British titles. For the purposes of agitation and protest, this might have had some value to impress the British Government but that phase is rapidly passing.

I am forwarding you a copy of the Memorandum[2] submitted by me to the Cabinet Mission on behalf of the Agra Province Zamindars Association, Allahabad, which is a non-political body and does not run for any election but confines itself to pressing for the protection of the fundamental rights of the zamindars.

I am sorry to have inflicted a lengthy letter on you. I hope you will forgive me.

With best respects to Miss Jinnah and you,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD YUSUF
Nawab, Knight

[1]Some portions laden with repetitive details, omitted.
[2]See F. 469/50-4, *QAP*. Not printed.

84

H. M. Sami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 435/1-2

ROOM NO. 21,
HOTEL MARINA,
NEW DELHI,
7 May 1946

Dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Nobody is more keenly alive to and grieved by the present

deplorable plight of the Muslims in commerce and industry than your goodself. All these years, you have been impressing upon Musalmans in general and the educated class in particular, to make up and move with times and endeavour to better their economic condition by taking more and more to modern business.

I take this opportunity of assuring you that the transparent sincerity with which the advice was offered has had its deep impression and that the Muslim educated class has appreciably inclined towards business. The first practical step in this direction, which a couple of friends of mine and myself took, was to lay foundation of U.P. Muslim Chamber of Commerce with its headquarters at Cawnpore. Ceaselessly working for it we have made this Chamber stand shoulder to shoulder with the oldest European and Hindu Chambers in U.P.

Scarcity of cotton cloth during the war and to a great extent the channel of its distribution in the hands of Hindus, made the necessity of a Muslim cotton mill in U.P. very keenly felt. I ventured to take up the matter and placed it before the Muslim Chamber which entrusted the formation of a suitable scheme for the establishment of a cotton mill, to me. With the approval and guidance of the Chamber, I applied last year to the Govt. of India for the installation of a medium-size cotton mill in U.P. After strenuous efforts I have now succeeded in obtaining a licence for 25,000 spindles and 500 looms.

At this stage, I am faced with certain vital problems of policy and therefore, desire to see you in this connection and to have your valuable guidance and blessings. You have been very busy during the past two months and still greater work lies ahead for you, but still I do hope that you will be very kindly pleased to spare a few minutes for me at your convenience.

I came down to Delhi on the 1st instant for this very purpose, but due to your more important engagements I did not dare ask for an interview. I shall be grateful if you could spare a few minutes at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,
H. M. SAMI
Member, Legislative Council, UP

85

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Bhik Nairang

SHC, Punjab III/65

SIMLA,
7 May 1946

Dear Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang,

I have received your letter of the 4th May,[1] and I am extremely sorry that you should have felt hurt. I did not know that there was any order under Section 144, and that some people had gathered outside the limit of the application of that order, six miles away from the city.

As regards my not being able to accommodate you in the car, the only reason was that there was no room. On the way, I did not see really any large number of people, but now you have drawn my attention that there were some people, but unfortunately my car passed. This was not the only place where people in small number had gathered together on the roadside. You must remember that we had to get through within the scheduled time.

I am really surprised that over this small incident, you should have been taunted by some people saying, "A Congress Minister would stop his car even if one man signed to him to do so, but the Quaid-i-Azam does not care for even 300 Muslims." I do not think I deserve this, and you know it. It must be some irresponsible person who could have said this, and I know that this is the cause of our having gone down as a nation, because if a Musalman is displeased in however small a matter, his temper is uncontrollable and he does not make any allowance from the point of view of the other side or the position of the other party, but condemns him without any explanation, unheard and in the strongest terms. But I feel, thank God, Musalmans are getting more disciplined, considerate and thoughtful, which is a bright sign for the making of our nation.

However, please convey to those, who had assembled six miles away from the city, my thanks for their regard and respect for me, and I hope that they will understand how this happened.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Esq.,
Ambala City

[1]No. 79.

86

M. A. Sattar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1107/238

38 WELLESLEY STREET,
CALCUTTA,
8 May 1946

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to forward herewith copy of a resolution unanimously passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslims' Association, held on 4th May, 1946, for favour of necessary action.

Yours fraternally,
M. A. SATTAR
Assistant Secretary,
Assam Muslims' Association

Enclosure to No. 86

F. 1107/239

4 May 1946

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslims' Association (Calcutta) places on record its strong condemnation of the barbarous atrocities that are being ruthlessly perpetrated by the fascist Congress Government of Assam on the innocent immigrants who settled down years ago as promising and hard-working cultivators in several places in the Sub-Divisions of Barpeta, Gauhati, Mangaldai and Tejpur. These immigrants, through their continuous and hard labour and strenuous fight against malaria, *kala azar* and wild animals, reclaimed the jungles and converted them into golden fields of rich crops and thereby contributed substantially towards health, wealth and prosperity of the province. The Government of Assam, it appears, at the dictates of a most dangerously discriminatory policy and impeachable political consideration of devilish kind, have taken pride in punishing these immigrants instead of rewarding them by taking recourse to all possible barbarities which any other civilized government of the present age would have felt ashamed of, in evicting them from their homesteads, destroying their crops and razing their huts to the ground with the help of elephants and armed

police, without any sanction of law.

The Committee think it necessary in view of the unspeakable sufferings and miseries of these immigrants to sound a note of warning to the Government of Assam against the dire consequences of their satanic activities.

This Committee feel it their paramount duty to draw the pointed attention of the Muslim League, the Government of Bengal, and the Government of India to the serious situation in Assam as it is fraught with dangerous possibilities and earnestly appeals to them to take full cognizance of the facts in order to save the lives and properties of thousands of Muslims who have, by a cruel irony of fate, been helpless victims of a planned persecution by the Congress *raj* of Assam.

The Committee urge upon each and every Muslim of India to come to the rescue of these unfortunate Muslim immigrants who have been rendered homeless and penniless by the cruel persecution of the *Akhand Hindustanwallas* and earnestly appeal to all to contribute liberally to the relief fund started for the purpose by the Assam Provincial Muslim League.

87

M. Shahabuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/258

SYLHET,
8 May 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Accept my best compliments. When I met you last, your goodself was so much overwhelmed with various problems of Assam that refrained [*sic*] me from discussing an important matter like this, which I am now taking the liberty to discuss. I am confident that you will graciously give due consideration to the matter. Let me inform your goodself at the outset that we, Surma Valley people, [were] dragged into the geography of Assam unwillingly, but we developed our culture and civilisation on a quite different footing. The All India Congress gives a right to Surma Valley Hindus to form the Surma Valley Congress Committee but in our case, I mean the Muslim League, we are treated differently although our problems are quite different to those of Assam Valley, linguistically as well as geographically. Beloved leader, my humble prayer to you is to

allow us to form a separate Surma Valley Provincial Muslim League. This Surma Valley Provincial Muslim League will have direct affiliation with All India Muslim League. I have further proposed to launch a campaign to establish a separate Govt., named Surma Govt., comprising the Districts of Sylhet, Cacher, Goalpara, Garo, Lushai Hills and Khashi Jainta Hills. It will be a Muslim majority province and we can easily join with the Pakistan Govt. The population of the proposed Govt. [*sic*] according to the 1931 census is nearly 46,16,955 and it has increased now correspondingly. If we are dragged to Bengal we will have no existence there, I mean if only Sylhet joins. There is not the least possibility of dragging from [*sic*] the whole of Assam into Pakistan Zone whatever may be our arguments. When we snatch away the districts, outlined above, the rest of Assam will be bound to join us or they will be perished [*sic*] in no time. You have also been kind enough to declare that groupings within Pakistan will be allowed. I, therefore, trust that your goodself will allow us (i) to form a separate Surma Valley Provincial Muslim League and (ii) to agitate to create a separate Govt. comprising the districts indicated above.

Awaiting your hopeful reply and assuring your goodself [of] my continuous services at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,
M. SHAHABUDDIN
President,
Primary Muslim League

88

M. A. Jinnah to Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram

F. 487/36

SIMLA,
9 May 1946

Dear Mrs. Rallia Ram,

I have received your letter of 4th May[1] and I thank you for it.

I am glad that you have made a few suggestions, as to why Muslims want Pakistan and they are very useful. I read your letter

with very great interest and I see that you appreciate our point of view.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram,
5 Masson Road,
Lahore

[1]No. 77.

89

L. A. Mohamed Yaseen to Abul Kalam Azad
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 831/124

DISTRICT TANJORE,
CAMP KOOTHANALLUR,
9 May 1946

Dear Moulana Sahib,

I am thankful to you for your esteemed telegram[1] from Simla in reply to my telegram dated 2-5-1946[2] [from] Koothanallur, and in compliance with your request for a detailed letter, I want to submit the following account of the grievances of Muslims in this district.

During the last few days a movement is spreading among the Hindus for various oppressive and embarrassing actions to be brought upon [*sic*] the Muslims on account of their political creed. Having failed to enlist the support of the Muslim public for the Congress in the recently concluded Provincial Assembly elections, the Congress Hindus have decided to bring about social boycott of the Muslims who are only 7 per cent of the population in the Province. After the announcement of the results, which clearly indicated the solid support of the Muslims for the Muslim League, this new attitude of the Hindus has widened the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims.

There is a set motive to begin the mischief in places where Muslims are small in number. Hindus are called upon to stop buying from and selling to the Muslims; agricultural labourers are prevented from working in Muslims' fields. The public are informed by tom-tom to end all relations with the Muslims. Muslims are prevented from

bathing in public tanks. Congress volunteers obstruct people from buying from Muslims' shops whose owners refuse to fly Congress flags on their shops. Muslims are told that such activities will be stopped if they undertake to sign the Congress pledge. Local Congress leaders are responsible for these activities.

I give below the names of three villages in our district where such incidents are taking place:

i. Ammapet in Papanasam *Taluk*
ii. Thirunageswaram in Kumbakonam *Taluk*
iii. Orthanadu in Pattukottai *Taluk*

A few prominent Congress leaders are taking an active part in these matters. Their names are given below:

a. Sardar A. Vedaratnam Pillai, MLA
b. Mr. Krishnaswamy Vandayar, MLA
c. Mr. Gopalakrishna Iyer of Mulangudi in Mannargudi *Taluk.*

Muslims in these places are economically and educationally backward and they are utterly helpless to face the new ordeal. You know how difficult it will be for them to carry on the activities of their daily life under such embarrassing conditions. How civil life is possible if political differences are allowed to enter into daily routine of life in a country of many communities? Are such activities compatible with Congress policy and programme? Therefore, I believe very much that you will take serious view of the situation and do the needful to redress the grievances of the Muslims in this Province.

Yours truly,
L. A. M. YASEEN
Secretary,
District Muslim League

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad,
President,
All India National Congress,
Simla

[1&2]Not traceable.

90

Bashir Ahmad Chaudhari to M. K. Gandhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 883/530

M/S SHAHNAWAZ COMPANY,
2 MCLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
10 May 1946

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have long been hearing the Congress and the Muslim League points of view regarding one or two-nation theory in India. The Indian National Congress has, right from the beginning, advocated the one-nation theory and still holds on to it with unabated zeal in spite of counter-propaganda by the Muslim League.

If the Congress argument that the Hindus and the Muslims are one holds water and you are in support of it, I should like to request you to take notice of the contents of the enclosed letter from a Hindu gentleman, Mr. J. S. Bindra, [to] whom I had applied in good faith for a bungalow owned by him and lying vacant at present. The last and the golden line of the said sweet letter speaks volumes for the one nation theory! Does it not suggest that the Hindus and Musalmans are poles apart? This line has been underlined in red to draw your pointed attention to the farcical character of the Congress propaganda.

Kindly throw some light thereon and return the original letter and oblige.

Yours very sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD CHAUDHARI

Enclosure to No. 90
J. S. Bindra to Bashir Ahmad Chaudhari

F. 883/531

105 C BLOCK,
MODEL TOWN,
LAHORE,
[*Undated May 1946*]

Dear Sir,

In reference to your letter, dated 29.10.46 [*sic*], I wish to inform

you that you are welcome to come and see the house any evening between 5 to 6.30 p.m. after 12th instant. The house (105 C Block) is situated near lorry-stand, Model Town (C Block Hut). There are two bedrooms, two bathrooms, one hall, one spare room, one sitting room, one dining room, one pantry, one kitchen and one *Barsati* besides a garage. The rent will be Rs. 250 per month. Rs. 1,000 for four months (25.5.46 to 24.9.46). Rent will be payable in advance. There is plenty of furniture and it will include carpets, curtains and pictures.

The house is available for non-Muslims only.

Yours faithfully,
J. S. BINDRA

91

Resolution Passed by Darjeeling Muslim League
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)
F. 835/144

DARJEELING,
10 May 1946

Allaho Akbar

Proceedings of the mass meeting of the Musalmans of Darjeeling and suburbs held under the presidentship of Mr. Hikmatullah, President, Town Muslim League, Darjeeling, on 10th May 1946 at the Jamia Masjid compound. The following resolution was passed unanimously:

RESOLUTION

Resolved unanimously that the Musalmans of Darjeeling and suburbs are shocked by the Anglo-American Commission Report on Palestine, published recently, and condemn the same vehemently. That the Report of the Commission is the grossest betrayal of promises made to the Arabs and to the Muslims of India as well. And this meeting of the Muslims urges upon the British Government not to implement its recommendations as it will create a very serious situation. In case anything contrary is done and proper steps are not taken by the British Government to subdue [*sic*] the Report, then the Muslims of Darjeeling will not hesitate a bit to sacrifice their all for their suffering Muslim brethren of Palestine.

GHULAM MUSTAFA
Secretary, Town Muslim League

92

M. Hamidullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 895/160-1

KATALMANDI,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
13 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is reported that on 9th April, you observed in your concluding remarks to the convention of the Muslim Legislators to the following effect:

> Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah observed, was not going to be a theocratic state. Religion of course played an important part in a nation's life. But there were other aspects which were vital for a nation's existence. Social, economic and political life were the main pillars which would enable them to live according to their faith. With their social life demoralised and economically ruined and with no political power, they would not defend their faith. (*Hindu*, Madras, 11 April 1946)

This, if it has been correctly reported, means that a Quranic State does not provide, or ill-provides, for the economic, social and political interests of the subjects of a Muslim State. The present 'social demoralisation, economic ruin and political impotency' of the Muslims are neither due to, nor in accordance with, the religious teachings of our faith. Just the contrary. With the enforcement of Quranic morality, we shall improve socially, develop economically and get powerful politically.

I hope you have been misquoted. If not, will you allow me to dispel what seems to me to be a misapprehension of the Quranic teachings in some detail in a subsequent letter? Surely, I do not want to embarrass you publicly. You are the shrewdest Muslim in the world. You are neither in the habit of playing opportunism nor making compromises on vital issues. If you say anything, you mean to say that. That is exactly why I want some clarification on the point at issue. For, I can assure you, many of your most sincere and disinterested supporters were shocked to read this utterance which is in substance an expansion of an interview[1] of yours to APA a couple of weeks or so ago.

I know you are busy in extremely important negotiations and the Muslims require to present a most solid front. Believe me, that is exactly why I have troubled you with these few lines in the most sincere spirit. Theocracy does not mean monasticism for the Muslims.

Sovereignty of God in Islam embraces all walks of life, and this is for the good of man.

Most sincerely yours,
M. HAMIDULLAH
Osmania University

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 592-3.

93

Aftab Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/27

LALAZAR,
BAGHBANPURA, LAHORE,
13 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am being pressed by a number of friends that I should stand for election from the constituency of the late Malik Barkat Ali. I wonder whether you remember me. I am the eldest son of Sir Muhammad Iqbal and have had the privilege of meeting you several times both in England and in India. Last time, I saw you in New Delhi in 1942 when I was trying for the principalship of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi.

I received my university education in England and was called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1931. During the nine years I spent in England and abroad I travelled extensively and took keen interest in politics. Since my return from Europe I have been a teacher, a Government servant and a practising barrister. Although I have been deeply interested in the politics of my own province it was not until a few months ago that I joined the Muslim League organisation. I may tell you that before joining the League I was not a member of any political organisation in the country, but I now feel that I must come forward and take an active share in the work of the country. If you decide to lend me your powerful support by giving me the League ticket I can assure you that you will not find your confidence misplaced. The spirit that I have inherited from my late father is more and more asserting itself in me as I grow older in age and experience and I ask you to give me an opportunity to express it. You will wonder why I did not come into the forefront before. My

answer is that politics in the Punjab has been a very dirty game ever since the Unionist regime came into existence leaving hardly any room for a decent man to step in. Moreover, I have for years been a victim of green-eyed jealousy in my own province. I must say that even the League organisation here is not quite free from self-seekers who will not permit any well-educated and spirited man to come in so that their own personal interests may not suffer. If with your support and encouragement I succeed in getting into the Assembly, I am confident I shall prove to be a source of strength to the Muslim cause.

Kindly let me know[1] whether I can see you in Delhi any day convenient to you.

I am,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Yours obediently and affectionately,
AFTAB IQBAL

[1]Jinnah replied saying that the ML constitution vested him with no power or authority in the matter of by-elections and that the constitution and rules of ML be adhered to. See *SHC*, Punjab II/28. Not printed.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (89)

CALCUTTA,
14 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

PAINFUL RESENTMENT—WHY THIS SURRENDER TO CENTRE?

There is a very painful and deep feeling of resentment among the Musalmans of Bengal on the League's acquiescence, in theory, in a Union Centre and the outcome of the Simla Conference. Muslims question why you agreed to consider a Union Centre or a Union Scheme at all after the fighting speeches and solemn resolution[1] of the Delhi Muslim [Legislators'] Convention. Was it all for mere show? Is Pakistan a mere slogan of bargaining for securing Muslim parity at the Centre of the one-nation, one-state, one-sovereignty state of India? What is this unnatural, undemocratic parity of Hindus and Muslims and how long such an unheard-of thing can last in

opposition of the entire Hindu community and in face of all trends of history and sociology? How Muslims will protect themselves if this safeguard is scrapped in five years?

CONGRESS THE ALL-GAINER—LEAGUE THE ALL-LOSER AT SIMLA

The one and only gain of the Simla Conference II is for the Congress who now knows that the League has accepted a Centre and will have to bow down to a Centre. The League is all the loser and the *Akhandist* Congress is all the gainer. The British have discovered that the League is ready and will be ready to accept a Centre. The Muslims have lost faith in the League cries of a fight and believe it to be a fraud. The League has lost both face and faith.

SLEEPLESS NIGHTS—WHERE IS THE SOVEREIGNTY OF PAKISTAN?

To tell you the truth I could not sleep for two nights as I was absorbed in painful thinking why you agreed to consider plans of a Centre at all at any cost? Where is the sovereignty of Pakistan when you accept a compulsory Centre with plenary inherent powers, executive, legislative or fiscal, or even only executive? It appears the League has stabbed the Muslim *millat* in the back just at the time of first trial. Does it mean that the League is incapable of leading the Muslim nation in a real *jihad* for Pakistan? If so, then why should Muslims pin faith in[*sic*] the League of job-hunters? These are my painful feelings which I have not expressed to any man on the earth and which I am unbosoming to you for the first time. I may be wrong and mistaken but that is my feeling and that is my reading of the situation. Why the League is fleeing from a real show-down, a real fight?

Now, will you kindly permit me to write to you frankly what I genuinely and sincerely feel in my heart of hearts about the Simla Conference No. I and No.II and the League's role in it? I feel I will be guilty [before] my Maker if I fail to offer you the following criticism, which I am afraid may not be to your liking.

SIMLA NO.I

The Muslim League leader and the Muslim League was not right in acquiescing in the invitation of Abul Kalam Azad to the Simla Conference No. I of 1945. The League should have resolutely refused to sit together and discuss matters with Abul Kalam. This initial weakness, for it is nothing but weakness whatever one may choose to name it, became the source of many mischiefs.

THE SIN OF THINKING OF COMPROMISE WITH ARCH-EVIL OF INDIA
BANKRUPTCY OF DEFENSIVE LEAGUE POLICY

Even after the total failure of the defensive policy of the League

demonstrated during and after the Simla Conference and the Hindu offensive aggressions on Muslim solidarity by active interference in Muslim elections, the League has not at all cared to take offence which in fact is the only defence. It was the duty of the League to attack the citadel of Caste-Hindu power by actively and openly championing the cause of the down-trodden classes, the Dravidians, the Untouchables, the Adibasis, the Ahoms and Tribals of Assam and many other suppressed and oppressed peoples. The League should have pioneered and supported Islamic *tabligh*, Urdu *taleem*, political propaganda and economic revolt movements among these classes. This should have shaken Hindudom, shown its real place and revolutionized Indian politics and made the League the leader of whole India.

THE VERY IDEA OF COMPROMISE WITH HINDUDOM IS A CAPITAL SIN

The League politics is still keyed to wrong objective,. viz. settlement or compromise or agreement of Islam with Hinduism, of the Muslims with the Hindus, of the League with the Congress. But morally and religiously the very idea of this settlement of Islam with *Kufr*, of the League with the Congress, is a sin, more heinous and soul-consuming than Pakistan is a sin to Mr. Gandhi.

[Subsequent six paras omitted][2]

THE WAY OUT FROM THE SIMLA MIRE

What is the way out from the Simla precipice? In my opinion the way out is:

1. The League should retrace its steps and reaffirm its dogged resolution for complete separation without any Centre save and except [*sic*] a military alliance between sovereign Pakistan and sovereign Hindustan for 10 years, with a common agency vested with delegated powers charged to look into reciprocal, mutual and common subjects between the two equal sovereign states.

[Two paras omitted][3]

THE HINDU POSITION IN UNITED INDIA

(i) The Hindus are already complete masters of the Hindu Provinces and have established not only Hindu governments but Hinduizing government or governments charged with Wardha, Vidya Mandir Schemes of de-Muslimizing the Musalmans and breaking the political and cultural integrity of the Musalmans.

(ii) The Hindus will also dominate the Centre and through the Centre all the Muslim States and Muslim Provinces.

(iii) The Hindu fascists will very soon be in the position of not

only dreaming but realizing the Hindu object of economically, commercially, industrially and politically dominating the Indian Ocean—Arabian Sea Region—Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Egypt, Zanzibar, Africa, Burma-Malaya and the Indies. Hindu fascism will become the greatest menace to the integrity of the Muslim world and the independence of the Muslim States. There will be not a single Muslim State in the world which can equal the man and material powers of United India. India will be one of the greatest world powers in industry and commerce, army, navy, air force, resources and mercenary fighting forces. Even united Turkey and Arabia cannot face them.

How can Muslim India and the Muslim world be expected to see the growth of such an anti-Islam, bitterly hostile fascist Hindu totalitarianism under united India?

In short in case of *Akhand* India, the Hindus will rule not only the Hindu Provinces but also dominate the Centre and the Muslim Provinces and endanger the freedom of the Muslim States of the Islamic world.

That the Muslims will not be free in the Hindu Provinces and Hindu States.

That the Muslims will not be free even in Muslim Provinces.

That the Muslims will not be free even in the Muslim States.

That the Muslims of Afghanistan and other Islamic states of the Islamic world will not be free from fears of domination and economic encirclement by the leviathan of Hindustan.

In short, the Muslims will lose freedom and security in the Hindu Provinces, at the Centre, in the Muslim Provinces, in the Muslim States of India and will be in greatest danger of economic and political aggressions in the independent Muslim States of the Islamic world.

SEND MESSAGE TO THE ISLAMIC WORLD

Please send a message to the Islamic world on Pakistan and Hindustan stressing these points and appealing for the supreme need of a standing together for all Muslim peoples and states who are struggling for their integrity and freedom from Indonesia-Malaya to Libya-Morocco.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 4.
[2&3]These paras contain unnecessary details.

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Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (90)

AMIR MAHAL,
ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS,
15 May 1946

My dear leader,

I am not surprised at all with [*sic*] what has happened at Simla. Once again, the inclusion of two so-called Muslims in the Congress delegation was bad enough. To add insult to injury, Mr. Gandhi was once again given the role of so-called advisor, knowing, as we do, [that] he is a Congressman with a vengeance without being a Congressman technically. From this distance it is not possible for me to know what exactly the Cabinet Mission is going to do. I am afraid their conduct has been more or less guided by the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. The arch-enemy of Muslims, [Vallabhbhai] Patel, seems to have played his Machiavellian part in bringing about disruption. In any case, the Cabinet Mission betrayed colossal weakness on their part by changing their attitude under pressure of Congress and the so-called advisor. The Labour Government seems to be determined to constitute an Interim Government and set up a machinery for framing the future constitution. Although they appear to be two different parts, but [*sic*] there is such intimate relation between these two that it is difficult to separate them and view them from different angles. If the Muslim League should agree to join the Interim Government we should get parity with Hindus. The question of the future constitution is evidently interlocked with this question of Interim Government. What the constitution-making is going to be, one cannot say. It is evident that the Cabinet Mission have resolved to constitute only one machinery. But if they can give 50 per cent representation on that constitution-making body to the Muslim League, perhaps, we might agree.

From this distance I am hazarding a suggestion, and that is, if we get parity both in the Interim Government and in the constitution-making body, we might agree to serve on these two bodies under protest and make the best of the situation. Knowing the attitude of the British Government at present and that of the intransigent element in the Congress who seem to have the upper hand, I believe we should capture power to the extent to which we can get it and get more by

our united action from within. What we really want is proper men, who will be loyal, selfless and fight for our cause, whatever happens.

I have ventured to make this suggestion but I know that whatever you do will be in the interest of the Muslim nation, and that Muslims wherever they are in this country will stand by you solidly like a rock. One thing we are very anxious about is that no harm should come to you. God willing, that will never happen. If anything happens, there will be a universal conflagration in the country which will put off the day of India's independence for many many years to come. I hope better counsels will prevail both with the Cabinet Mission and the Congress.

With kindest regards,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

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Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (91)

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
16 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herein enclosed[1] please find an extract from the *Sind Observer* of yesterday's issue, which needs no comment.

During the course of the first half of this month, this is the fourth or fifth attempt of the *Sind Observer* to paint me in the blackest of colours in the public eyes, insinuating charges of communal disturbances. I am not singled out for thip urpose. The entire [*sic*] members of my household are dragged into the picture every time. From the manner in which these stories appear in this paper at regular intervals, taking advantage of every reasonable and unreasonable situation or public demonstration on behalf of the Muslim League, I could guess—and since I have been reliably informed that this is the stratagem of Mr.Nihchaldas C.Vazirani and his group, with the view to suggest and impress upon the Governor of Sind that my activities in the Muslim League's name have really assumed such proportions as to warrant his immediate attention for checking.

It has lately become a regular feature in the *Sind Observer* to quote

extracts from the *Alwahid* translating and putting them in such a manner as to suggest that the *Alwahid* is pouring out communal hatred daily and deserves to be muzzled in the interest of public peace. I need hardly say that these things can never be justified.

I understand that the Inspector of Police has written a note to the Government of Sind that a warning should be sent to me and the editor of the *Alwahid*. The Ministry is watching these things silently and the Hon'ble Mir Ghulamali Khan Talpur, Minister for Law and Order, has assured a committee meeting that he will not spare any person, high or low, indulging in creating communal tension.

I write this only for your information, so that if there is further development in future leading to any trouble, you might not be in the dark.

With kindest regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
Y.A. HAROON

[1]Not traceable.

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M. Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/83

RAWALPINDI,
16 May 1946

Dear Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have read in the newspapers that Allama Mashriqi, founder of the Khaksar Movement, has proposed 'Azad Muslim League' for union among the Musalmans of India.

If all Muslim parties come in one League and ask for freedom, then it will be a great luck for the Musalmans of India.

Allama Mashriqi has declared that if all other small Muslim parties come together in 'Azad Muslim League' after changing their names then I [*sic* for he] will be the first man to destroy my [*sic* for his] movement and will come in 'Azad Muslim League'.

First of all we thought that Allama is a selfish man, but now his declaration has proved that he is a most honest man. He even does not care for his life and his movement for the sake of union [*sic* for

unity] among the Musalmans of India. As the question of freedom of India is in a very serious condition [*words illegible*].

I will request you that you may very kindly come in 'Azad Muslim League' so that all the Musalmans of India may be united.

I think that if all Musalmans come on one stage according to the proposal, it will be a great luck for them.

If you could not decide at once and could not come in the united 'Azad Muslim League', we will say that you do not want union [*sic*] among the Musalmans of India and you want to create differences among the Musalmans.

I hope that you will hear the request of a poor man and will join 'Azad Muslim League' immediately.

Yours obediently,
M. BAKHSH
B.A. LL.B.
Advocate

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M. Mahmud Ali to Muhammad Zafar Ahmad Ansari
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1106/294-6

CONFIDENTIAL

SHILLONG,
17 May 1946

Dear Sir,

I have been authorized by the Working Committee to communicate to the Committee of Action the present situation prevailing in the province, as a result of Assam Govt. pursuing its eviction policy, explaining the implication of clause (b) of the Working Committee resolution, dated 8 March 1946 and seeking for specific advice from it on the line of action to be followed in order to put a stop to the eviction of immigrants.

I would, therefore request, you to kindly lay before the Committee of Action the following few lines for its kind consideration and necessary advice.

As a remedial measure of the Congress Govt. mass eviction of settlers, the Assam Provincial Muslim League Working Committee in the course of a resolution on 8 March 1946 advised the landless and evicted persons to spread out and cultivate all Govt. surplus

lands to produce crop to save themselves and thousands of others from miseries of famine, starvation and death. Since then the evicted and landless Muslim immigrants have been following the advice to the letter and the Congress Govt. of Assam in its turn has not been lagging behind in pursuing its own policy of eviction with a vengeance and ruthlessness unheard of in the civilized world. The description of the atrocities perpetuated [*sic* for perpetrated] on the immigrants have, from time to time, been given publicity in various newspapers from which, I presume, the Committee of Action must have learnt about the same. I would, therefore, refrain from reiterating those descriptions in this page. But it should not be an exaggeration to state that the newspapers could publish only a small proportion of what actually has taken place.

Failing all other methods to prevent the Govt. from following its policy, the Assam Provincial Muslim League Council met at Barpeta (where, in the meanwhile, mass eviction had started) on 28 April 1946 and in view of the situation prevailing, sought the advice of the Committee of Action to launch direct action against the Govt. policy. The Committee of Action was apprised of the decision of the Council in due time, *vide* my telegram, dated 29 April 1946, from Barpeta and subsequent Memo. No. 173, dated 3 May 1946, forwarding the Council resolution, dated 28 April 1946 from Shillong. Meanwhile, the Congress Govt. have been busy hurrying with their nefarious job of evicting Muslim immigrants, forcibly demolishing their houses as many times as they were erected, destroying, attacking and seizing their crops, depriving them of all facilities of common citizens, forcibly appointing the prominent amongst the immigrants as special police and persecuting some of them for trespass and violation of Section 144 Cr.P.C., which the Govt. have taken care to promulgate in almost every immigrant village. The Govt. have done so in Barpeta, Mangaldai and Gauhati sub-divisions and in Nowgong District so far. The Relief Committee, set up by the Assam Provincial Muslim League, has been doing its best to give relief to the destitute evictees but it cannot be said to be adequate in view of the great number of people who need such relief and the limited resources with which the Relief Committee has been working. The Relief Committee is, however, trying to enhance its resources with outside help. The Working Committee also set up a Law Committee to explore ways and means to challenge the Govt. policy in a court of law. The Committee is yet to give a tangible shape to its findings. The Committee is going to meet at Shillong on 27 May 1946 when it expects to come to a final decision. From the attitude of the Govt. it

appears that they are determined to pursue their policy to its bitter consequences, however much we, of the Muslim League, might show our preparedness to resist the same. This means that preparation from our side must be well-planned and strongly based. From the provincial side it has been decided that a Mujahid Army of one lakh men be raised and a relief fund of rupees one lakh be collected (which has already been started throughout the Province in all seriousness) to carry on the resistance movement against the offensive launched by the Congress Govt. It is to be considered in this connection how far this Govt. will be assisted by the Central Govt. in putting us down. I think the Committee of Action will take into consideration this aspect of the situation also. Our Working Committee is meeting here on 26th again when it will consider the details of the plan for launching the movement, should it be permitted by the Committee of Action to do so. While the Working Committee adjourned at Mangaldai to meet at Shillong on 26 May 1946, it hoped that by that time it would be possible for it to hear from the Committee of Action on how to move.

Yours sincerely,
M. MAHMUD ALI
General Secretary,
Assam Provincial Muslim League

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M. Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 12/67-9

152 F MODEL TOWN,
LAHORE,
18 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is in continuation of our talks in Simla and in the light of what has happened since then. Prof. Haleem has given you a note on communications. I have merely to add that there are two aspects of control of communications by the Centre, (a) financial and (b) executive: (a) can be secured by guaranteeing to the provinces against loss on capital spent and (b) will be required only during war and the control in normal times resting with the provinces or their federal unions.

Defence must be split up in two parts, internal and external. The

internal defence will consist of local militias and military police. The cost will be cut down to one-half in this way and there will be no undue interference caused by it in the administration of the constituent federations. I have examined the financial implications of these points in my 15-page note on defence[1] which Nawabzada Sahib gave you about a fortnight ago.

The power of the Centre to raise money for defence must take the form of levies on the constituent units or at any rate it should not be allowed to interfere in their tariff policies.

The constituent units should also be free to enter into trade and even diplomatic relations with their neighbouring countries just as it has been done recently in Russia.

Are these three points capable of being clarified as suggested above?

We are denied the Pakistan Centre and the power to secede whenever we like. The nation is prepared to fight on these issues and is awaiting your orders.

Problems like currency and banking, inter-zonal trade, tariffs, division of assets and liabilities, including sterling balances and productive and unproductive debts require close examination from our point of view. The separation of Burma involved all these points and this could serve as a model in our case. I am writing to Nawabzada Sahib about it. Have you any instructions to give regarding the lines on which the inquiry may be undertaken?

With respect,

Yours sincerely,
M. HASSAN

[1]Not traceable.

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Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/134

4 YORK PLACE,
NEW DELHI,
18 May 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It was a great pleasure and honour to meet you at the Viceroy's

House when the Parliamentary Delegation was touring India. I have taken the liberty to present you with a book of verses in Urdu. The appreciative introductions at both the beginning and the end of the book by such eminent authorities as Dr. Moulvi Abdul Haque, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Khawaja Moh[amma]d Shafi, Khawaja Hassan Nizami, Kanwar Mahendra Singh, need not be taken too literally to mean that I am a poet. I thought this amateurish hobby of mine may be of some interest to you. There are two spontaneous lines about you, which show my great regard for you from the day we travelled by the same boat to England in 1919 and 1921. They are as follows:[1]

Mr. Jinnah may not hold similar views, but his patriotism is beyond doubt.

It would be an ideal thing if the Hindus tell the Muslims that without them India would be meaningless.

May God give you the strength to solve our political troubles,[2]

I am,

Yours very sincerely,

S. S. BHATNAGAR

Professor

OBE, D.Sc., FRS, *Knight*

[1]Translated from Urdu into English.

[2]Jinnah thanked him for both the letter and the book, which he promised to read with interest. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/135. Not printed.

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Note by A. Aziz

F. 1104/174-5

18 May 1945 [1946]

The Hindus who are ten times better prepared for civil war than the Muslims are bent on avoiding civil war. Why? They feel that peace offers them better opportunities to grind down the Muslims. They are yearning for the opportunity that the League's refusal to join the Interim Govt. will furnish. That is the one success that they are dreaming of because they will push into the Govt. a number of Muslim hirelings.

The Muslim I.N.A. scoundrels will play the same ignoble part in the outside world as Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and his like play inside the Assemblies.

The League can serve the Muslim cause much better by an outward show of resignation to the unjust rejection of Pakistan, accompanied by an unalterable determination to wreck the proposals at the right time. The Hindus will try their utmost to defeat the Grouping System. If the Grouping goes, the whole Scheme goes and it is to this that the Muslim League should try to bind down both the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, and if possible the Princes. The Hindus' aim ultimately is to do away with Hyderabad and Bhopal. It is for this reason almost essential that in the interim period the League should hold the Defence portfolio. The Hindus can have Finance but the political side of the Army must be in Muslim hands and also the services that work under the Home Dept.

A. AZIZ

[*Retired Financial Commissioner, Punjab*]

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (92)

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
19 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Pardon me for writing frankly what I sincerely feel. The Simla correspondence has still deepened Muslim gloom, despondency and deep resentment. It is not the British who have betrayed the Muslims, but it is the League Delegation who have betrayed Muslim *Millat* by agreeing to consider a Centre with a legislature. In Simla it is the League which is giving all the ground, making all the concessions, surrendering all the vital principles of Muslim national sovereignty and it is the Congress which is gaining all the ground. What right had the League Delegation to make such compromise against the first principle of the League.

You will be very wrath [ful] to me but I will be guilty of dishonesty if I do not say to you that your Delhi Proposals of 1927,[1] surrendering voluntarily separate electorates was your first blunder and your Simla surrender of sovereignty of Pakistan(1946) is your second blunder which will unmake the fate of Muslim India and will go down in history as a very deplorable betrayal. India will be in the hands of the people who will control her army or armies.

The British Cabinet Mission proposals, so far as they concern compulsory Union Centre, are nothing but a complete triumph for the Hindu Sabha slogan at the election, viz. no parity and no partition.

This no parity and no partition formula of the Hindu Sabha which stands for Hindu Rashtriya (state), has been now fully implemented by the Congress-British proposals.

The only way to save the League from suicide and Muslim India from destruction is to reject the Union Centre Scheme and reiterate firm resolution to fight for sovereignty of Pakistan.

If the League fails to do so, I will feel it my duty to resign from it and fight for Pakistan's sovereignty through some other agency which is ready to do or die for Pakistan as an article of faith and not treat it as a matter of bargain or barter.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Member, Parliamentary Board,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League

[1]See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 118-9.

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Suraiya Kifait Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (954)

133 WELLESLEY ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
20 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The rumour goes that the day the Congress accepts the Cabinet Mission's proposals, our sister community will celebrate the Congress victory and the League defeat by illuminating the city with burning *ghee ke charagh*.[1] Such provocations do not deter us. They rather stimulate us to further action. At least I am not afraid of the community whose political instinct has become [so] rusted during a thousand years' slavery that it can no longer think aright or act as balanced men would do. They perhaps do not know that sovereign states are not bestowed by others. They have to be carved out on the map of the world by sacrifices.

Believing that now is the time for every Muslim to lend a hand, I

am enclosing herewith my husband's letter, placing his services at your disposal.

If required by you, we both will be too willing and glad to serve our nation under you. Your success will be ours and our nation's success and salvation. Your temporary setback will make us rise to our full stature and strike with greater vigour; for those who have the fire, the iron is always hot.

Praying day and night for your long life and health,

Sincerely yours,
SURAIYA KIFAIT ALI

PS. I forgot to mention that my husband's pen-name is 'A Punjabi,' the author of *A Confederacy of India* and other pamphlets which he wrote in reply to the criticism of the Hindu press and Hindu leaders. The book *A Confederacy of India* was published in March 1939 when people were afraid of even mentioning the word Pakistan and all pooh-poohed the idea of a separate Muslim State.

[1]An Urdu phrase meanig jubilation.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (93)

RANCHI,
21 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

COMPLETE TRIUMPH FOR NO PARITY NO PARTITION

The Cabinet Mission recommendations regarding Pakistan and Hindustan confirm our worst fears. From top to bottom it is based on appeasement of Hindu demands and whims of Gandhis and Patels. It is a complete triumph for the no parity–no partition slogan of the Hindu Sabha and the Congress. It shows that the Hindu Congress is anxious not for the unity of India but the domination of the Hindus over all others in India. They are not ready to accept even offer of unity without full Hindu domination.

The British proposals and the League surrender to the Congress has given me and to many sincere Muslims the shock, grief and pain

of my life. We are ready for the worst from the British but we never expected such a betrayal from the League, after its heroics at the Delhi Convention. What a tragedy?

The sorrow and grief, shock and pain to myself has been so soul-consuming that I could not open my reactions to you earlier. Now that I have also seen the Simla correspondence, I beg your permission to submit the following for your consideration:

FIGHT FOR SOVEREIGNTY OF MUSLIM NATIONHOOD OR COMMIT SUICIDE

The rejection of Pakistan is the rejection of the sovereignty of the Muslim nation and in fact the denial of Muslim nationhood. The League must totally and stoutly rebut the British-Congress nonsense against Pakistan and prepare to fight for this ideal to the bitter end. The only other course after your anti-centre speeches is to wind up the League and commit suicide.

ABSURD PLAN OF THREE IN ONE AND ONE IN THREE

The British, instead of facing the international problem of India honestly and squarely, have devised a scheme of a Constitution-making body which like the Christian doctrine of Trinity is a doctrine of three in one and one in three and is absolutely absurd. It is flying from the bed-rock fact that the Muslims and the Hindus are two nations and must have two separate Constitution-making bodies and two sovereign states bound together with ties of free, equal and reciprocal alliance, without the slightest sense or coercion of domination.

PAKISTAN ZONES AND MUSLIM NATION IN WORSE AND LOWER POSTION THAN THE SMALLEST DESPOTIC STATE

The British proposals place the great Pakistan Zones of B and C groups in worse and lower position than the position granted or recognized by the Mission even for the smallest native state—which may be creation of a mere accident of history and nothing but a zamindari estate or tiniest chieftainship.

NO MAN'S LAND STATUS FOR STATES BUT NO INDEPENDENCE FOR 100 MILLION MUSLIM NATION

The British Cabinet Mission is ready to recognize the total end of paramountcy and the complete independence and sovereignty of 500 odd native states and of their autocratic despots, some of them being small principalities and zamindaris,—as to quote Mr. Churchill, "No Man's Land"—but illogically is not ready to recognize the sovereignty and independence of the Muslim nation of 100 million with

the traditions of 1,000 years of conquest, civilization and governance in India? What an injustice?

TERM CEDED POWERS FOR STATES AND ORIGINAL POWERS FOR THE CENTRE OF THE PROVINCES

With regard to the States and the Union Centre, the proposals speak of ceded powers, but with regard to the Muslims and the Pakistan zones, they speak of the original, basic, plenary powers of the Union Centre. This shows the unreasonable approach of the Mission.

WHO SUPPORTS PAKISTAN PRINCIPLE?

The Mission says that there is almost universal desire for unity of India, outside the supporters of the League. This is absolutely incorrect. (1) the Adibasis–Tribals (2) the Scheduled–Castes and Untouchables, (3) the Dravidians and the Dravidian League of Ramaswami Naicar, the Justice Party of the non-Brahmans, (5) the Ahoms Association of Assam, (6) the Tribal League of Assam and many others are not opposed to Pakistan and Muslim self-determination.

[*Two paras omitted*][1]

IF NEITHER PARTITION NOR PARITY IS SOLUTION OF THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM THEN WHAT IS? IS IT DOMINATION?

If Pakistan does not solve the communal problem then what does solve it? If neither partition no parity is a solution then what is the solution? Is it Hindu domination from the Centre? The Hindu Sabha, the Congress and the British Cabinet propose that it is Hindu majority domination from the Centre controlling the Army.

Pakistan is the only way to a balance of power in India. The large number of Muslims in Hindustan and of the Hindus in Pakistan is the surest guarantee to create sense of security, sense of responsibility and reciprocal adjustment and accommodation through international agreements. The Mission has but repeated the exploded arguments of Mr. Nehru.

[*Remaining paras omitted*][2]

[1]Describe the Congress Party as representing only the high-caste Hindus.
[2]Relate to indivisibility of Indian Army and apprehensions over a Hindu dominated Union Centre.

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Agnes St. Ives-Currie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/301-2

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
21 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A brave man should always receive his meed of appreciation, and we Europeans think you have done [*sic*] almost single-handed a splendid fight against the horde of *Babus* and *Banyas,* especially [personal comment omitted] the Kathiawar *Banya,* who remains stationary like a sign-post but points the way to his gangsters how to destroy all other persons and things of good [*sic*] and worth.

The episode of Cabinet adventurers' spring trip to India [is] to destroy the assets of the Indian Empire, built up by the brains, energy and blood of our forefathers for the Indian people. Oh! had I been on your staff and could have made my voice heard at the farce held at Delhi, instead of remaining a dumb brute. Do not give in. God is on your side, not on [that of] Congress idolators.

Take care of your health; we pray you.

Yours truly,
MRS. A. ST. IVES-CURRIE

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M. S. M. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (94)

CAXTON HOUSE,
KARACHI,
22 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A 30-year old privilege which I enjoyed in common with my old master Mazharul Haque, who it was that originally introduced me to you soon after the Muslim League session in Bombay in the Christmas of 1915, emboldens me to write to you at this supreme crisis in Indian history on a matter of vital interest to the very well-being of

this great sub-continent.

It is not for me to advise you what you should do or should not do. But [as] a life-long admirer of yours, I permit myself the liberty of appeal[ing] to you that at the time of reckoning you would revert to your natural and old role as a leader of Indian public opinion rather than of a section of it. Indeed, I heartily echo Sheikh Abdul Majid's bold suggestion that at this time next year you should adorn the presidential chair of the National Congress as whose leading light in the year 1917 during the war and then again [in] 1919 you gave a headache to the late Lord Willingdon.[1] With an almost uncanny memory which God has given me, I find it difficult to forget the snubs you administered to Ormsby-Gore at the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1919. You shattered to pieces the gallant Colonel's stupid assumption that you could be availed of to perpetuate the system of separate electorates. Indeed you went so far as to say that you expected your Muslim fellow-countrymen to ask for joint electorates before long.

Equally pronounced was your attack on the Bengal Civil Service which, according to you, shed crocodile tears at the "injustice" done to the Bengal Muslims by the Lucknow Pact of 1916 which had been forged as a result of the combined efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant, Lokamanya Tilak and yourself. It had been my privilege to watch your work at the combined session of the Congress and the League committees in Lucknow in the Christmas of 1916. Nor could I forget the excellent and generous response you made to the approach made to you in July 1936 at Calcutta by a friendly deputation consisting of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Mr. Tulsi Goswami, the Raja of Narjole and my humble self. You expressed your willingness on the occasion to seek an amendment of the Communal Award on the basis of joint electorates with reservation of seats. If only Sarat Bose had played the game, Calcutta could have forged what the rest of India had found it difficult to achieve all these years.

This memory for facts is responsible for the undying hope in my heart that you will now resume your natural role which Mrs. Sarojini Naidu fittingly described as "ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity." Sometimes I might have been irritated by your pronouncements but you will admit that in my long career as a professional journalist I have never yet descended to the level of a literary prostitute who, for the mere love of gold, would forget or ignore the services of the one man who had striven to cultivate in the minds of young India in those days a feeling of self-respect against that intolerable racial arrogance which had crippled many a tall giant amongst us. I am writing this

letter even before your promised statement[2] which is due today. Whatever the reactions thereto at the hands of a section of the press, I take the liberty of pressing you that you will not let any criticism stand in the way of securing for India that position which would entitle her to be known and recognised as the "Queen of Asia". I at least shall be heartbroken if the events prove me wrong because I had always believed and said that Mr. Jinnah would never be found wanting at the hour of trial. I remember, too, that you proudly described yourself as an Indian nationalist before the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

Having said all these, let me frankly state that those who wield power and office in the name of the League in the Province of Sind exploit you more than they do justice to your lofty ideals. To one such incongruity I referred while you were good enough to accord to me an interview not long ago. You have been saying that in a Pakistan of your conception the interests of minorities would be protected and safeguarded. Please read for yourself the following particulars and tell me in confidence what you think of the manner in which the Sind League Ministry acquitted itself. Mr. Hoshang N. E. Dinshaw, than whom you have no more sincere friend in Sind, is deeply cut [up] by the developments. I do not know what he would say if he knew that I was writing to you. I am, however, taking the risk.

Messrs. Eduljee Dinshaw had leased out a cotton press at Raiwind to two Muslim contractors. One of the terms of the contract was that nothing other than cotton should be pressed. The contractors, however, in violation of the agreement, tendered to the Military for pressing *bhoosa* (wheat chaff). The military accepted the tender. This was done without the knowledge of the owners. In the meantime, as the contractors had failed to pay the lease money, Mr. D.N.E.Dinshaw terminated the agreement. The contractors, however, locked the machine rooms. Mr. Dinshaw thereupon instructed his Engineer to put his own locks to prevent any possible pilfering or damage to the machinery. The contractors thereupon filed a complaint with the police that Mr. Dinshaw was picketing and brought a non-bailable warrant of arrest along with some Punjab Police constables to Karachi. One of the two contractors sent a message to Mr. Dinshaw to sell the factory at the price specified by the contractors, or allow them to work the factory as they liked, or be arrested and disgraced. Mr. Dinshaw immediately left for Lahore, arranged for bail, placed facts before the District Magistrate of Lahore who cancelled the inquiry. On his return from Lahore, Mr. Dinshaw filed a complaint for alleged extortion in the court of the District Magistrate of Karachi in August 1945. But the accused evaded the summons for two

months. Thereafter in October they filed a counter-complaint in the Kasur Court on substantially the same charges as had been dismissed by the learned District Magistrate of Lahore, who, it might be stated, has now transferred the Kasur case to Lahore.

Now, in December 1945, the contractors moved the Sind Government to transfer Mr. Dinshaw's Karachi case to Lahore. They advanced two arguments both of which were false. One was that Mr. Dinshaw has filed his case as a counterblast to the petitioner's case. This was wrong. The second was that Mr. Dinshaw has filed a case for libel whereas it really was for alleged extortion. Curiously enough, Mir Ghulamali did not think if fit or necessary to call the other side before passing orders. The matter was first known to Mr. Dinshaw when he appeared at the A.D.M.'s Court on the day of hearing and was informed that under Government orders the case had been transferred to Lahore.

Mr. Dinshaw then moved the Government for cancellation of the order. Mr. J.Fraser, one of the supporters of the League in the Sind Assembly, felt that the whole thing smacked of a scandal and, of his own accord, interviewed both Ghulamali and Ghulam Hussain and pressed them to revise the unjust order. The Chief Judge of Sind also was scandalised that the State could interfere in private disputes. Mir Ghulamali suspended the order and went to Delhi to attend the convention. On his return he asked how he could remedy the situation and contended that the R.L.A. had advised him to take the course. I retorted that the R.L.A. was only a departmental officer and that the Advocate-General who was a statutory officer could be consulted. This was in respect of the proposal that Government could revise their own order. The R.L.A. had held that the Government order was a judicial order. But no judicial order could ever be *ex-parte.* Ghulamali had been making all of us dance attendance on him day after day and did not move his little finger although he told Fraser that injustice had been done. He would not show the papers to the Advocate-General. At last on the intervention of Ghulam Hussain, the papers were submitted to the Advocate-General who gave the finding that it was open to the local Government to revise their order and request the Punjab Government to return the case to the original files in Karachi. But strangely enough, without telling anybody, Ghulamali quietly confirmed the order and locked the papers in his cupboard and left for Mussoorie. On Wednesday last I left for Bombay in the belief that the premier was going to revise the order as advised by the statutory Legal Adviser to the Crown.

These are the barest facts. I have studiously refrained from giving

any comment of my own. I must add that at one time I wrote to Ghulamali and asked how he, who was quoting the Congress Government's alleged atrocities against the Muslims, would feel if someone took it into his head to quote this matter against the League and said that the interests of none who was not a Muslim were safe in the hands of a League Government. I even told him that you would not relish this ugly treatment. But there it is.

With what face can I stand for the League Government in Sind? I assure you that the three European Members of the Assembly are also very angry. I look at it from an entirely different standpoint. D.N.E. Dinshaw is not a helpless individual. He is a partner of a well-known and influential firm. He is one of the proprietors of the *Daily Gazette* which had never hesitated to come to the rescue of the League and its Ministry against unscrupulous attacks of The *Sind Observer*. This paper risked characterisation by the *Sind Observer* as a League paper. Dinshaw is also a respected citizen of Karachi. If such a man as he, with all these advantages, could get no redress against injustice, what is the lot of the common man?

I must confess that after spending sleepless nights over these issues I still continue to be perturbed and perplexed. I at last decided that I must write to you this full and frank letter. I have no doubt that, with your usual fairness, you would give the matter your personal attention despite the immense weight of public work.

With kind regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
M.S.M. SHARMA
Editor,
The *Daily Gazette*

PS. Should you want me at Delhi at the time the Ministers are there, I am perfectly willing to take a trip. I am keeping an extra copy of this letter. If you permit me, I shall forward it to the Premier. But before doing so, I shall await your permission.

[1]Governor Bombay.
[2]Appendix I. 21.

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Shamsul Haq to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (95)

3/2 B TALTALA LANE,
CALCUTTA,
22 May 1946

Our Quaid-i-Azam,

With the high hopes that you will kindly accept the sincerest love and respect of this humble follower of yours, I write you this letter in a completely unbalanced condition of mind. In your own words I say, I feel 'we want the speedy end of the 1935 Act'. 'India plan' is much better than the '1935 Act'. But our goal is 'Pakistan'. We can achieve it through revolution. But at this stage it will be fruitless for the Muslims to enter into a war. Because we are still so backward and weak. So try to accept the Cabinet Mission's Proposals as a 'first step' to Pakistan because it is near Pakistan. Let us try to have 'Pakistan' through evolution—avoiding revolution—as far as possible, but if necessary we must have it through revolution even. We are oppressed, we are suppressed. For ten years more let us not overlook some injustices done to us. Let us concentrate our attention towards ourselves, giving less importance to the outer world and [by] so doing we shall be able to improve our economic condition, revive our tradition, and develop our culture and everything according to our own ideals and we shall advance far within 10 years as we shall be free in our home-land to manage our own affairs except a few ones.

After 10 years we shall secede from the central Union. If there be any opposition and there will be opposition, we shall rise up in revolution and fight out Pakistan, when it will be easier. Even if within 10 years we find our interests grossly mishandled we shall break all pledge of keeping within the Union for 10 years, because it is far better to die like man than not being able to live like man.

If India is left as it is this time too, who knows for how many years, maybe for 10 years more, we shall have to pull on [with] the 1935 Act. We are tired of this 1935 Act.

Do you advise us to wait and to have patience? But limit to patience has been reached. I fully understand the result of your rejecting the 'Cripps Proposal' and 'Wavell Plan', and because we waited with patience this time we are offered 'India Plan' which is much better

than the former two. By waiting for some time more, we may have something better. But still we can no more keep patience.

Do whatever you think best. We are behind you and we have full confidence in our beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

I tell you I represent none but myself and you take this letter of mine as an outpouring of a distressed, unbalanced, raw mind.

I write you this letter because 'whom else but you can we approach to express our mind'.

Faithfully yours,
SHAMSUL HAQ
A follower and admirer of Quaid-i-Azam

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Shafaat Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (96)

CLARENDON COTTAGE,
KAITHU, SIMLA,
23 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I heard the gist of your statement[1] on the radio last night, and I am writing to you to congratulate you on a pronouncement which will be regarded as the *Magna Carta* of Muslim India. Frankly, I have never believed in the feasibility of a wholly independent Muslim state in India, though I admit that it is an ideal for which Muslim India ought to strive, so that they may realise it in due course.

The points you have developed in the statement are so overwhelmingly strong that there is no person in India, be he a Muslim, a Hindu or a European, who could have put them with such clarity and lucidity. Finally the statement has kept Muslim India united and strong.

I venture to submit for your consideration a few points in the report of the Cabinet Mission which need further clarification.

DEFENCE

1. The financial, political and military implications of defence must be defined with precision. Defence includes of course the army, air and naval forces of India.

However, it includes much more. It will have intimate connection with the Home Departments of autonomous provinces. My experience

of military administration in South Africa convinced me that military intelligence officers of the three defence forces were more numerous than the C.I.D. of the Home Department of South African government. Cape Town and Johannesburg were full of them and they received their orders directly from the High Commissioner for United Kingdom who had his headquarters at Cape Town, and represented imperial interests. Lord Harlech, the High Commissioner at Cape Town, is a dear friend of mine and was an ex-Cabinet Minister. He never got on with the South African government as he represented imperial interests. The Union government of India will be perfectly justified in maintaining a plethora of officers in these autonomous provinces on the score of the safety and tranquillity of India as[it] will be in charge of Defence. If defence remains with the Union government, then military intelligence, which is and must be the foundation of every Defence Department, must also remain with the Union government.

2. The financial implications of defence need not be developed here. In the case of a war or threat of war, no limit can be placed on the amount necessary for the defence of the country. In the last war, which ended last year, the defence expenditure of the most critical phase of war was rupees 283 crore while the normal revenue of India is not more than rupees 300 crore. For this purpose the autonomous provinces may either be called upon to pay contributions and the tax may be levied directly by each province to meet this expenditure or they may be taxed directly by the Union Centre. I prefer the former alternative, provided provincial representatives in the Union legislature have been given the right to discuss and approve all measures initiated by the Union government for raising finance for this purpose.

3. In the last war a Defence of the Realm Act was hurriedly passed by the Central Legislature in 1939, authorising the Government of India to frame ordinances for the safety of India. The experience which the Indian public has had of these ordinances has been most unfortunate. More than 300 ordinances on every conceivable subject were framed whereby every sphere of activity was restricted and curtailed. The entire economy of the country was placed at the disposal of the Central Government. All provincial laws were overridden by them and the citizen was helpless. Presumably the Union Government will have the right to frame such measures in future but it must be subject to the concurrence of provincial units and the ordinances must be empowered by the authorities of provincial governments if they impinge upon the economic activities of individual citizens—such as the regulation of prices, prevention of famine, etc. If they deal directly with military affairs, then presumably the military

officials of the Union government will supervise the execution of such ordinances in the future.

4. There is no reason why autonomous provinces should not maintain their own defence services provided the powers of supervision and coordination are retained by the Union Defence Department. If the Nizam can maintain his own army under the supervision of the Paramount Power, why should the Punjab and Frontier provinces be prohibited from doing so.

COMMUNICATIONS

This is an exceedingly comprehensive expression, and includes the following subjects:

i. Railways throughout India and not merely strategic lines planned in the Frontier Province, Assam and Baluchistan.

ii. Posts and Telegraphs in all parts of India.

iii. Strategic roads in the Punjab, Frontier, Baluchistan, Assam and in parts of Bengal which are adjacent to Nepal. Any road may be declared a strategic road in any part of India.

iv. Civil aviation in all parts of India.

v. Mercantile Marine: It is a very important subject and will become more important in future.

vi. Coastal Shipping: The entire economy of Bengal depends upon Coastal Shipping, as English vested interests in Bengal have succeeded in eliminating road construction in many parts of Bengal.

The word " Communications" includes all these subjects and unless it is specified and restricted, the Union government must have power over all of them.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I had to deal with the Department of External Affairs in South Africa for three years. The phrase has a special significance in the Dominions and it must have a special significance in India too. Obviously India cannot and will not deal directly with Asiatic countries and she will be restricted in her intercourse to Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and the Tribal Areas of the Frontier Province. Under the report of the Cabinet Mission, the Tribal Areas will come directly under the supervision of the Indian member in charge of External Affairs. In other words, the frontier areas of the Frontier Province [and] Baluchistan will be under the Union government. This will involve the gradual abolition of the distinction between the Frontier Province and the trans-border tribes and strengthening of the Congress influence right up to Kabul. The same remarks apply to Baluchistan.

The plan of the Russian invasion of India, according to Curzon's work, *Russia in Central Asia,* visualizes four routes to India: (1) through Kashmir; (2) through Chitral; (3) through Afghanistan; and (4) finally through Baluchistan. Hence, the Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Chitral and Kashmir must be viewed as one large defence area, and this report is based on the assumption that this is the most vulnerable area of India, and must be strongly defended. The implications of this theory are area [*sic* for clear]. In the whole of this area, the Union government must have supremacy so that the defence of India may be visualised as one, single, indivisible strategic plan.

Finally adequate safeguards must be provided for effective representation of Muslims in the defence forces as well as in the personnel which the Union government will employ to initiate comprehensive measures of industrialisation.

As regards defence forces, Muslims must be granted, in the Constitution, adequate representation in the commissioned ranks of all branches of service. This involves the welfare of hundreds of thousands of our young men.

INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrialisation will necessitate the employment of nearly a million men within the next few years. Safeguards must be provided for the employment of Muslims in all industries, in all provinces, which are launched by the Union government.

These safeguards should be in the Constitution itself, and a machinery should be devised to see that they are carried out.

Yours sincerely,
SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN

[1]Appendix I. 21.

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Agha Shaukat Ali to M.A. Jinnah

QAD (97)

HARMONY,
SRINAGAR,
23 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must be aware of Sheikh Abdullah's new slogan, viz. the

annulment of the sale deed and the revocation of the Treaty of Amritsar. I do not think it is his own idea. The Congress is not the inspiration either. The Congress considers the Hindu dynasty in Kashmir as a convenient argument against its inclusion in the north-western group. I reliably understand that Kachroo's presence in Srinagar these days was at the instance of Jawaharlal to dissuade Abdullah from pursuing this idea. Abdullah's arrest and Govt's. repression has resulted in a very tense political situation. Throughout the valley the conditions are disturbed. Military rule is functioning .The Govt. has embarked upon a very ruthless programme to liquidate such a revolutionary idea, at least strike terror in the hearts of the people. But I am afraid the idea has come to stay. If only the movement had been launched under a Muslim organisation, it could eventually have become a movement for the liberation of Kashmir.

Even now if Jawaharlal or the Congress does not exploit the situation here and if they do not come to the rescue of Abdullah, he is sure to fall into line with our policy which is evident from his desperate endeavours to come to some sort of a settlement with the Muslim Conference. But I doubt if the Congress is likely to make such a political mistake.

It is not improbable that Abdullah may have derived his inspiration from the British. The British are very much alive to the Russian threat. Kashmir, being south of Russian Turkistan, enjoys unique military and geographical importance.

Under the circumstances what should be the attitude of the Muslim Conference? The situation here is explosive and pregnant with possibilities. I wonder if the Muslim League can keep aloof from the present rapidly developing events that are likely to assume an all-India importance. I am at least presenting the Kashmir problem from this point of view in the Kashmir newsletter in the *Dawn*.

About the Muslim Conference here I regret to say that there is much to be desired, so far as its leadership and organisation is concerned. We are trying our best nevertheless. Any organisation without a dynamic and militant programme is not likely to enthuse the masses. Don't you think that the time has come when we should finally decide upon a definite line of action? There is no dearth of purchaseable persons in our community unfortunately. The present indecisive policy allows opportunists in the Muslim Conference to exploit the situation.

Kindly let Kashmir have the privilege of your advice and guidance at your earliest convenience so that the Muslim Conference can adopt a definite attitude in the present crisis.

From the press reports I understand that you are soon going to Delhi. The recent negotiations must have been an awful strain for you. Pray, give yourself a holiday. I would suggest, if after you have finished the job in Delhi, you could come to Kashmir.

Your presence here would be the last nail in the coffin of the National Conference as well as the Dogra tyranny. Give me the honour of being your host. Kashmir suits you and you alone can redress the Kashmiris.

Begum Sahiba and my wife convey their kindest regards to you and Miss Fatima Jinnah.

With best wishes,

Your sincerely,
AGHA SHAUKAT ALI

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S. Ghulam Sarwar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/571-2

MEDINA, DIST. GUJRAT,
PUNJAB,
24 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The present decision of the Cabinet Mission about India's future has shown the futility of your efforts for the attainment of Pakistan. It was due simply to the fact that you had relied mainly upon your so-called statesmanship. You had forgotten the history of mankind where the fate of nations is written in blood. You had made almost no effort to organize your party, and your followers and the great number of your supporters were but a mob of unorganized fools and stupid people who could not read the character of living nations. Please do not forget that John Bull[1] is a great student of mob psychology, and he fully knows which party is to be lifted up and which to be overlooked. He knows which movement is most dangerous for him and which would serve his purpose best, and he adopts his measures accordingly. This is why he had always overlooked Khaksar movement.

My object in writing this letter to you is that you should not rely upon the British Govt. and upon 'barren' [*sic*] statesmanship. You

should realize that only a body with a military character can really mould the destiny of a nation, and hence such an organized body is needed for the attainment of Pakistan as well.

In this connection, I would strongly urge you to offer your hand of friendship to Allama Mashriqi so that you two great leaders may lift up the Muslim nation to the heights of glory and power. Unless you do this, I assure you, there shall be no place for you in the field of politics.

Yours sincerely,
SYED GHULAM SARWAR
M.A.

[1]Name of a popular character in the satire "Law is a Bottomless Pit," included in the collection of satires, *The History of John Bull*, published in 1712, by John Arbuthnot, Scottish satirist; a personification of Britain or the typical Englishman. Britannia is the other such personification.

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Resolutions Passed at Rangpur Public Meeting
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 965/150

RANGPUR,
24 May 1946

In a meeting of the general public of Rangpur, held on 24 May 1946 under the presidentship of Moulvi Mohammad Owais, MLA, in the premises of the District Board, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

1. This meeting of the public of Rangpur expresses its deep regret and resentment at the inhuman torture and oppression upon the Bengal emigrants to Assam by its present Bardoloi Ministry and records its heartful [*sic*] sympathy for the sufferers.
2. This meeting vehemently protests against the inhuman, anti-national and savage repressive laws of Line System adopted for the purpose of driving out Musalmans from the province and most emphatically demands its immediate total abolition.
3. This meeting further demands full reparations for the emigrants, their houses, lands and other sufferings [*sic*] by the Govt.
4. The copies or substance of the above resolutions be sent to Governor of Assam, Viceroy and the All India [Muslim] League President.
5. A Relief Committee consisting of the following members and office-bearers is formed in aid of the sufferers of Assam.

The committee is composed as follows:

a. President: Mr. Badir Uddin Ahmed, B.L.
b. Vice-President and Cashier: Mohammad Owais, MLA
c. Secretary: Mr. A. Hakim
d. Joint Secretary: Mr. Ismail Khan
e. Asst. Secretary: Mr. Zahidul Huque Chowdhury,

and other 21 members.

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Sayid Ghulam Mustafa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/410-2

SUPERINTENDENT'S QUARTER,
L.W. MUSLIM HOSTEL,
MCLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 May 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I am making this appeal requesting you to come to the rescue of the Muslim College which the Hindus want to destroy and the Muslims want to neglect. You will find that the Muslim leaders not only show no interest in the affairs of the institution but actually try to gag any activity on the part of the members of the staff.

The Senate of the University of Bombay is the highest governing body of the university and all the colleges in Sind are represented except our Muslim College. There are five principals of the Hindu colleges and three other professors who are the members of the Senate. The constituencies of the University are so made that there is no chance for a Muslim to get elected to the Senate. The electorate being predominantly Hindu, it is the Hindus who go in.

The Governor of Sind nominates four persons on the Senate and at present we have the following four persons: Sir Ghulam Hussain, Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Miran Mohamad Shah and Rup Chand Belaram. Khan Bahadur Maula Bux was the representative of the Sind District Local Boards and Mr. Anwar Hidayatullah is the representative of the Sind municipalities. The only possible method for a Muslim to come on [to] the Senate is either to get himself nominated by the government or run for the Sind District Local Boards constituency. Even in the municipalities, a Muslim has no chance of success.

Mr. Anwar is there due to the influence of his father.

It is painful to find that all these gentlemen have never taken any interest in the educational affairs. Actually they run for the membership of the Senate in order to recollect the old days of MLC-ship or to renew their acquaintances. For the Muslim College they have never cared. The Muslim members of the staff and the Muslim students are being very badly treated by the University and these gentlemen have never raised a finger to safeguard our rights and privileges. Many of these gentlemen promised thousands of rupees to the college and they never paid a pie. They enjoy their trips to Bombay but have never cared to know the hardships of the teachers and the students and the injustices that are being done to them.

It is very interesting to find that there are less than 4 per cent Muslim examiners in the university examinations and less than 3 per cent supervisors in the university examinations. For all our representations they have never permitted Muslim College to be the centre of university examinations. Experienced Muslim professors are neglected and junior Hindu lecturers are made examiners. Peons and laboratory assistants in the Hindu colleges work as supervisors and get daily allowance from rupees seven and a half to rupees thirty. The Hindu colleges get rent for the days for which the examinations are held in their institutions. I can add a big list of grievances but I need not bother you with that.

Now this year from August 1946 the seat from the Sind District Local Bodies has fallen vacant. The election for this seat is to take place on the 3rd of July. We the members of the staff thought that one of us should stand for the seat. I, having some influence, was asked to stand and I filled in my nomination form. I learnt that Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ayub Khuhro also had filled in his nomination. He is a big man and feels that if Sir Ghulam Hussain and Miran Mohamad Shah are there, why not he.

We went in a deputation to him and explained [to] him the object of my contesting the election. We told him that as they were the people in power he could very easily get himself nominated by the Government. When no Muslim professor has any chance of winning from other constituencies, and this is the only constituency from which a Muslim could be elected, and I having my personal influence too will be able to win, why not allow me as the representative of the staff and the institution to go on[to] the Senate. I am at present professor in Sind Muslim College, Chairman of the Karachi District School Board and also an examiner of the University. I told him that

with his help I had 100 per cent certainty to win. We did our best but all our entreaties and requests have failed.

He says that he must stand. We know he is a big man, a minister, a leader and a strong man. But we know this too that he has no interest in the educational problems. He too wants to take advantage of membership of the Senate and go [to] Bombay to renew his acquaintances.

Now, we appeal to you to ask K. B. Khuhro to let us be represented. Our interest is in the institution of which you are the founder, and in our own lot which is really miserable. For him it is the question of honour and prestige and greatness and for us it is the question of reputation and life.

Quaid-i-Azam, we request you to come to our rescue. Except to appeal to you we have no other go [*sic*].

I am, yours obediently,
SAYID GHULAM MUSTAFA
M.A., LL.B.

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S. M. Bazlool Huq to M.A. Jinnah

QAD (98)

ENTALLY, CALCUTTA,
25 May 1946

Revered Sir,

I wish to make a strong representation on behalf of Eastern Pakistan Association that as the Cabinet Mission proposals for the constitution-making of India are entirely detrimental to the cause of Muslim nation and contrary to the time to time declarations [made from] as also against the Lahore Resolution of 1940, we feel that you will completely reject it on the ground of fundamental differences. And as the descendants of chivalrous nationality of India, you, as our commander, will give us the order for sacrifice and speaking on behalf of the youth of Bengal and Assam, I can assure you that we are prepared for the very worst. Our motto is "either with the shield or on the shield" for Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
S. M. BAZLOOL HUQ
General Secretary,
Eastern Pakistan Association

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Jehangir F. Kotewal to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/5

1 REHEM MANSION,
CAUSEWAY, BOMBAY,
27 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Cabinet Mission have declared that their scheme is not open to alteration. If the League accepts the scheme as it stands, it will mean suicide for the League so far as Pakistan in any shape or form is concerned. If the League rejects the scheme without putting forward any constructive alternative they will lose world's sympathy and inevitably will suffer an eclipse.

The scheme of my book, *The India Charter*, accepts Pakistan in principle and provides for parity in the union legislature and executive.

I have sent you a copy of the book today.[1] The scheme is outlined in Part V.

It provides the "constructive alternative" that you need at this moment. As a life-long friend of your great community, I recommend its acceptance *en bloc*.

Yours sincerely,
JEHANGIR F. KOTEWAL

[1]Jinnah acknowledged receipt of the book with thanks. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/6. Not printed.

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Prem Nath Bazaz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Kashmir/43

SRINAGAR,
KASHMIR,
27 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have read in the press about the present movement launched by Sheikh Abdullah and his followers in Kashmir. You must have also noticed the tremendous support that the Hindu nationalists and their various papers are giving to the movement.

Among top leaders, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Ghaffar Khan have issued statements supporting Sheikh Abdullah and condemning the Kashmir Government.

By a strange process of events, Sheikh Abdullah has come into clash with the authorities. By his short-sightedness he got Rai Bahadur Kak installed in the *gadi* of Prime Ministership but finding his party interests not being fulfilled to the extent he had expected at the hands of R. B. Kak he took up cudgels against him. This landed him into present trouble.

The movement is not against the feudal Maharaja as the Hindu nationalist press and leaders want to tell the world to make a hero of Sheikh Abdullah. It was started because the Maharaja accepted Mirza [Afzal] Beg's resignation from his Council and appointed Mian Ahmad Yar in his place. Beg is a favourite of Abdullah and Mian is not.

This lowered the prestige of Abdullah and his National Conference, and feeling thus insulted and aggrieved, he has started the present campaign. He abused the Maharaja. As the first Government communique about the present disturbances says, "Unmentionable abuse was heaped upon His Highness and his ruling family" in these speeches.

In this connection, I am reminded of your statement[1] which you issued on the eve of your departure from here on 26th July 1944. It contains the following:

I regret that although Sheikh Abdullah and his party and the Muslim Conference discussed matters with me in Delhi and in Lahore before my arrival here, and were good enough to accord me a great reception, and were anxious that I should hear both sides and bring about a settlement, when I, after careful consideration, suggested that the Musalmans should organize themselves under one flag and on one platform, not only my advice was not acceptable to Sheikh Abdullah, but as in his habit, which has become a second nature with him, he indulged in all sorts of language of a most offensive and vituperative character in attacking me. My advice to the Musalmans is that the differences can only be resolved by argument, discussion, exchange of views and reason and not by goondaism, and one thing that I must draw the attention of the Kashmir Government about is that goondaism must be put down at any cost, and there should be a constitutional liberty of speech and freedom of thought, which is the elementary right of every citizen under any civilized government."

The Muslims as a community have kept themselves aloof from

Sheikh Abdullah's present move. So have the others. The agitation has, therefore, almost come to an end but the Hindu nationalist press of British India wants to keep it alive. They publish entirely false news and misleading comments. It is a pity that the leaders of the eminence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan also play the same tune.

Unfortunately some of the Muslim League papers of the Punjab are also joining this wrong chorus. This has made a few members of the Muslim Conference, not very important though, waver in their decision about their attitude towards the present agitation.

If it is not inconvenient to you and if you can spare some time, may I know what is your advice[2] for the Muslims of Kashmir at this critical juncture.

I hope you will also permit me to publish your reply, if necessary.

Yours sincerely,
PREM NATH BAZAZ
Editor,
The daily *Hamdard*

[1]See Waheed Ahmed, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Unity, Faith and Discipline,* Vol. III, Karachi, 1997, 525-6.
[2]See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam,* Vol. IV, Lahore, 1996, 2304-5.

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G. V. Subba Rao to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (99)

CAMP BEZWADA,
28 May 1946

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to forward herewith[1] the latest decisions of my party executive on the political situation. And I shall be grateful if you can peruse them with care.

I have been a continuous critic, as well as an admirer, of your goodself; but I think the time has arrived when you should show real statesmanship. I think the arrangement suggested in our party resolution is well-worth your consideration; and I hope you will not deprive those outside your League circles who are genuine admirers no less of your party to join you and fight for freedom side by side.

You might recollect, some time ago, that I was suggesting that

your goodself and Mr. V.D.Savarkar should join for a Hindu-Muslim understanding; and even to-day I fail to realise how the Gandhian pretension can help to its solution either now or hereafter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. V. SUBBA RAO
President,
Andhra Swarajya Party

[1]Not printed.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/3

CONFIDENTIAL

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
29 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of May 9th[1] in which you appreciated my few suggestions dealing with the question why the Muslims want Pakistan. And I wondered whether we could organise a common front against this deadly foe, the Caste System, which threatens to engulf not only the Muslims but also other communities of India. Swami Dharma Theertha, the founder of the Indian Social Congress, and I entirely agree with your stand for Pakistan being justly based on the fear of being submerged by a Hindu majority whose:

> "... *Dharma* Philosophy, which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years, a rigid Caste System resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, the creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and super-imposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically."[2]

How deeply Swamiji feels that Caste System is at the root of all the troubles, can be gauged from what he writes to me time and again. He wrote the other day "Mr. Jinnah should not give up the demand for an equal sovereign state. The oppressed and disgraced of the Hindus must have a place to run to and take shelter. Pakistan

will be a refuge for such people." Then again, "We must segregate the Caste Hindu from the whole world until he gives up his caste and becomes a man. Left to myself, I would go to all parts of the world and ask the nations to keep out all Hindus for fear of their contagion of caste and idolatry." I want to bring the caste problem to the notice of the U.N.O. and see that Hindu imperialism is not allowed to raise its head. We have to broadcast our ideas. Again, "The League Convention resolution has thrown the caste problem in the face of the Hindus and the world. The Hindus and the world have to give an answer before Pakistan can be opposed. This is exactly what I wanted all these years. Let the Hindus now answer before the world." Since the League Convention resolution is an open challenge not only to the Hindus but also to the whole world that they [Indian Muslims] are determined to resist all efforts to be yoked under a people whose social and economic machinery threatens the very existence of the Muslims and others who differ in their way of life from Hindus; it is up to all these elements to unite under a common banner to expose this poisonous social structure, undemocratic in character. In order to strengthen the case of a separate homeland, the wicked implications of the Caste System have to be thoroughly exposed. Swamiji has dedicated his life to this great cause. He believes that the actual assault against it has to be organized from many fronts. The true history of castes, their present significance, their inhuman wickedness and their menace to peace not only of India but of the whole world have to be fully exposed as a preparation for organizing active opposition. This work should reach every corner of the globe. Swamiji thinks [that] left to themselves, the Hindus will never tackle the issue. The Muslims, the Christians and other communities of India have to be told how the Hindu castes are a standing insult to all of them and an obstacle to national unity and common citizenship. All freedom-loving people have to raise their voice against the castes. The most effective method of attacking it is to mobilize international opinion against it as an institution which violates man's humanity and is a system of graded hereditary slavery, fundamentally antagonistic to democratic freedom and international cooperation. Worldwide condemnation will alone bring conviction to the deluded Hindus.

With this object in view I am asking you either to give your whole-hearted support for the eradication of this undemocratic institution which threatens to engulf the democratic tendencies of other people or accept our cooperation and help to expose the Hindu

claim to work a democratic form of Government. It is mockery for a Hindu to talk of democracy when in their own fold there is not a sign of equality, fraternity or justice. Six crores in their own society groan and suffer under the dictatorship of the Brahmans. It should be a solemn duty to concentrate our efforts on giving these oppressed and suppressed people a chance of living in a better world. For caste is the infernal machine which gives a death grip on [*sic*] the submerged people (depressed classes). This is the age of democracy. Dictatorship of any form or shape has to be destroyed. The issue of liberty and dictatorship in Hindu society has to be faced and uprooted. There can be no chance of constructing a peaceful and prosperous India as long as millions of India[ns] are prevented from obtaining their sovereign freedom upon which they are determined. On elimination of inequalities and want, depend future happiness of all. The country faces problems of superhuman proportions. The leaders must face the fact of intricate and complex problem of releasing the slaves within the country.

For the fulfilment of this great task, a countrywide movement has to be set in motion. I believe you have already got a publicity department. I suggest that centres for this work should be opened up in every big town of the eleven provinces of India. I could ask Swamiji to lend his services to the cause of exposing the horrors and wickedness of the Caste System on all those who come into contact with it. Every frontal attack on Caste System strengthens and justifies the case of Pakistan. You should let the whole world know why you have been compelled to make the demand for a separate homeland. And only when the inner wickedness of Caste System is exposed will the world understand your firm stand. I also suggest that Swamiji's book, called *The Menace of Hindu Imperialism,* be translated into different languages of India and used for propaganda work. It will go a long way to[wards] explain[ing] how difficult it is for others to put up with Caste Hindu ways.

We have already got a centre in America. Mr. Higginbottom, who has spent 42 years in India, is anxious to bring our viewpoint to the forefront in America. He writes, "Unfortunately here in the United States it is the Brahman and Caste Hindu viewpoint that holds the field." Your viewpoint has not been put forward to the present [*sic*]. Would you please permit me to send your pamphlet to the press. I agree with you. I think your main contentions can be proved to the hilt.

I am also arranging with Mr. T. C. Boyd, who was the Secretary to the Parliamentary Delegation, to help us in giving publicity to

our views in England. The *Dawn* of the 25th rightly points out that the Muslims must start a publicity office in England in order to give the correct viewpoint and give reasons for demanding a separate homeland. This can be proved to the hilt by exposing the Caste System of the Hindus.

I know you are extremely busy these days, but I also know that you have to justify your claim before the whole world and challenge the Hindus to contradict your just claim. If you could get the help of a *Sanyasi* Hindu to prove your case there could not be a better thing. I will wait for an answer and if you so desire, I could ask Swamiji to run up to Bombay when you go there to see you in this connection.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]No. 88.
[2]Excerpt from the Delhi Resolution carried out unanimously at the AIML Legislators' Convention held at Delhi from 7 to 9 April 1946. See Enclosure to Appendix I. 4.

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F. H. Elkhairabadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/424

NAIRANG MANZIL,
AMBALA CITY,
29 May 1946

Dear and revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter I have written to the Cabinet Mission in which I have raised, I believe, a very important point for favour of your kind perusal and immediate attention.

I beg respectfully to congratulate you on your very great achievement. You have saved the Muslim nation in India from Hindu slavery and domination and it is owing to your wise and fatherly guidance that we have got the substance of Pakistan. But it has occurred to me, how far correctly I cannot say, that there has been no elucidation so far as to what will be the remedy if the Hindu-dominated Central Government breaks the constitution and violates the fundamental rights of Muslim Groups and Provinces incorporated in it. I have suggested a remedy that appeared to me to be feasible and practicable in the circumstances. I have also proposed an alternative of allowing

the Group Union Governments to have armed forces of their own, though on a smaller scale than the Central Union Government. In other words, Defence may be a subject common to the Centre and the acceding Units (Groups), so that we may be able to defend ourselves against aggression by the Hindu-dominated Central Government.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
F. H. ELKHAIRABADI

Enclosure to No. 118
F. H. Elkhairabadi to Members of British Cabinet Mission

F. 1092/425-8

29 May 1946

Sir,

Kindly refer to the views on the Indian constitutional position that I have had the privilege, as a common Musalman, of communicating to you from time to time. After I wrote my last letter, the proposals of the British Cabinet Mission were out. These proposals do not meet fully the just aspirations of the Indian Musalmans, but they are probably the best possible solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle. It is dear to every thinking Indian that the lines on which you have proposed the constitutional settlement are the only means to a peaceful settlement and the other alternative might be civil strife in the country. I beg to congratulate you on the fair and impartial manner in which you have tried to effect a compromise between aggressive Hindu imperialism and the fundamental Muslim right to self-determination—Pakistan.

I believe by this time you have been convinced that the Hindus and Musalmans are two different nations with incompatible ideologies and that they intensely dislike each other, and neither is prepared to be ruled by the other, and that the Hindus prefer British rule in the whole of India to Hindu rule in three-fourths of India if the condition is that the Musalmans shall rule over the remaining one-fourth of India. Similarly, the Musalmans prefer British rule to undivided and unmitigated Hindu rule over the whole of India, as it means for them only a change of masters.

In one respect, however, you have treated the Muslim nation with great injustice and the decision does no credit to the British imperial tradition of treating all Indians alike. We do not object to Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications being coordinated at the Centre and thus supporting the fiction of a United India, which is of course

an artificial creation of the British rule. The constitutional structure that you have proposed fits in admirably with the status of India as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. But it seems to be incompatible and inconsistent with the semi-sovereign status of the Muslim Group States within the Union Government of India. In the first place, what guarantee is there that the Central Hindu-dominated Union Government will not encroach upon the constitutional rights and liberties of the Muslim Provinces and Groups? Defence is a Central subject by which I understand that the Army, including the Navy and the Air Force, will be entirely under the exclusive control of the Hindu-ridden Central Government. The Muslim Provinces will have no armed forces of their own. That again means that the Muslim Provinces and Groups will not be able to resist by force the armed aggression of the Hindu Central Union Government. India being sovereign and independent will not be subject to any direct control of the British Government; nor will the Groups and the Provincial Units be entitled to any protection of the Imperial Government of Great Britain. The position would be different if India were to remain as a Dominion, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Then it would be the duty of the Imperial Government to prevent any violent repudiation of the terms and principles of the Indian Constitution. You have given the Groups and Provincial Units the right to ask for a revision of the constitution after 10 years. This means that the Muslim Groups and Provinces can lay claim to full-fledged Pakistan or sovereignty of the Muslim States. Here also the question arises: what will happen if the Central Union refuses to agree to this and repudiates this part of the Constitution? Who will be there to help the Muslim Provinces and Groups to maintain or get their due rights under the Constitution? The only alternative left for them would be to revolt. This would mean simply civil war and bloodshed, which you profess to avoid by your compromise proposals. If you leave us now to settle the issue of Pakistan with the Hindus and take your armies off our shores, we shall be able to fight with the Hindus on terms of equality. But after the acceptance of your proposals, say 5 or 10 years hence, the Hindus will have gained a position of vantage and power, and we Musalmans shall be in a very unfavourable position. The Hindu Central Government will have a well-organized Army, Navy and Air Force, mechanized tanks and machine guns, bombers and what not. We shall have only the Police Force whose equipment and supply of modern weapons would depend on the sweet will and pleasure of the Central Government. The result

will be that we shall be left only with Police Force that will not be capable even of putting down any internal disorders or organized lawlessness within the Provinces, to say nothing of resisting any armed aggression by the Centre. While you leave the Indian States who [*sic*] are 90 per cent Hindu, free to have their armies, you leave the provinces entirely unarmed and at the mercy of the Hindu-dominated centre.

I, therefore, propose that for a period of 10 years, until the decennial revision of the Constitution is carried out, India should remain as a member of the British Commonwealth and the integrity and inviolability of the present proposed Constitution should be guaranteed and safeguarded in the terms of the treaty to be concluded between the Central Government on the one hand and the British Government on the other. In justice and fairness, the British Government should undertake to guarantee the fundamental constitutional right, of the Muslim Groups (Muslim Union of Provinces) as well as of the Indian States vis-a-vis the Hindu-dominated Indian Central Union.

The only alternative to what I have proposed above is to allow the Group Union Governments to have armed forces of their own, although on a smaller scale than the Central Union Government. In other words, Defence should be a subject common to the Centre and the acceding Units (Groups), so that the Muslim States (Groups) may be able to defend ourselves [*sic*] against unconstitutional aggression by the Hindu-dominated Central Government. If the Cabinet Mission proposals are allowed to stand as they are at present, the Group Union Government will have no armed forces even to oppose effectively any rebellion or violent upheavals within the Union. If the people living under the Provincial Government rise in armed revolt against the authority of the Group Union, there will be no armed forces to suppress it. The Hindu-dominated Central Union instead of helping the Group Union in maintaining peace and order would rather encourage these disruptive forces and subversive movements within the Group-structures. It would give the Central Government a welcome opportunity of encroaching upon the sphere of the Group Union Authority and in fact provide it with an excuse for swallowing up the Groups.

In case even of riots, the aid of the military has to be called in. Since the Groups or the Provinces are to have no army of their own, they will have to beg the Central Government to lend its military help, which means undue interference in the sphere of law and order by the Central Government. It will be easy for the

Central Government to break up the Group Governments by fair means or foul and thus make short shrift of that little bit of Pakistan that the poor Musalmans—who ruled over this country for more than 600 years—have been granted.

Under the new Constitution, the native Indian States have been left free to maintain their own armies, and their relations with the Central Union will depend on their voluntary agreements. It has to be remembered that the number of Hindu States in India is much larger than that of Muslim States. The Muslim Provinces and Groups, therefore, have great and real apprehension that Hindu States living in areas adjoining the Muslim Groups will combine to attack the Muslim Group Governments and Muslim Provinces while the Hindu Central Union Government will maintain a benevolent neutrality or non-belligerency. Whether the Muslim Groups will or will not be able to defend themselves against the aggression is a different question altogether but the danger is there.

The inevitable conclusion, therefore, is that the Muslim Groups should either have armed forces for their internal defence or the British Government should guarantee their integrity.

Yours faithfully,
F. H. ELKHAIRABADI

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A. M. A. Hamid to H. S. Suhrawardy
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1112/167-8

PABNA,
29 May 1946

Dear Mr. Suhrawardy,

I have read and re-read the statement (in the form of recommendation) by the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy and those by the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and the Congress Working Committee and I am personally of the opinion that there will be no cause of apprehension if we accept the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission. It must, however, be stipulated in the Group Constitution that no province shall be able to opt out from the Group assigned to it and join another unless that province is contiguous to

that another Group and so long as Groups B & C are not allowed to secede from the Centre. If the Cabinet Mission cannot be prevailed upon to add this proviso in their recommendations as published on 16.5.1946 it can be easily managed by the Group Constituent Assembly as the following analysis will show:

ANALYSIS OF GROUP CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY

The total number of elected representatives of Group C will be 70 (36 Muslims and 34 non-Muslims). Of this, Bengal will have 60,of whom 33 will be the Muslims elected by the Muslim members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and 27 non-Muslims, including Europeans and Scheduled Castes, elected by non-Muslim members (to which the term "general" has been given by the Cabinet Mission). They will all be elected by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote. There being 122 Muslim members in the Bengal Legislative Assembly (including Mr. M. A. Zaman of the Congress Party) it will require only 3.7 votes to elect a Muslim representative to the Constituent Assembly. So there is every apprehension of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq being elected with the votes of his five henchmen, including himself and Zaman, and if the two non-League Muslim members from Faridpur and Murshidabad join hands with them, another may be elected in addition. If such a thing happens, our voting strength in Group may be half and half or even reduced to less than half if two non-Leaguers can manage to get through by the machination of Mr. Huq and the Congress party. Some say it is not clear from the statement of the C.M. [Cabinet Mission] whether the Europeans will get their representatives on the basis of their population in the province or on the basis of their strength in the Legislative Assembly; but on reading between the lines of the two statements; one dated 16.5.1946 (the historical recommendation, para 18) and the other as published in the *Statesman* on 26.5.1946, it may be safely assumed that the Europeans will be able to send their representatives in proportion to their numerical strength in the Assembly.

As there are at present 128 non-Muslim members in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, and if all the non-Muslim members participate in the election, 4.74 votes will be necessary for electing one non-Muslim representative to the Constituent Assembly (by non-Muslim members). Europeans with their 25 members in that case cannot return more than 5 representatives; but if they combine with other non-Congress non-Muslims, they can easily elect 8 to 9 non-Muslim representatives to the Constitution-making body. By electing only 5 representatives of

their own, from their own fold, they will lose 1. 30 votes for nothing. Even by combining only with the non-Congress Scheduled Caste and the Anglo-Indians they can push up one from each of these two communities but if these two groups are left alone, they cannot elect even one representative each, if they vote separately, there being only four in each Group. Whether all of these 7 or 9 representatives (as the case may be) will side with us in all matters, is not known to me but I can safely presume that one, from the non-Congress Scheduled Caste, will never forsake us and as such there will be no cause of any apprehension of our party being in the minority in the proposed Constituent Assembly, named as Section C in the Cabinet Mission's recommendations. By the same machination, we may have one or two non-Congress non-Muslims elected by the Assam Legislative Assembly.

So even if the Cabinet Mission do not accede to our request for including in their recommendations that no province shall be allowed to opt out from one Group and join another unless that province is contiguous to that another Group, we can have it settled by ourselves provided we can have a majority in the way suggested in the Group Constituency mentioned above (with a Chairman of our own choice).

In Group B there will be no difficulty as there we shall be in absolute majority.

In this connection, I would invite your attention to an analysis by Mr. Gandhi in his *Harijan* on 26.5.45 and reproduced in all Calcutta dailies the next day, in which he critically compared para 15 (5) and para 19 of the Cabinet Mission's recommendations and emphatically expressed the opinion that these recommendations were mere appeal and advice and may be thrown overboard by a majority in the Constituent Assembly at any moment.

Yours sincerely,
A. M. A. HAMID
Khan Bahadur, MLA

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G. D. Daniel to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/60-1

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

TANJORE,
29 May 1946

Mr. Jinnah,

It will be a great disappointment to you that the Cabinet Mission has vetoed Pakistan.

Cripps Proposal of 1942 ended in failure. Simla Conference No. I of 1945 ended in failure. Simla Conference No. II of 1946 ended in failure. The Cabinet ministers' proposals will also end in failure. This is the secret intention and wish of the Britishers, although, for outward appearance, they successfully make a show of earnestness and sincerity of purpose. We have to keep in mind that we are not dealing with the "British Lion" but with the "British Fox". They will never quit India and sever their connections, whether Pakistan is granted or the present proposals are put into effect. They have already given expression that §*sic*] the British army will not be vacated [*sic*] and, secondly, that a treaty should be concluded between Britain and India. The conditions of the treaty will be such as to counterbalance the grant of the coming independence. Even in a purely Muslim country like Egypt where there is no communal difference, it is proving a Herculean task to evict the Britishers from the country. How much more stupendous and difficult will it be to get rid of them from India where the communal difference is rampant? The minority question will ever be present and will not be solved if Pakistan or the present proposal is carried out and it will prove a great thorn to the established government. Please ponder over this well without prejudice and ultra [*sic* for ulterior] motives.

In Syria, the population consists of Muslims and Christians, yet the Christians do not claim separate nationality but merge themselves with the Muslims and claim independence with one voice and they have succeeded in driving out the British and the French Army. In the ministry formed there also, half the members are Christians and there is no communal clash because all of them consider themselves as Syrians by nationality. Similarly, in Palestine, there are Arab Christians and Arab Muslims. Yet they do not claim separate nationality, but both of them, with one voice, raise a protest

against the Jews.

Kindly imagine the effect and result it will produce if you shake hands with the future Congress president, abolishing the Muslim League and the Congress but merging them together to form one family and face the 'British fox' with proposals to establish coalition governments in all provinces and [at] the Centre, fully safeguarding the minority communities of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, etc.

The whole world knows the exploitation and injustice that is being perpetrated in and on India by the British ; but they are reluctant or unable to interfere when the country is shorn with [*sic*] communal differences; but a united front will reverse [*sic*] the tables in all respects.

I wish the One above us will move and direct your heart and give courage to follow the right path that is acceptable to many for the greater glory of India.

Yours sincerely,
G. D. DANIEL
An ordinary citizen

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Rahim Gul & Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/597-8

PESHAWAR,
29 May 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Under the prevailing democratic rules exercised [*sic*] today in the world, even the king selects [as] his advisor the person elected by the nation; while the [Muslim] League high command, in selecting a delegate of Frontier for Simla Conference, deputed a person who was not only defeated in the election, but is strongly hated by the public on account of his stained hands.

Every child in Frontier knows A. R. Nishtar and you are also well aware about his tactics that what and how the League suffered in Frontier during his regime.

Incidentally League high command committed a serious and irreparable mistake in this selection, which will consequently affect the League cause at this end. At this critical juncture, when the question of cherished goal of Pakistan is before Musalmans, and

the illiterate persons of Frontier are attending and moving slowly towards it, this mistake has provided an opportunity for the Gandhian followers to propagate against Pakistan and the League declaring in the open meetings that A. R. Nishtar, a defeated and notorious person who caused such hardships during his regime, is now going to be a ruler of Frontier as the League high command has deputed him as a delegate.

Every now and then, we endeavoured to place before your honour the real facts and affairs prevailing in the Frontier and the atmosphere at present prevailing. We can emphatically say and it is our highest conviction that such persons would not bring fruitful results or would serve the nation, but would provide [*sic*] a great loss [to] the cause of League and Muslim nation and the responsibility of all these failures will lie with the high command.

Apologising for encroaching upon your precious time,

We are yours,
RAHIM GUL
AHMAD KHAN

N.B. We did not think it advisable to write during the Conference days as you were awfully busy and, moreover, it was somewhat awkward at that time.

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K. M. Reshad Nasarullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/593-4

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL,
JALAPAHAR,
DARJEELING,
29 May 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A few days back, I read in the papers that you may be resigning from the Presidentship of the All India Muslim League. If this is a true information, then I think that you are doing [*sic*] the biggest mistake in your life. Muslim India cannot lose a leader of your calibre; if you are finished then the rest of the Muslims are finished.

No matter what the Working Committee do against you, we youths will still support you. Kindly do not depend on the old generation of

the Muslim League. They are useless for the achievement of Pakistan. We are prepared to shed every drop of blood for our goal, and you are the leader whom we want to lead us on every battlefield.

I hope you will still keep on insisting [on] the Cabinet Mission that Muslims will not accept anything, if they do not get Pakistan. We will resist any form of government set up without our consent, and we must free Islam from the chains of slavery. Sir, I am very interested in politics. I hereby apply for secretaryship under you with pay or even without pay. I am ready to serve Islam till my death, and if you have any consideration towards a humble servant of Islam then I hope you will accept me as your secretary or even a deputy secretary. I am ready to serve you without pay and I hope you will take me in.

Waiting for an early reply,

Your most obedient and loyal servant of Islam,

K. M. RESHAD NASARULLAH

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Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/429-34

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
29 May 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had been thinking of writing to you for a long time but I did not do so because of your preoccupation in connection with the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission. However, certain rumours have been circulating since the Simla Conference to which I feel I should draw your attention.

There is a strong rumour that while you would take a firm stand by the demand formulated by the Legislators' Convention,[1] the Working Committee adopted a weak-kneed attitude from the very beginning and failed to give you the necessary support. Your hands were weakened and you were not in a strong enough position to negotiate with the Cabinet Mission and the Congress. The result of the weakness on the part of the Working Committee, it is suggested, was the stiffening of the attitude of both the Mission and the Congress. It is felt that the League went on conceding all along the

line but the Congress did not budge an inch from their position and the Mission too resiled from the position they had originally indicated in their letter[2] of invitation to you. This fact was very clearly pointed out by you in your letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence.[3] Then again the partiality of the Mission for the Congress is evident from the tone of Lord Pethick-Lawrence's reply[4] to your letter. Indeed he appears to constitute himself into an apologist for the Congress and pleads for them. But his contentions in favour of the Congress are hopelessly exposed by the letter of Jawaharlal Nehru[5] which shows that the criticisms you had made of the Congress position were perfectly correct. The upshot of the whole episode is that we have been almost cold-shouldered so far as the Union Centre is concerned. Even the provision regarding the right of provinces and groups to secede from the Union after ten years has been dropped by the Mission.

If there is any truth in these rumours it is indeed a very unfortunate position. What could be more tragic than that men, who owe all their position and prestige to you, should let you down at the most critical moment of our struggle. Already there is a good deal of discontent against most of the members of the Working Committee, specially among the youth. While the faith and confidence of the Muslims in your leadership and statesmanship stand absolutely intact, the same, I am afraid, cannot be said about members of the Working Committee. Of one thing I can assure you. If you make a direct appeal to the Muslim masses for support to the stand you take, they will go with you spontaneously and whole-heartedly. None of the members of the Working Committee, I am sure, will have the daring to oppose you in public. With what face can they go to the public to canvass support for the kind of Union Centre proposed by the Mission after having sworn on the *Qur'an* to fight and die for undiluted sovereign Pakistan.

I would now, with your permission, like to set out my own reactions to the Mission Plan. Our case having already been weakened, it appears to me that our future course should really be determined by two considerations. If it can be ascertained that the Cabinet Plan will drop if one of the two major parties refuses to work it, then I think we should press our demands for modification of the provisions relating to the Union Centre, making it clear at the same time that in the event of those demands not being met satisfactorily we will oppose the Plan. If the whole thing is thrown into the melting pot it would not do as much harm. We can afford to wait and we can

utilize the interim period to further strengthen and consolidate our position specially in the NWFP and Sind. On the other hand, if the British Govt. are determined to foist the Plan in spite of any party's opposition then either we go into the wilderness immediately and declare war on the Anglo-Hindu combine or we work the Plan up to the Group stage and then create a situation to force the hands of the Hindus and the British to concede Pakistan of our conception. The latter course, under the circumstances, in my opinion seems to be more prudent and feasible. Once we go under and the Hindus become top-dog with British backing, it would be very difficult indeed for us to recover for generations.

If I were certain that our provincial and district League leaders and organizations, barring a few exceptions, would be ready to carry out your commands unflinchingly and make the necessary sacrifices, I would unhesitatingly say that we resist the Plan at all costs. But you know best whether a struggle with our organizational equipment and strength as it exists and our present local leadership has any reasonable chances of success. In my humble opinion, therefore, the wise course would be to make known in most emphatic terms our objections to the Plan specially with regard to the Centre and declare that we will continue to agitate and fight for the acceptance of these demands and will not be bound to submit to a Union Centre which does not accord us a position of equality. We give a chance to the Hindu majority to accommodate us at the Centre. Perhaps the Cabinet Mission may be induced to concede some of the modifications, knowing the depth of our feeling and the strength of the popular support behind us. You could take up the matter with the Mission that considering the very considerable concessions made by the League they should, in fairness, agree to some modifications of the Plan. We should, I think, insist on the following points being conceded:

i. There should be parity of representation between the two Muslim groups on the one hand and the Hindu Group on the other.
ii. The right of provinces and Groups to secede from the Union should be unequivocally recognized in the same way as the right of provinces to secede from Groups is conceded. This right should be exercisable immediately after the first elections under the constitution. The recognition of this right will compel the Hindu majority in the Union Constituent Assembly to go a long way to[wards] accommodating the Muslim

provinces in order to induce them to stay in the Union. Consistently with their numerous declarations in the past, the Congress too cannot oppose this proposal. The Cripps Scheme of 1942 also clearly conceded this right. The British Govt., therefore, cannot go back on a commitment they have already made. Mere revision of constitution means nothing. The method of revision will be laid down by the Constituent Assembly and we cannot expect it to be to our advantage.

iii. Under no circumstances should we agree to the Union Centre having powers to raise finances through direct taxation. The finance required for the three Central subjects should be provided by constitutions made by provinces and Groups according to agreed proportions.

iv. Paragraph 19(7) needs further elaboration and elucidation. We cannot agree to the Chairman of the Union Constituent Assembly being the sole judge of what is a 'major communal issue'. The reference to the Federal Court is meaningless unless the Federal Court was made a truly arbitral authority. The better alternative would be to refer the questions of what is a major communal issue to an umpire or umpires mutually agreed upon by the two major parties.

After we have made the constitutions of Groups B & C according to our wishes, our position will be stronger than what it is now if we use our opportunities properly. We will have some foothold. When we reassemble in the Union Constituent Assembly we can create deadlocks on really important issues by using the power vested in us under para 19(7) if the worst comes to the worst and the Hindu majority shows no willingness to compromise, we can withdraw from the Assembly in a body and refuse to honour its decisions. Ours will be a solid bloc as there will not be more than two or three non-League Muslims in the Assembly. We will not be bound legally or morally to submit to the decisions taken by the Assembly in the teeth of our opposition and behind our back. And I do not think even the British will accept the onus of enforcing such decisions of the Assembly with their armed forces. We will be on strong ground morally and politically because firstly we will have previously declared that we can never acquiesce in any Centre which reduces us to a subordinate position and secondly we will be in power in the Groups and will be better able to resist the imposition of an unwanted Centre.

I apologize for the length of this letter. I was only encouraged to write it by the kindness and consideration with which you have

always allowed me to place my views on important matters before you. There is just one other matter to which I have to draw your attention. The weakest spot in our organization is the NWFP. But we again have no opportunity to retrieve our position and reclaim the province for the Muslim Group. We should spare no effort to win over the Muslims of the NWFP. At least they are with us. They have been misled and our own work has been defective. I suggest that for the next six months special attention should be paid to the NWFP by All India Muslim League. Like the Punjab we should flood the NWFP with workers and propagandists from all parts of India. One of our all-India leaders should go and sit tight in the NWFP and supervise the whole work of reorganization. Our students are again ready to play their part if required. If you agree, the details can be discussed and worked out sometime in the near future. I would, however, request you to kindly let me have your views as soon as possible, for the University is closing on the 10th June and it will not be possible to mobilise them after that date.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convener,
Committee of Writers, A.I.M.L.

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 4.
[2]See Appendix I. 3.
[3]Appendix I. 10.
[4]Appendix I. 11.
[5]Not traceable.

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Ms. F. Powell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 502/15

RIVERSDALE ESTATE,
P. O. HERBERTPUR,
DIST. DEHRA DUN,
30 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am a British woman and I have every sympathy with your desire to create Pakistan.

It seems that if there should be large ruling independent states

such as Bhopal and Hyderabad, why there should not be a[n] independent Pakistan state in India.

The compromise between the Congress and the [British Cabinet] Delegation is absolutely absurd, considering they have been shouting for unity which they haven't got, as there is still a distinction between United India and the States.

The Congress seem to have swallowed anything so long as they can cling to the make-belief [*sic*] United India.

Please let nothing stand in your way or interfere with your programme for although I am an English woman, I believe the great future of India lies entirely in the hands of the Muslims.

Believe me to be an admirer of the Muslim League.

F. POWELL

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A.Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (100)

15 CIRCUS ROW,
CALCUTTA,
30 May 1946

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I send the attached cuttings[1] of newspaper for your kind perusal. Really these are the views of Muslim Bengal. The Chief Minister, Mr. Suhrawardy with his colleagues and Mr. Abul Hashim, the Provincial League Secretary, are doing nothing for us, the poor Muslims of Bengal. You can easily understand that their works are all against Muslim interests. Kindly spend a little valuable time and go through the cuttings to realise our present position, the poor Muslims of Bengal.

Belovedly yours,
A. RAHIM
A Poor Voter of South Calcutta

[1]Editorials of the *Morning News*, 15 & 29 May 1946 and another undated press cutting are not printed.

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Stephen S. Myrick to M. A. Jinnah

F. 955/16

1140 NORTH VISTA STREET,
HOLLYWOOD,
CALIFORNIA,
31 May 1946

Sir,

More than forty years ago, the undersigned spent three years as a teacher in the chain of Anglo-Chinese Schools in Singapore and the Malay States.

He has ever since cherished hope of India's independence; and now with independence offered, he begs to submit his plea for an undivided India.

We in America once had the question up, of dividing our country; and some leaders were so unwilling to think in vision that it cost us a lamentable war. A divided America would have been an American failure.

It is well for us to take God with us in affairs of state, but religions are only a few of God's more ceremonial vehicles. And vehicles unless adroitly steered not infrequently collide.

France and America are the homes of Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Gentiles. Yet France is only one France. And America's forty-eight states are federated.

Would not both these countries find their enthusiasm wounded were India divided?

May the spirit of God within yourself guide you,

Right earnestly,
STEPHEN S. MYRICK
Retiree, Hollywood High School

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Khan of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 699/7-8

KALAT,
31 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May God help you and give you long life.

Forgive me Quaid-i-Azam to worry you at such a time when you are so busy. We know it very well what you are doing not only to the Musalmans of India, but to the whole Islamic world. I will say again and again that may God help you and give you long life. I am sending my trustworthy man Rauf to you to come and pay his respects to you and give you my message and I am certain that you may help me and guide me, as my father and leader.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

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H. K. Ray to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/335-6

38 SITARAM GHOSH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
31 May 1946

Dear Sir,

Please excuse me for venturing to take a little of your precious time.

The recommendations of the British Cabinet Delegation have, as they say, come out as a direct consequence of the failure of the Congress and the Muslim League in coming to a compromise at the tripartite Simla Conference. It is no doubt a sad affair and the British will not spare [*sic*] to make a political game out of it. The recommend ations, while proposing to please everybody, really fulfil the ideals of nobody—neither the Congress nor the Muslim League. The

grouping of provinces, far from conceding the demand for Pakistan by the Muslim League in any sense, renders the constitution most complicated and impractical. There will be a constant hitch between the legislatures and executives of the Groups on the one side and those of the provinces on the other in the absence of any sovereign power of the Groups. The autonomy of the provinces also will be handicapped to a great deal. There are various other mischiefs which you understand more than my humble self.

Is it not the fittest time for the Congress and the Muslim League:

i. to forgive and forget the past,
ii. to come together for the greater interest of the country,
iii. to formulate an agreed constitution on the basis of a united India having a strong centre, maximum autonomy for the provinces and necessary safeguards for the minorities,
iv. to reject downright [*sic* for outright] the recommendations of the Cabinet Delegation and place the agreed proposals as per (iii) as a substitute, and
v. finally to save the prestige of both the Congress and the Muslim League and thereby of India as a whole?

Will your honour take the lead in this matter by inviting Pandit Nehru without any further loss of time? If you do so your name will be a household word in India—nay in the entire globe. You will have the good wishes of the entire population of India and we doubt not that you will be the first Head of the Government of free India.

Is it not a fact that there cannot be any peace in India without a thorough understanding between her two major communities—the Hindus and the Muslims? When we have got to live here we shall have to live like brothers. Real prosperity of India lies in the union of the communities and not in their severance, and communal harmony depends on living together and not separately.

Yours sincerely,
H. K. RAY

129

M. L. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/417

URGENT

MOHAMMAD HUSSAIN ROAD,
KAROL BAGH,
DELHI,
31 May 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I would like to meet you and have a talk with you on the economic implications of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. The points that I want to discuss with you have been embodied in a brief note which is attached herewith. I would very earnestly request that you may kindly go through this note and give me an opportunity to see you before the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League.

I shall ring up your Secretary after your arrival in New Delhi on the 2nd of June to enquire about the date and the time when it would be possible for you to see me.

I hope I won't take much of your precious time.

With profound respects,

Yours sincerely,

M. L. QURESHI
Honorary Joint Secretary,
All India Muslim League Planning Committee

Enclosure to No. 129

F. 1092/418-23

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE CABINET MISSION'S PLAN

The Cabinet Mission's Plan provides that the proposed Union of India would deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications and shall have power to raise the finances required for the purpose. The economic implications of putting these subjects under the control of the proposed Union are as follows:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The foreign relations and the foreign trade of a country are

inter-dependent. Trade considerations play an important role in the determination of the foreign policy. The Centre, through its foreign policy, will be in a position to exercise a considerable measure of control over the volume, character and direction of the foreign trade of the constituent Units.

DEFENCE

The authority entrusted with the responsibility for incurring public expenditure can and does affect the economic life of the community to a very great extent. The expenditure on defence usually constitutes a very large part of the total public expenditure. Under the proposed plan the defence expenditure will be the responsibility of the Centre which would thus have the power to influence the economic life of the Units in a very effective manner.

The Defence Department of a country is usually the largest single employer in the country. It employs a large number of people directly as members of the defence services. The secondary employment created by it is enormous, for a very large number of people are employed in the production of goods and services required for defence. All this employment will be controlled by the Central Government.

The goods required for defence include, amongst others, the products of the following industries:

a. Iron and Steel
b. Engineering
c. Power
d. Chemical
e. Cement
f. Consumption goods industries, such as leather, textiles, sugar, paper, matches etc., etc.

The first five are basic industries, for their products are indispensable for other industries. The location of these industries is decided partly on grounds of strategy and partly in the interests of the economic development of the country. These decisions will be made by the Central Government which will thus have the power to promote or discourage the economic development of different areas.

In order that the requirements of the Defence Department may be efficiently and promptly met, a good deal of economic planning would be necessary. In particular the development of the above mentioned industries will have to be planned by the Centre. This will greatly curtail the liberty of the Groups as well as provinces in

the matter of economic planning. The Units will have no option but to ensure that their plans are such as can be fitted in the Master Plan prepared by the Centre.

Thus the Central Government, through its economic planning for defence, would be in a position to determine the character of the economy which the different Units are to have.

COMMUNICATIONS

Communications play a very important role in the economic life of a country. The location of industries and of markets, the character of agricultural production and the economic development of different areas are dependent on the facilities available for the transport of goods and the rates at which they are carried.

The railways can't charge uniform rates for all goods and distances. Differential rates are both necessary and justified on economic grounds. But the right of discrimination places enormous power in the hands of the railway authorities, which can, if they so choose, cripple the economy of any area through their rates policy.

If communications are a central subject, the case for a common measure of value, namely, a common currency, becomes very strong for it would be very convenient for the public that the value of a through railway ticket or of a postage stamp should be expressed in terms of the same money and should not be subject to changes, which would be inevitable if there are two or more independent currencies whose exchange values may fluctuate in terms of one another. The possibility of fluctuations in exchange is an essential feature of independent currencies, for if this possibility is ruled out the currencies cease to be independent.

FINANCE

The Union Government will have the power to raise the finance required for the central subjects. It has not been laid down as to how these finances are to be raised. There are two ways of doing this:

i. The Units may make contributions to the Centre on an agreed basis, or
ii. The Centre may impose taxes on its own account.

As this question has to be decided by the proposed Constituent Assembly, it can safely be taken for granted that a majority of the members of the Assembly would be in favour of the second method. The economic effects of this method of raising the finances required by the Centre would be of a very far-reaching character.

The usually recognized sources of revenue for a common centre are as follows:

a. Customs
b. Central Excise
c. Income Tax
d. Currency

CUSTOMS

The imposition of import and export duties for revenue purposes is very closely connected with the imposition of such duties for protective purposes. It is necessary that one should not nullify the effect of the other. The case for their proper co-ordination and control by the same authority is very strong. This authority is likely to be the Union Government which will thus get the power to control the policy with regard to protection.

The incidence of import and export duties whether for revenue or for protective purposes cannot be uniform for all the people. Different people are affected differently. For example, the incidence of the export duty on jute has been, to an appreciable extent, on the Muslim agriculturists of Eastern Bengal. Again the protective duty on sugar has meant that the Muslims, along with others, have been paying a higher price for the sugar consumed by them, whereas the beneficiaries of the duty have been the Hindu growers of sugar-cane in the U.P. and Bihar, and the non-Muslim owners of sugar-mills. Such example could be easily multiplied. The point that it is intended to emphasise is that the authority imposing the import and export duties is in a position to bring about a redistribution of wealth amongst the members of the community and to discriminate between different people in the distribution of sacrifices and benefits.

CENTRAL EXCISE

Excise duties cannot be levied on a uniform basis. Only a few commodities are selected for this purpose and they are taxed at different rates. Besides, the incidence of excise duties, like customs duties, is such that different people are affected differently. This gives the Central Government powers to exercise discrimination in the imposition of burdens.

INCOME TAX

This is a direct tax and through it all the economic activities of the individual come directly under the control of the taxing authority. People are naturally more interested in the authority that taxes them

directly than in any other. That is why the component units in most of the federations in the world have always tried to reserve the powers of direct taxation of importance by the Units.

CURRENCY

Currency is the source of inflationary finance. In times of emergency such as war, it is the most important source of finance for the Central Government. Once it is conceded that the Union Government will have [the] power to raise money otherwise than through contributions by the Units, the case for the central control over currency becomes irresistible.

Currency and banking are closely related and their unified control is essential on economic grounds. This would mean that banking would also become a central subject.

SAFEGUARDS

The Plan provides that any major communal issue should require for its decision a majority of the representatives of each of the two major communities. This may be an effective safeguard against any direct interference in the religious and cultural interests of the Muslims and there need be no such direct interference. The religion and culture of a people can be imperceptibly, but very effectively, destroyed by applying the economic stranglehold against which there is no safeguard, for economic issues are not likely to come under the definition of "major communal issues".

CONCLUSION

Some of the important key points for the control of the economic life of a community are as follows:

a. Foreign trade
b. Protective tariffs
c. Public expenditure (of which the expenditure on defence constitutes a very large part)
d. Income tax
e. Economic planning
f. Basic industries
g. Currency
h. Banking

Practically all the above subjects, for one reason or another, would come under the control of the proposed Centre which would be virtually an *Akhand* Hindustan Centre. The Units will find that policies with regard to most of the important matters are laid down

for them by the Centre and all that they are required to do is to carry them out. It would be no exaggeration to say that under this arrangement the Groups and Provinces may be no more than glorified municipalities.

The Plan deserves to be rejected outright. It would be far better that we may have a smaller but a sovereign Pakistan State. The Districts of Ambala, Rohtak, Hissar, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Firozepore can be excluded from the Punjab without crippling the economy of the province. Similarly, the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling can be safely excluded from Bengal.

In case the Muslim League should decide to accept the Plan and yet continue to work for the Pakistan ideal, the best line of action from the economic point of view appears to be as follows:

The two Pakistan Groups should not yield on any one of the following points:

a. The two Pakistan Groups should have an independent currency system and an independent Central Bank.
b. There should be no free trade between Pakistan and Hindustan Groups.
c. The Centre should not be allowed to impose direct taxes. This indirect Central taxes should be confined to revenue purposes only.
d. There should be no subventions from the Centre to the Groups or to Provinces.
e. The Pakistan Groups should have independent trade relations with other countries of the world.

This line of approach, by itself, would not result in the achievement of Pakistan, but may bring about a deadlock in the Constituent Assembly and be helpful in preventing the establishment of *Akhand* Hindustan.

[PS.] I have prepared a separate note on the economic resources of those Pakistan districts where the Muslims are not in an absolute majority. This note will be sent to you, if required.

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M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/43-4

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
1 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My views on the subject of the formation of an Interim Government are as follows:

The Muslim League should join the Interim Government provided they obtain a parity with the Congress, not only in numbers, but also in the portfolios; due regard being had to importance of the latter. Even if the Congress does not join, the League should, in order to render as much assistance as is possible from the Centre to our people, whose interests, I regret to have to observe, have been sorely neglected by those Musalmans who were at the helm of affairs. Past experience has shown whenever we kept out and the Congress stepped in—we lost ground while they forged ahead. Unless therefore we are prepared for a revolution, we should not keep out of the Interim Government.

It is true that the Cabinet Mission has not granted sovereignty—but it has grouped provinces in a manner which has given us the economic units we were after. We will have control, *inter alia*, of our finances and be able to embark upon an era of development in the best interests of the peoples concerned.

It has been stated in certain quarters that if even independence had been granted, the Musalmans, being backward, would have been unable to rise to the occasion. Without entering into a discussion of the matter, it would be enough to say that the period of ten years prescribed would just give the Musalmans an opportunity of building up their finances and otherwise qualifying themselves for independence from every point of view.

I am confident that the Congress will not migrate into the wilderness any more. The *bania* in the Congress is most keen to get into power to preserve his wealth and to industrialise the country not for the benefit of the masses but for the benefit of the handful who now control the industries. Bengal has been a great sufferer for a bare necessity like cloth, inasmuch as cloth has had to be brought from

the Congress-ridden mills of the West. Assam and the N.W.F. Province can have no reason for keeping out of their respective groups. They will receive better treatment than they have, at the hands of the Government of India. Our groups will be worked on socialistic principles, and there will be no differentiation between a Hindu and a Muslim, because the Hindu in those groups is little superior to the Muslim. If the Musalmans allow the Congress *banias* to get into power, their position will, within fifteen years, be the same as that of the Musalmans of the Middle East to-day as compared with Europe. Everywhere in the world party alignments are drifting into two categories—the haves and the have-nots. In India if the Congress and the League cannot deal equitably with the masses and obtain social benefits for them through negotiations, then both the Congress and the League will disappear within the next ten years; and the two parties which will take their place will be the haves and the have-nots who will fight the issue without any racial or religious differences. No power in the world has so far been able to suppress such a movement, once it is started.

I may mention it is not possible for us to fight on two fronts, viz. the Congress and the British.

A word more. Among the Chief Commissioners' Provinces, Andaman Islands have been completely ignored. These islands should be claimed for Group C because they have great possibilities for development. They may well serve as a base for defence under our control.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

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Mohammad Jilani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/624-6

PILIBHIT,
1 June 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

While praying for your long life and happiness as you are leading our nation on the right path, I consider it my duty to acquaint your

goodself with the difficulties that the Muslims are facing in the Hindu majority provinces, in their economic, social, educational and other affairs. I myself am a businessman and director of a textile concern in U.P., and I am the only Muslim on the Board [of Directors]. Besides, there are other businessmen, such as cloth, sugar, etc. [*sic*]. They come to me daily expressing their difficulties and the way in which their legitimate claims are disregarded by Hindus and how efforts are made to crush their business. As you know, it is time Muslims should look to [the] future for their economic development.

Now, [a] new constitution is going to be framed and it is likely that the Muslim League Working Committee will come to some decisions at Delhi on June 3.

We, Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces will suffer much, being low in number unless adequate safeguards are provided for us. Muslim chambers of commerce should be formed in every province and they should have powers to guard the interests of the Muslim businessmen. Hindus are progressing rapidly and they have every facility for their advancement. But for us there is no caretaker except God. I hope you would agree with me and arrange likewise in the proposed new constitution.

Again, a number of boys after passing high school are wandering from place to place seeking employment. They come to me. What can I do? Hindus do not keep them. Muslims have very little business.

Zamindari in U.P. is also being abolished. Muslim zamindars helped the institutions and other Muslim interests. There should also be a safeguard for the zamindars who are Muslims. Muslim businessmen in Pakistan area should consider it a part of [their] duty to help the Muslims in the Hindu area by all possible means. We are pleased very much and will be much more pleased to see our Muslim brothers in the Pakistan area developing in [the] future. We have voted for Pakistan. Now they in turn should do for us. They can do much.

My younger brother, Ahmad Jilani, is the President of the District Muslim League, Pilibhit, and we have been doing all we can to help the Muslims. But we can't do what we are required to do.

I hope you would excuse me and favour me with a reply.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD JILANI
Honorary Magistrate
Secretary & Manager, Islamia High School

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Kalimuddin Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/346-7
[Original in Urdu]

KAACHIGORA,
HYDERABAD,
DECCAN,
1 June 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

May God bless you with long life. Your time is very precious but the issue which I wish to bring to your notice is also very important.

You are aware of the problems of Kashmir, and Hyderabad is not far from your thoughts. Kashmir should join Pakistan but its Hindu ruler is the main stumbling block. Muslims of Hyderabad State are against any constitutional modification as it would result in Hindu *raj*. Joining of Kashmir with Pakistan will make the latter strong, and the Muslim subjects of the State will also get independence. Hyderabad cannot be a part of Pakistan. The only feasible solution could be that the two rulers should exchange their States' population. Those Muslims who may wish to migrate from Hyderabad to Kashmir with the Nizam should be allowed to do so. It may be difficult for the Nizam of Hyderabad to accept this proposition. He might, however, accept it if he gets the right advice and the British Government puts it across to him convincingly. You are the best judge to determine the right course of action.[1]

I understand that you will be visiting Hyderabad on 15 June. In case you find my suggestion to be worth consideration, I would wish to see you for a few minutes.

With regards,

Yours humbly,
KALIMUDDIN ANSARI
B.A., LL.B.
Advocate

[1]Jinnah advised Hyderabad Muslims to remain united and be careful in choosing their leaders. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice, Deadlock, Frustration and Riots*, Vol. V, Karachi, 2001, 116-8.

133

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1112/171

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
1 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We are extremely disappointed by the Cabinet Mission's proposals. They have thrown us at the mercy of Hindu Army and Hindu Centre and have deprived us of our freedom and self-determination. No Muslim can accept them unless parity in everything is granted at the Centre and the Muslims of Pakistan zones are given the right to secede after ten years, of their free will. In no case should the Centre have the right to tax and control all kinds of communication, and the Army should only be used for defence against external aggression. Finally, if the Congress does not come to an amicable settlement with the League we must insist on the complete separation and fullest autonomy of Pakistan provinces.

In short, struggle has been forced on us by the Hindu-British combination and it is for you to choose the time and method of retaliation.

With best wishes and respects,

Yours devotedly,
MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI

PS. I am enclosing herewith a note for your kind consideration.

Enclosure to No. 133

F. 1112/172-4

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
31 May 1946

NO SOLUTION WITHOUT PAKISTAN

The Muslims of India are to take a fateful decision today. In fact

there is no choice. If we do not get Pakistan we shall simply perish. There is no room for complacency or misconception. No arbiter or umpire is called for to decide for or against our united and national demand of self-determination and free existence. The will of hundred millions of Musalmans has already been made clear by recent elections. It is bound to reflect itself in the struggle to achieve the goal. The Muslims of India have nothing to learn or unlearn about Pakistan. The British Cabinet Mission ought to have accepted it. But cowed down by the Hindu Congress and urged by their own interests in affairs outside India, the Mission has departed from the path of justice and truth. How weak and unconvincing are their arguments.

They say, "Pakistan on the basis claimed by the Muslim League would not solve the communal-minority problem." One may ask them, is the Union of India, as proposed by them, a solution of the said problem? The fundamental problem is the Hindu-Muslim problem. In their own words there is a "very genuine and acute anxiety among the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule." Will the proposed union of India remove it? Or does it confirm it? Lord Pethick-Lawrence could also discover that the Muslims have their own culture and their way of life.

The Muslim problem is not a communal problem. It is the problem of a nation of hundred million demanding its inherent right to self-determination and free existence. Can any argument be advanced to deny it? Should the Hindu minorities of Pakistan and the Muslim minorities in Hindustan be permitted to veto the right of Muslim and Hindu majorities in the respective zones? The minorities, of course, must have effective safeguards, and the most effective safeguard is a free Pakistan for the Muslims and a free Hindustan for the Hindus. The Sikhs too are a minority. They are an important minority in the Punjab. They must be secured to live there with honour and happiness. In the same way should the Scheduled Castes, the Tribes and the Indian Christians be secured an honourable existence. The League conceded the right of secession to non-Muslim majorities on the border areas but they do not wish to secede, and the Mission has itself been impressed by their desire to keep the existing provinces intact. The Muslims welcome this and are prepared to give them their due.

Further, the British Mission finds administrative difficulties in the establishment of Pakistan. So far as the communications are concerned, these difficulties are simply trivial in face of the greater issue. As regards the Army, the conclusions of the Mission are only

inversely correct. The Indian Army was never formed on the basis of a free India so that it could have any traditions worth the name. Henceforth, the efficiency, if any, and the traditions of the Army will deeply be influenced by the good relations between the Hindus and the Muslims which the proposed award is bound to poison. Moreover, so far as Pakistan is concerned, it is inhabited by martial races and can easily raise a vast and powerful army.

Then there is the question of defence in depth. What depth have so many free and sovereign states in the new and old world? What depth have Burma and Ceylon to justify their separation from India? Both the Pakistan States of North-East and North-West are separately and jointly far larger than the British Isles, France, Italy and Germany. Moreover, if the defence of India means loss of freedom to Muslims, why should they have an interest in it. On the contrary, being on both the frontiers of India, they would be interested in making it more vulnerable to achieve liberation from the Hindu domination.

The question of Indian States has needlessly been dragged in. It is all the same for them; they can remain out or go with Pakistan and Hindustan as they choose.

The Mission has finally dwelt on the geography of the two Muslim States and the intervening Hindu State. Each of the two Muslim States is large and strong enough to claim sovereignty and to protect it. What the Muslim League does envisage is rather an intimate alliance between the two. The British people should find no difficulty in accepting this proposal. How are the far-flung British Dominions keeping themselves within an indissoluble British Commonwealth?

In short, the British Cabinet Mission has failed to carry conviction to Muslims. The British people must take a realistic view of things. The story of Irish resistance is alive in the memory of everybody. Even Ireland had to be divided into a larger half and a smaller half because the will of the smaller half, viz. that of the people of Ulster, was irresistible. The hundred million Muslims of India have a greater urge for Pakistan. It can stand any test. The responsibility for the consequences, however, will not be of Muslims. Pakistan still stands as the only solution of the Indian problem. To the Muslims it is their salvation, to the rest of India it amounts to freedom and peace.

DR. MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI

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Syed Nasrullah Jan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/340-42

DELHI,
1 June 1946

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I have been putting off writing to you for nearly four months simply because I did not want to disturb you in your serious engagements, first with the British MPs' Mission and then with the British Cabinet Mission.

A study of the international and Muslims' political problems leads me to believe that Muslims of the world have got a very good chance to secure emancipation for themselves now when the world at large has recognized, though in certain quarters with a dash of hypocrisy, freedom, self-determination, democracy and all other nice ingredients of political happiness as common property of all.

Leaving aside the remote history of the Muslims' struggle in India, we have been constantly fighting against the aggressive forces since the beginning of the last century. We have read of the *jihad* conducted by Syed Ahmad Shaheed, Maulana Shah Ismail Shaheed, Maulana Wilayat Ali, Maulana Inayat Ali, Maulana Abdul Ghafur (Akhund of Swat), Maulana Najmuddin (Mulla Sahib of Hadda), Haji Sahib of Turangzai, Faqir Sahib of Ipi and others on the N.W.Frontier since 1824. We have also read of the War of Independence of 1857. But those struggles were, as the records show, mostly actuated by the Muslims' hatred for the enslaving powers of the Sikhs and [the] English. Overthrowing the undesirable influences rather than re-establishment of a purely Muslim power seemed to be the main objective. A passion for *sawab* obtainable through ghaziship and *shahadat,* was the chief urge. Again, we had Hijrat and Khilafat Movements, but they too were run on purely negative lines of non-cooperation with, and destruction of, the British power in India. Positive and constructive programme was either lacking or not cared about. However, these movements proved to be educative enough to keep the Muslims awake and their spirits alive. The Muslims, no doubt, had a hard time. They could neither compromise with non-Muslims as it was impossible because of the religious and cultural difference, nor could they afford to give up their Islamic

status of *Ibadullah*. They had to carry on; but, as the Pushto wise saying goes *'aqal pa takaro zda keigi'* (wisdom comes through hard experience). They realised the futility of joint struggle with non-Muslims against undesirable forces. They realised that the net advantage of such struggle would surely go to the non-Muslims as they happened to be in majority and they (Muslims) would remain for ever as slaves as they have been for more than a century now.

An idea of exclusive Muslim political or legal persona was put before the Muslims by late Dr. Iqbal in 1930—an idea which has now become a creed for Muslims under your *qiyadat*. An ideal has now been fixed. Struggle to reach it is to be carried on. Previous kinds of exertion have already been discarded. Fixing of this ideal has simplified the Muslims' proposition as a *millat* very much. By reaching this noble goal they will be free to renew their allegiance to the sovereign Lord, *Allah* and re-establish their positions as His co-subjects, each with equally important duties and rights.

Under the circumstances, I feel it my duty to participate in the march towards Pakistan. One can do nice things by oneself but in the matters of *millat*, individual efforts seldom bear good fruit. I am, therefore, making an offer of my services to the Muslim League as the sovereign body of Pakistan through you, as its President. My actual participation in the march should take place any time after the 28th instant—the date of my relinquishing the post of editor in the Publications Division of the Information and Arts Department.

Here it does not seem out of place if I suggest a few lines of action for your consideration. I should become a member of the League and do according to the directives of the League high command. My work may consist of organizing branches of the League, National Guard and study circles and/or establishing reading rooms and/or doing oral propaganda including work through songs and singers and dramatists and written publicity including managing and editing a magazine. Or I should confine myself to organizing Muslims under various guises such as Muslim Brotherhood, Muslim Masawat Army, Muslim Labour Army, Pakistan Republican Army, etc., in British India including the N.W.Frontier's popular zone known as tribal areas.

I am prepared to consider any line of action you may want me to follow.

Where to start work? Again depends upon your choice. To introduce myself, I am submitting necessary information of myself

on a separate sheet of paper herewith enclosed.[1]

With best wishes to the League and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
SYED NASRULLAH JAN
M.A. (Cantab.)
Bar-at-Law

PS. I am staying at Regal Lodge, Qarol Bagh, New Delhi (at the back of Tibbia College) up to 11th June. Thereafter, my address will be Village and P.O. Ismaila, Tehsil Swabi, District Mardan, N.W.F.P.

[1]See F. 1106/343-5, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 238/10

SECRET

QASR-I-SULTANI,
BHOPAL,
1 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending Jamil Ansari with certain personal messages and I hope you will be so kind as to give him an opportunity of seeing you as soon as possible.

Apart from these messages which should be verbally delivered, I have also asked him to lay before you the case of the Muslims of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. I believe a strong representation on behalf of the Muslim League to His Majesty's Government in support of the cause of these people is very necessary. If you agree, you may perhaps decide to move a strong resolution in the forthcoming meeting of the League and follow it up by personal representation to the Viceroy, the Cabinet Mission and His Majesty's Government. I am myself writing in my personal capacity to the Viceroy. The Muslims of North Africa must never again be placed under the heel of the Italians. It would be a disaster if this happens. England cannot let these people down now after the promises made to them by her

when she was in great difficulties in North Africa.

Yours ever,
HAMIDULLAH

[1]Jinnah reminded the British Government for fulfillment of the solemn promises made to Libya and Cyrenaica. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 37.

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Mir Mohammad Din to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Punjab II/31

JALALPUR JATTAN,
1 June 1946

Muslims of Jalalpur Jattan and surrounding villages gathered in Jum'a Mosque today and unanimously passed the following resolution:

Strongly condemn the inhuman atrocities committed by the Kashmir Government[1] and warn in time to stop further atrocities at once. We ask Kashmir Government to accept demands of Muslims and if refused we are prepared for any sacrifice without least hesitation for which the Kashmir Government will be responsible.

MIR MOHAMMAD DIN

[1]Jinnah cautioned the Kashmir authorities on 5 June and later asked the Maharaja to introduce full responsible government. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 38-9 & 55-7.

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Mohammad Saghir Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1107/267-8

DELHI,
1 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote a long letter to you some years ago from Delhi. It was before the passing of the famous Lahore Resolution. I did not want to disturb you again as the policy of the Muslim League was, to a great extent, what could be desired by a Muslim. I was glad you towed the ship alone to the haven of safety in these years of stress and strain.

The stand you took at the first Simla Conference was that of a stalwart. The nation, after that, reposed full confidence in you and vindicated your stand by electing Muslim League candidates in overwhelming majority all over India. The elections proved that Muslim opinion was in favour of a sovereign Muslim State in India. We were happy over the decision of the nation. If we did not capture majority of seats in the Frontier Province, that did not matter much. The will of the nation for the Pakistan State was shown in an incontrovertible manner.

We hoped that your stand at the next Simla Conference in the presence of the [Cabinet] Mission would be stronger as the whole Muslim nation was behind you and was prepared for the utmost sacrifices for the realization of their aim. But your utterances and statements show which way the wind is now blowing. You seem disposed to accept the proposals of the British Mission. We fail to understand what made you adopt this weak-kneed policy. You are perhaps afraid of the untoward hardships and misfortunes to which the Muslims would be put and exposed by the total rejection of the proposals. You are perhaps diffident of the support of your followers. You are perhaps overawed by the power and organisation of the sister community and perhaps you are horrified by the atrocities that would be committed by the powers in harness against the unorganised herd of the Muslims. There may be other weighty reasons for the step. But a general should not look only to the weaknesses and the hardships pertaining to the action but should see far ahead of the strategy and resultant consequences and take a bold step. If the British had not struck hard and boldly at the battle of the El Alamin, we all know what would have been their fate. You have been placed at the head of the Muslim community in India by the Almighty God and it is your duty to act according to the will and tenets of Islam. Islam and Muslims in this land of infidels and all over the world are in the throes of revolution. A wrong step in one land would affect the fate of the Muslims all over the world. You should adopt a bolder policy of rejecting downright the proposals of the Mission and give a manly lead to the Muslims of India. They have shed their fear. Do not replace it again in their hearts. They are prepared for action. Chalk out a bold programme that may prepare them for such an action that may redeem Islam in this land. If you show weakness at this point, you may be crying hoarse after that. But the Muslim youth and the masses would never believe in you again. You will have committed the worst blunder of your career. You will never regain your fame and glory. Give a right lead and

you will be cherished like an idol in the hearts of the Muslims.

This is a warning that may sound rather jarring but my heart yelled that you should hear it before you take an inevitable [*sic*] step. Rise to the occasion and reap the blessings of the millions of Muslims all over the world.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD SAGHIR HASSAN
Principal,
Islamia College, Allahabad

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Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (101)

ICHHRA, LAHORE,
1 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

You must have read my statement in the press of 22nd May.[1] I send you the full version in English. On the 28th May, after awaiting your reactions, I sent you the following telegram to Simla:

> Reference my press statement of twenty-second May, concerning unequivocal cooperation with Muslim League for attainment of Pakistan, also the celebration [*sic* for observance] of mourning week from ninth to sixteenth June. Please wire your cooperation and concurrence.

As no reply has been received even to this telegram, I take it that you doubt if I am sincere in my intentions or think that it is a political move to discredit you in the eyes of others. I now hasten to assure you that it is neither. I have made the offer with a most sincere heart and I can assure you, in spite of all what some Britishers say to discredit me, that I have not said anything insincere knowingly. I made the offer to you as you have said that you would be ready to spill the last drop of blood for the sake of Pakistan when the time came.

I also assure you that should you co-operate, I shall abide by the decisions you make regarding the achievement of Pakistan and shall give you whatever help you call for from me. I shall continue my help even if Pakistan is not within sight as long as you go on fighting fearlessly for it. If the proposal about the mourning week is not suitable, it will be cancelled of course, but I request that at this critical moment in the history of the Musalmans you will be good

enough to give me a reply one way or the other. The mourning week celebrations depend on your acceptance of the proposal and as they are to begin from the 9th of June. I trust you would send your reply most early.

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN MASHRIQI

PS. I am also sending you under separate cover the issues of *Al Islah* of 24th and 31st May containing my articles headed *Tain Tain Fush* [*sic* for *Fish*] giving the full details of how the independence of India and of Pakistan was atom-bombed by the Cabinet Mission and the British policy with regard to the Musalmans since the creation of the Muslim League.

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 138

LAHORE,
22 May 1946

"I have gone as deep as my imagination could carry me into what the Cabinet Mission have done during the past many weeks. My honest conviction is that nothing has been averred. Independence of India is now atom-bombed and I only see the ruins of it before me. The obligation that the British owed to India for their victory in this war has been firmly disacknowledged [*sic*] and no road is left open now for the Hindus and Muslims except to unite. In fact I must say that Mr. Jinnah has been very badly used in the whole transaction of the past six weeks and the British people have made a big deal out of the whole farce. I warned Mr. Gandhi as early as May[1] 1944 after his release not to join the conspiracy of conferences as they would only accentuate Hindu-Muslim differences.

The Cabinet Mission have closely followed the Khaksar constitution in their award without acknowledging it, leaving out of account, of course, scrupulously those portions which dealt with the freedom of India. Not only in broad outlines but even in its arithmetic of proportional seats they have followed our suggestions, and I can now claim that the constitution the Khaksars have put before the world is the only solution of India's ills. Let the political parties wait for another fifty years if they choose to do so.

I am now convinced that the freedom of India will not be acknowledged until Pakistan is acknowledged by the British in clear terms. I go a step further and say that the freedom of India was not accepted by the British because the British knew that there was not enough force behind Pakistan. If therefore Mr. Jinnah is perfectly sincere about Pakistan I frankly offer once more the services of the Khaksar organisation to him unconditionally, and am ready to join hands with him in this effort. I can assure him that there is no dishonesty about my offer provided Muslim League is ready to make full sacrifice. If Mr. Jinnah agrees I shall throw the whole force into the matter unstintedly [*sic* for unstintingly] and every Khaksar will be ready to lay down his life for the cause of the country. I can assure the Hindus that they also will get nothing from the British unless they join hands with the Musalmans. To begin with I propose to issue orders to Khaksars all over India to celebrate [*sic*] vigorously from 9th June till the 16th June a mourning week in honour of Pakistan which has been buried alive by the British so ruthlessly. I shall await Mr. Jinnah's reaction and then start.

[1]Not traceable. However, see Enclosure to No. 492, Vol. X, 502.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (102)

1 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am forwarding to you the latest review by Swami Dharam Theerath of the political situation as recommended by the Cabinet Mission. It is a clear analysis of the whole show and I am sure you will agree with every word of it.

Copies of it are being sent to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mahatma Gandhi who is supposed to be fighting against the heinous caste system of the Hindus. This statement will be the introduction to the new book of Swamiji, called the *New Light*, which thoroughly exposes the Hindu social system and makes it responsible for all the divisions of India. As soon as the book is out, I will send you a copy of it.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

Enclosure to No. 139

Undated [*May 1946*]

BRITISH CABINET MISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

POLITICAL SITUATION REVIEWED

The British Cabinet Mission has held discussions with the Indian parties and announced the result of their talks and negotiations in a statement issued from New Delhi on 16th May 1946.[1] The Mission has proclaimed to the world in clear terms that the two major parties, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, could not come to an agreement even at a time when the momentous issue of Indian independence depended on such agreement. The Mission had therefore to suggest the foundations of a reasonable arrangement, and asked the parties to come together on the broad basis suggested by them and decide for themselves how they should govern free Indian [*sic* for India]. So the announcement has settled nothing. It gives another opportunity to Indians to meet and arrive at an agreed solution.

The crucial question is: will the Congress and the League open their eyes at least at this late hour to the hard realities of the situation, and make a sincere effort to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the two communities, or will they stick to their party slogans, self-deceiving half-truths and mutual recriminations, which unfortunately have characterised their propaganda in recent months?

Certain simple facts which were crystal clear to impartial observers, but [which] the Indian parties persistently refused to recognise, have been prominently brought out during the discussions and in the announcement of the Mission. If the Congress and the League would honestly recognise these, there should be no insurmountable obstacle when they meet in the Constituent Assembly to thrash out a constitution. What are those realities of the Indian situation, a frank acceptance of which is essential to any peaceful settlement?

1. The Congress and the Hindus with a tenacity unworthy of honest men have been asserting that India is socially, culturally and economically one and she must remain politically one under all circumstances. This hypocritical claim of unity must be given up. They must realise that the people of India are divided into numerous cultural and other groups, and these groups have a right to protect themselves against being submerged by other more numerous communities.

2. The Hindus are responsible for the vivisection of the people of India into water-tight caste compartments destroying all chances of their developing a common national life. Social vivisection had led logically to the clamour for territorial division and independent national existence by the Muslims now, and will, with the same inevitability lead to similar claims by other communities like the Scheduled Castes who feel that in association with the Hindus they can never attain their full dignity as free and equal citizens. The injury done by the Hindu social order is irreparable. To claim unity now and compel other people to accept the yoke of Hindu domination would be adding insult to injury. A thin cloak of nationalism cannot hide the hideous canker of social disintegration which is going on with unabated vigour under the soul-crushing influence of the caste system.

3. The moral justice of the claim of the Muslims to separate national existence is therefore undeniable. The social exclusiveness of the Hindus has compelled them to remain as a separate nation. No self-respecting individual or community can tolerate the humiliation of domination by a people who treat all other peoples as untouchables and unworthy to associate with at every step in their daily life. To deny to the Muslims of India the right to establish a homeland in which they can be masters as the Hindus will be in Hindustan would be the most stupid thing the Hindus can do now. The civilised world will not brook so atrocious an injustice. The Cabinet Mission has made this point quite clear when it says, "If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic and other interests."

4. The wisest thing the Congress and the Hindus can do under the circumstances is to admit the reasonableness of the main demand of the Muslims and obtain from them such accommodation as will secure the unity of India for the purpose of defence and foreign policy. This is the spirit of the recommendation made by the Cabinet Mission.

5. The Hindus must realise that the Muslims are moved by the same aspirations, have the same sense of prestige and self-respect and have the same right of fulfilment of those aspirations and preservation of their dignity as the Hindus. The Hindus want freedom from foreign domination. The Muslims desire a similar freedom from Hindu domination. The Hindus want to be sovereign masters in Hindustan. The Muslims ask for a recognition of their

right to be masters in their homeland. If the Hindus desire cooperation between the two states, the Muslims are willing to meet as friends and equals, surrendering equal rights to the Centre and exercising equal powers in the Central Executive and the General Legislature. This is the underlying spirit of the Cabinet Scheme also.

6. The democratic principle of majority rule can only apply to the management of the democratic affairs of a more or less homogeneous body or community. It cannot be invoked in the relations between two distinct nations or peoples. The Hindus and the Muslims are two distinct peoples. A Hindu majority has no moral right to impose its will on a Muslim minority nor has a Muslim majority the right to dictate to the Hindu minority. The only sane principle that can be applied in such a case is one of mutual agreement and friendly cooperation. Mutual respect for the deep feelings and sentiments of each community and mutual cooperation in realising their respective aspirations can pave the way for gradual reconciliation and ultimate union, and all other methods lead only to one result—growing estrangement and war. This is the meaning of the appeal made by the Cabinet Ministers to the two communities to come to an agreed settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem in a spirit of give and take.

7. The attitude of the Congress and the Hindus has on many occasions amounted to a demand for unconditional surrender of both the British and the Muslims. It is based on foolish notions of the power and right of the majority to dictate terms. In the event of failure to obtain such surrender by negotiations they have threatened to enforce it by violence. Neither the British, the Muslims, nor the rest of civilised mankind are so stupid as to submit to this monstrous demand. Many leaders of the Congress seem to be intoxicated with their success at the polls. Unless this majority arrogance is cured there is little chance of their appreciating the legitimacy of the claims made by the other side or the wisdom of the recommendations made by the British Cabinet.

8. If the Interim Government [and] the Constituent Assembly are to succeed, the Congress must revolutionise its present mentality. It must accept unconditionally the Cabinet Scheme and promise the Muslims to implement it in word and spirit, and facilitate the establishment of a Federation of the Muslim majority areas. It should then proclaim to the world that the energies of Hindustan will be directed to the eradication of caste and all the social injustices it involves, and to the evolution of a democratic way of life under which all the communities shall feel the same pride and honour in

belonging to a United India. While making such a promise, the Congress should invite the Muslims to cooperate in achieving this and persuade them to establish in the Muslim provinces, governments which will safeguard the prestige and interests of Muslim inhabitants. But even Mahatma Gandhi has not manifested this magnanimity of spirit either towards the Muslims or the Scheduled Castes. It would be a miracle if the other Hindu leaders prove capable of it.

9. The Muslims also have a duty. A sovereign Pakistan is impracticable and dangerous. They can be proud that their leaders have risen to the occasion and agreed to a plan for preserving the essential unity of India for defence and foreign policy. But they can do much more to dispel the f[e]ar of the conscience-pinched Hindus that they are planning for a permanent division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, and the establishment of a Muslim theocracy inimical to the ultimate [*Sentence incomplete. One page missing*]

...both on the Union Executive and the Union Legislature hoping by this means to effectuate the dominant power of the Hindu majority at the Centre. It may decline to face the crucial caste problem on the usual false pretext that caste has nothing to do with politics or citizenship. It may create obstacles to the co-operation of the Eastern and the Western groups of Muslim provinces. It may demand recognition from Britain of the sovereign authority of the Constituent Assembly to make decisions without being bound by conditions laid down in the Cabinet Scheme in the hope that in the last resort the Hindu majority in the Constituent Assembly may assert its will in spite of opposition by the Muslims or objection by the British Government. All such manoeuvres, if they are ever adopted, will indicate that the Congress is not prepared for a rapproche ment but relies on crushing the spirit of minority and establishing Swaraj by intrigue and violence. If this happens to be its attitude the mutual distrust of the two communities will be deepened and the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly will break up without achieving anything.

But let us hope that wisdom and goodwill will prevail against the temptations of power-politics and the arrogance of caste-pride and enable the Hindus as representing the majority party to take the initiative in offering to the minorities reparation for past mistakes and guarantees for future just treatment and friendship, and thus inspire confidence and a similar friendliness in the minds of the Muslims and other minority communities. There is yet hope that the much adumbrated truth and non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi may

after all restrain the Congress from precipitating a catastrophic stalemate.

[SWAMI DHARAM THEERATH]

[1]Appendix I. 20.

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Mohammad Ashraf Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/629-30

84 THE MALL,
SIMLA,
2 June 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Sir, most humbly and respectfully I beg to draw your kind intention [*sic*] to a most important factor of Muslim constitution—at a time when the constitution of this country is about to be framed.

You know it very well and you had made it known in many speeches during the election that the Musalmans have only one law, i.e. *Qur'an*, which covers the whole field of Muslims' life and this law—the Muslim code of life, is unchangeable for all the times. So, now, when we are at the most critical juncture of Muslims' history, and from where we are starting a new path of life, it is very necessary that we must establish in this land Qur'anic law as soon as possible. For this purpose it is also essential that we must have some able *'ulama* in the proposed Constituent Assembly, and if it could not be possible, then you please establish a Muslim religious advisory committee, consisting of Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, President, All India Jami'at 'Ulama-i-Islam, Allama Dr. Syed Suleman Nadvi of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, and other *'ulama* of this high standard, who must be consulted in all religious matters. It is a crying need of the time, and if you please give attention to this proposal you will much oblige the Muslims of India and it will be a very high deed of your life.

Hoping that you will be kind enough to bring this proposal under your kind consideration, and thanking you in anticipation,

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD ASHRAF KHAN

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/627-8

LUCKNOW,
2 June 1946

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Before leaving Simla for Delhi you have made a statement[1] which has greatly surprised us. It shows that there is a great change in your policy now. There must be some reason for that. You did your best to encourage our provincial leaders to fight bravely for the Muslim cause. But your exhortations also proved fruitless. Instead, now they are going to blame you that you are obstinate in your dealings. Really they are cowards and selfish. We know such top leaders in our own province who are aiming at the ministry. The poor Muslims who helped them in the cause of Pakistan are now suffering at the hands of Congressite Hindus and Muslims. Now there is one federation—no Pakistan, no grouping of provinces. We lost everything owing to their selfish ends. They are afraid of Hindus and Sikhs. If such was the case why the Congress scheme was not accepted at the beginning. The Congressmen and Sikhs are tried persons. They are ready for every sacrifice. Our provincial leaders are fond of luxury and comfort. According to the teachings of the *Qur'an,* we do not deserve anything as we do not follow them. You know well how much money and precious lives of poor Muslims have been lost during the election period and in the present riots; to give them a proper lesson, the best course for you is to resign and leave everything in the hands of these cowards who will get no place in future elections. We are tired of them. They have no love for the community or the religion. The youth is with you.

Yours,
A MUSLIM OF LUCKNOW

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements,* IV, 2297.

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Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

F. 419/12-3

ISMAIL BUILDING,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY,
3 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just returned from my trip to Calcutta via Delhi.

In Delhi I met the Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander of the Cabinet Mission and had a long talk with him for nearly an hour and a half. I made it clear to him that I was speaking to him in my personal capacity. I stressed the fact that the only person in the world who could speak on behalf of the Muslims of India was yourself and that the Muslims of India will follow your lead to a man. I shall personally report to you in detail, when I have an opportunity of meeting you. Our conversation was very frank and outspoken as it was confidential.

I might, however, mention that the Russian bogey was uppermost in his mind, for example, the Communist infiltration into the League, Sir Firoz Khan Noon's statement and his view that the Union Government could effectively resist them. I had replied to him saying that the majority of the Indian Army was Muslim; that the fighting forces were mainly drawn from Pakistan areas; that there were no Communists in the League [and] as such no member of the League could owe allegiance to any other party but the League; and that Sir Firoz Khan Noon's statement was, in my opinion, meant to convey to the British Government that they could not be continuously sold down the river as had happened so often and that it was a general reminder that other powers would be interested in the Muslims, if this happened again.

Whilst in Calcutta I met the Ispahani brothers and Sir Adamji Dawood and stressed on them the fact that Pakistan needs national industries and that they should seriously consider this aspect. I am of the opinion that Pakistani airways, Pakistani steamships and Pakistani banks were the basic essentials which must be considered first. Before going further in the matter I should like to discuss with you these questions as an aspect of the industrial development of the Muslim nation.

I shall therefore be grateful if you will let me know where and when I can meet you after the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council are over and you have some time and leisure.

I hope you are keeping well; and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

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Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/60-1

AMIR MAHAL,
ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS,
3 June 1946

My dear leader,

I had reserved my berth and intended to start for Delhi on Sunday morning to attend the meeting of the Council of the Muslim League. [However,] I could not start on account of my son's illness. I feel confident that under your able leadership and guidance, the Working Committee will come to a proper decision which will be in the interests of the Muslim nation. Your latest statement[1] that you are expecting or that you are hoping for an amicable settlement has been commented upon differently in the press. This is not the first time that you have given expression to such a wish. You have always been prepared for an amicable settlement with people who were reasonably inclined and whose vision was clear and free, and who could see the danger of acting in [a] selfish manner thereby plunging the entire country in[to] a long-drawn[-out] struggle and civil strife. For the present we are prepared to meet the Congress leadership half-way by agreeing to serve on both the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly provided a fair deal is assured to us. The stand-point of the violent section of Congress leadership seems to have undergone a revolutionary change in that they are reported to reject even the proposal of parity and want the whole cake. Mr. Gandhi, in his usual wily manner, gives praise to the proposals of the Mission, and at the same time putting his own interpretation on the proposals with a view to whittling them down and tilt[ing] the balance entirely in favour of the Congress. I do realise that both the Cabinet Mission and the Congress have

placed us in a very difficult position. Ordinary minds like ours cannot find a solution. We have to look up to you to give us a lead. You will surely do it taking into consideration all the pros and cons, and the consequences that will accrue to Muslim India. I can assure you that the Muslim nation will follow your lead and act according to your commands, whatever the sacrifices demanded of us.

With kindest regards,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 24-6.

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A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/355

SIND MUSLIM COLLEGE,
KARACHI,
4 June 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I had a mind to come to Delhi in order to attend the momentous meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, but my sudden indisposition has prevented me from doing so.

However, I am submitting my views in writing to you. In case the Council decides to accept the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission, the following conditions may be made precedent to their acceptance:

i. The Federal Units should be given the right of opting out of the Centre after the lapse of ten years.
ii. Parity between the Hindus and the Muslims at the Union Centre.
iii. Parity between the Hindus and the Muslims in the proposed Interim Government at the Centre.

It is also proposed that the Quaid-i-Azam may be given a free hand to negotiate with the British Government in this behalf and his decision will be binding upon the whole Muslim nation.

In the end, I assure you, Sir, that I am ready to make any sacrifice for the cause of the Muslim nation.

Yours sincerely,
A. H. SIDDIQI
Principal
Member, All India Muslim League Council

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Maqbool Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 132/26-7

URGENT/SECRET/PERSONAL

BHOPAL,
4 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your kind remark at the last meeting in Simla that some of my notes had been of assistance to you, encourages me, as duty-bound, to enclose this important memorandum for your personal use and consideration.

You are the best judge as to whether the Muslims should come in[to] or stay out of the proposed Constituent Assembly at the Centre. The memorandum enclosed is intended to be of some assistance to you in laying out the plan if you decide on participation in the Union Constituent Assembly. In that case, it should be possible to ensure a majority of non-Congress elements on that body. It may be difficult but it does not seem impossible of achievement. Timely action and tactful approach is essential. Some of the leading States may be able to cooperate in the plan if it meets with your general approval. I am flying to Bombay tomorrow for the forthcoming meetings of States' representatives. I am sending this note to you, so that if you agree you may mention the plan or discuss it with some of the provincial leaders who will be in Delhi these days.

I will be at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, up to the 12th June. Then I come to Delhi *en route* [to] Simla. I will be at your service, should you so desire.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

PS. I have sent for the contradiction of Kashmir statement and will forward it to you soon.

Enclosure to No. 145
Memorandum by Maqbool Mahmood

F. 132/28-32

SECRET [BHOPAL, *4 June 1946*]

SUGGESTIONS TO ENSURE A NON-CONGRESS MAJORITY IN THE PROPOSED UNION CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The proposals of the Cabinet Mission postulate a Union Constituent Assembly consisting of a maximum of 389 members, 296 from British India and 93 from the States. The procedure prescribed for the decisions on major communal issues, which may arise in the Constituent Assembly, offers a safeguard only in regard to the major communal issues for the two major communities. The decisions on all other questions, which may not be regarded as major communal issues and which include many vital and important matters, such as the procedure for the conduct of business, the report of the proposed special committee on the rights of minorities, etc., would vest in the Constituent Assembly, presumably by majority. It is obvious, therefore, that the chances of ensuring a reasonable and fair settlement of these problems and of evolving a balanced and generally acceptable constitution for the proposed Indian Union will be substantially increased if no single party commanded a clear majority in the Constituent Assembly. This can and should be ensured in the best interest of India no less than that of the various elements which will be represented on the Constituent Assembly. A few specific suggestions to that end are offered as basis of discussion in the paragraphs that follow:

i. The total membership of the Union Constituent Assembly being 389, it would require 195 members to constitute a bare majority. The best guarantee against the imposition of any arbitrary decisions by the Congress members on this body would be if the non-Congress members could collectively muster at least 195 members on that body.

ii. 93 members of the Constituent Assembly would come from the States. 76 out of 79 Muslim members of that body are likely to belong to the Muslim League on the basis of election through a single transferable vote, provided elections are properly arranged and chances of mistakes or wrong preferences are carefully avoided. It would require 26 members of the Constituent Assembly, in addition to the State and Muslim League representatives, to constitute a majority on that body. This quota should be possible to

secure if tactful and cautious effort is made forthwith, through responsible, reliable and influential sources to impress on the leaders of certain minorities and special interests in the provincial assemblies that it is in their interest, no less than in that of India as a whole, that they should carefully make use of their single transferable votes at the forthcoming elections of representatives to the Constituent Assembly and elect some members of their communities from within or outside the legislatures who could, where necessary, work independently of the Congress and in collaboration with the non-Congress elements in the Constituent Assembly. This is a perfectly honourable and straightforward approach and if properly initiated, it should bear fruit. In view, however, of the very small margin of votes, it would be necessary for the groups concerned to work out the details of the election and the selection of the right type of nominees most carefully before the elections actually take place.

4. In the absence of any data to the contrary, it has been assumed in this memorandum that practically all the Hindu members of the provincial assemblies from the territorial constituencies will vote in favour of the Congress nominees for the Constituent Assembly. Maybe, that in Madras or elsewhere, some exceptions may be possible. But even after deducting all the Hindu MLAs from territorial assemblies, about 59 representatives to the Constituent Assembly can be elected by elements which may not be amenable fully to the Congress whip, and may be able to select independent representatives. A statement worked on the available data on the basis of election proposed by the Cabinet Mission in respect of these 59 representatives, arranged province-wise is indicated below. Two or three representatives from special interests which are openly aligned with the Congress have been discounted from this list:

Province	Anglo-Indians &Europeans	Indian Christians	Scheduled Castes	Land Holders	Commerce & Industry	Backward areas
Madras	1	2	6	1	1	-
Bombay	1	-	2	-	1	-
U.P.	1	-	5	1	-	-
Bihar	1	-	4	1	1	-
C.P.	-	-	3	-	-	-
Orissa	-	-	1	-	-	-
Punjab	-	-	1	1	-	-
Bengal	3	-	6	1	4	-
Assam	-	-	8	-	1	1
Total	7	2	36	5	8	1

Grand total: 59

5. [A] few specific suggestions are offered to ensure the objective in view:

a. Europeans and Anglo-Indians can return seven and Indian Christians two representatives of their choice to the Constituent Assembly. The leaders of the European Group, with enlightened and progressive outlook on the Indian constitutional problem, may be impressed with the necessity of availing their right to return these members. It is being suggested in certain quarters that the European MLAs may be approached to stay out of the Constituent Assembly. It has even been indicated that with an assured Congress majority on that body, it would make no difference whether the Europeans joined it or abstained. It is necessary to convince them that the game is not so hopeless and [that] they should not shirk their public duty but should send their representatives to this body. They can, if they so decide, remain neutral on major communal issues which do not concern them. They should, however, be available on other questions wherein the best interests of India and the minorities may require their support.

b. Much will depend on the attitude of the Scheduled Caste members. It is true that many of them have been returned to the provincial assemblies on the Congress ticket at the recent elections. Their eyes, however, have been opened by the proposals of the Cabinet Mission, and some of them at least are likely in their own interests to be inclined to select representatives who may be capable of taking an independent line on questions coming up before the Constituent Assembly. It may be worthwhile to explore possibilities with Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Shiv Raj and other leaders of the Scheduled-Castes who have not so far sold themselves to the Congress. It will be observed that six Scheduled Caste members can be returned from Bengal and eight from Assam. The Muslim League is strong in both these provinces, and may be able to sound some of the Scheduled Caste MLAs.

c. Fourteen out of fifty-nine aforesaid representatives can be returned by Bengal alone. Suhrawardy and Nazimuddin may be requested to apply themselves particularly to this question. Similarly, ten representatives can come from Assam. Saadullah and Matin should be put on to this task.

d. Five representatives to the Constituent Assembly can be returned by the landlord MLAs in Madras, U.P., Bihar, Punjab and Bengal. [Nawab of] Chhatari and [Raja of] Mahmoodabad may be taken in

confidence to organise this group in their own interests.

e. Eight representatives on the Constituent Assembly can be returned by MLAs from the special Commerce and Industry, and Plantation constituencies. Four out of these can come from Bengal alone. Ispahani and Yusuf Haroon may be charged to contact this group.

f. Three Scheduled Caste representatives can be returned from the Central Provinces. Ali Yavar Jung of Hyderabad may be interested in regard to this.

g. A few responsible leaders of the Muslim League in each province may be taken in confidence to work out this plan tactfully in their respective spheres. Liaquat Ali and Ismail may be deputed to watch and direct provincial activities in this matter.

h. Leaders of the Muslim League party in provincial assemblies should be given detailed and specific instructions in regard to the election of their representatives to the Constituent Assembly. Special emphasis should be laid on full attendance and definite instructions should be communicated to each member indicating his first and subsequent preferences for the elections.

6. There may be occasions during the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly when all these non-Congress representatives may not vote together, and at times even those in the same group may vote differently. Nevertheless, the possibility that combined they may constitute a majority against the Congress, if it tried to impose obviously unfair and unreasonable decisions, will have a salutary effect. Moreover, at least at the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly, these non-Congress elements are likely to stand together, and if they do so they may succeed in electing an impartial chairman and other officers of their choice. They may also be able to pass a resolution that important decisions in the Constituent Assembly would require a majority of two-thirds or three-fourths of those present and voting.

7. Four representatives to the Constituent Assembly to be selected by the Sikhs have been excluded from the above statement. This has been done because so far they are an uncertain element. If wiser counsels amongst them prevail, and their legitimate religious and cultural rights are reasonably protected to their satisfaction, it should be possible to arrange that while they may retain full freedom of action in regard to their attitude in the Group or Provincial Constituent Assembly, they should, in their own interest, vote in the Union Constituent Assembly with the representatives of the other minority elements when matters of common interest to them so require.

8. The provincial assemblies are likely to meet early in July for the election of representatives to the Constituent Assembly. Any action,

therefore, which may be decided upon must be implemented forthwith through very reliable personal messengers who may be given detailed instructions.

9. It is confidently hoped that the leaders of the main elements at the Constituent Assembly will initiate the deliberation on that body in a spirit of accommodating statesmanship which may help to ensure fair play. The suggestions made in this memorandum should help in creating circumstances which may facilitate a reasonable approach by all concerned.

10. The success of the Union Constituent Assembly will depend, to a considerable extent, on the selection of an outstanding chairman. It would be desirable to negotiate this question before the meeting of the Constituent Assembly to secure unanimous election, if possible. Following names may *inter alia* be considered for the chairmanship of this body:

H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal
Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan
Sir Joseph Bhore
Sir Maurice Gwyer
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (103)

CONFIDENTIAL

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing this to warn you against the sinister move of the Unionist-cum-Congress to advise you to reject the Cabinet proposals. There is a deep-set motive behind the telegrams that are being sent from the Punjab at this critical juncture. The Unionists or the Coalitionists, as they are now called, are making a desperate attempt to keep themselves installed in the ministry after depriving the Muslims of their due right to govern the Punjab. They now are [at] the end of their regime and their only hope lies in foiling the acceptance of the British Plan to give the Muslims their due share in the government of the land and hence the telegrams that you are now receiving from them. I know

God has given you wisdom, intelligence and honesty of purpose to see through the whole game; but still there are moments in the life of every human being to be swayed by certain emotions and passions. You are the only Muslim who has understood the subtle moves of the Hindus to absorb the Muslims and the others back into the Hindu fold and for this reason I have admired you as the greatest of not only Indian Muslims but of the Muslims of the whole of Asia. You have put a new life into the entire Muslim nation and have wakened [*sic*] them up just at the crucial time when they were about to be annihilated politically, culturally, socially and morally. Your name will go down in history as the saviour of the Muslims, if the Muslims follow your advice and guidance and regenerate themselves, after you have put them on their feet, giving them a separate homeland where they will be free to develop themselves into a progressive nation on [a] par with the other nations of the world. The Muslims at present, as you have again and again declared, are down in the dust and far behind the Hindus who started moving a century before the Muslims. Therefore, the real work for the Muslims will start when they set going in their homeland.

I am sending you another cutting[1] from the Punjab press which shows that even the nationalist Muslims are not spared by the Hindu press. Sinister motives are attributed even to those Muslims who have been the bulwark in their campaigns. Dr. Gokal Chand is the gentleman who said last year at a tea-party that the Hindus are not afraid of the Muslims and could silence them in a week's time by the latest-method weapons [*sic*] from the West, for he said they possessed the capital to do it. Now he comes out and makes Sheikh Abdullah a target of sinister motives. He belongs to the Moonjee and Savarkar type who are waiting to garrison the Eastern and Western zones (Pakistan) with Hindu troops. I hope you will see that under the three common subjects, i.e Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs, you make full safeguard against these moves. Since Defence is a Union subject, you should take full precaution to see that Muslims get equal share there. Otherwise there is bound to be trouble in the future, for all Mahasabhites are now entering the Congress with the then bitter and revengeful mentalities. The Congress is welcoming the Mahasabhites into its fold. Mehr Chand Khanna of the Frontier is a typical example of this and here in Lahore, all our Hindu acquaintances talk in the same strain that Congress is their only salvation now.

I hope you have received my two previous communications to you. Tomorrow you are meeting to make the final decision for the Muslims. I do hope and pray that God will give you all light and guidance needed

at this critical juncture to take the correct lead. We all still believe that:

> There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
> On such a full sea are we now afloat,
> And we must take the current when it serves,
> Or lose our ventures.[2]

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not printed.
[2]William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*.

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Jamil Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 226/2

PERSONAL/SECRET

BHOPAL,
5 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I must first submit my humble thanks for allowing me to take up so much of your very precious time.

Apropos our talk on Sunday evening I was able to report the result this morning, a few minutes before the departure for Bombay. There was no time to write to you personally but as the matter is of vital importance I have been asked to acquaint you at once with the following possible developments: (1) The majority of the States are certain to press for the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan for a limited Centre, and (2) entry into the Constituent Assembly will in all probability be forced on the States by the overwhelming majority in the Chamber of Princes. There seems to be no hope at present of a decision to the contrary but a sustained effort will be made to take no formal decision yet.

As for an early meeting with you, every endeavour will be made to arrange it as soon as possible. Under present circumstances, however, it

would appear that a meeting can take place only about the 15th instant.

With profound respects,

Yours devotedly,
JAMIL ANSARI

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Syedna Taher Saifuddin to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Bombay II/14

BOMBAY,
7 June 1946

Hearty greetings for the Council's great and momentous decision.[1] Confident through your wise and inspiring leadership the cherished goal of our freedom will be achieved. Hope you enjoying sound health.

SYEDNA TAHER SAIFUDDIN

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.

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Mohammad Yousuf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/25

MARINA HOTEL,
NEW DELHI,
7 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to congratulate you on almost unanimous acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, and the phraseology, wordings and terms of the resolution[1] which has been passed. There is not the least doubt that you have achieved the substance of Pakistan for your nation and it will be for future generations to see how they will achieve full Pakistan and decide as to what will be in the best interest of the Pakistan Zones, the Muslims powers, India and the big and small nations of the world. It can safely be said without exaggeration that you have won Pakistan for the Muslims in your lifetime by winning

the economic independence along with the religious, cultural and other freedoms for your nation, leaving to the Central Union barest minimum powers in the common interest of the Hindu and Muslim Zones including the States, so far as Defence and Foreign Relations are concerned. The question of Communications is a matter that can obviously be discussed at a later stage with a view to meeting the requirements of defence on the one hand and economic needs of Pakistan and Hindustan, which must necessarily be the concern of provinces and the groups, on the other.

Even if the Pakistan Zones A and B had independence and sovereignty, they would have had to enter into treaty with the Hindu Zones of the British Government and that treaty would have been at least for thirty years, whereas under the present arrangement ten years after, the Hindus and Muslims will have the right to examine the situation and see what is in the best interest of both the nations and thereafter, every ten years the Muslim nation can claim revision of the whole scheme of the Union and can go out of it, if they want to. Hence, on the whole, even the Union scheme is not entirely detrimental to the Muslims if parity is accepted in the Legislature and the Executive of the Union which will perform its duty in connection with the Defence, Foreign Relations and Communications, with power to raise income on the basis of contribution by common consent to carry on the administration of the Union. The contribution is bound to be more acceptable to all the groups as they would not like to surrender any source of income or revenue to the Centre. So, the Union scheme is not as bad as it looks at the first sight, if parity of the Muslim and Hindu groups at the Centre is accepted.

May you live long to guide the nation; with best respects,

Yours sincerely,

MOHAMMAD YOUSUF
Nawab, Knight

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.

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Maratib Ali to Fatima Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/67

CAMP DELHI,
7 June 1946

Dear Miss Jinnah,

With the historic culmination of Muslim League's deliberations in Delhi the Muslim world of India is greatly relieved that for all practical reasons the goal of Pakistan is attained, thanks to the peerless lead of our Quaid-i-Azam, and I pray he may live long to see the crowning achievement of the sovereign State of Pakistan under his supreme guidance.

He has been subjected to a severe strain these days and I feel that rest at some hill station will do him much good. I am, therefore, writing to request that if Quaid-i-Azam would like to go to Kashmir, I can make all arrangements for his stay there. In case he does not want to be far away in view of the political situation I can then arrange for his stay in Murree Hills where we have got our house which is situated at a quiet place.

I am leaving tonight for Bombay where my address will be c/o Syed A & M Wazir Ali, Transit Camp, Colaba, Bombay, and on hearing from you I will proceed to make arrangements accordingly.

With kindest and respectful regards to Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours sincerely,
SYED MARATIB ALI

151

Fasih Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/51

IFTIKHAR MANZIL,
PAKISTAN LANE,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
7 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you must have seen the resolution[1] that was passed by the

Muslim University Union on 27th May, rejecting the Cabinet proposals. This resolution does not in any way represent the views of the majority of the students. The meeting in which the resolution was passed was held during the examination days and was attended by only thirty-five students out of three thousand members of the house.

So I, as the Vice-President of Muslim University Intermediate Union, which has a strength of twelve thousand members, want to see you at an early date to place before you full facts regarding the resolution and the reaction of the students towards the Cabinet proposals. Kindly fix the interview and let me know the date and time.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
FASIH UDDIN AHMAD

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 151

SHC, UP III/52

ALIGARH YOUTH REJECTS BRITISH CABINET PROPOSALS

In an extraordinary meeting of the Muslim University Union, presided over by A.T.M. Mustafa, held on the 27th May 1946, the students unanimously rejected the Mission's award. Mr. Mustafa made an appeal to the members of Muslim League high command not to sign this death warrant of the Muslim nation. He called upon the students to prepare themselves for the impending *jihad*. The following amended resolution moved by Mr. Khurshid Hasan Mir and seconded by Mr. Hashim was unanimously accepted:

> This House rejects the British Cabinet proposals which denounce Pakistan in a language that betrays total disregard of the sentiments of the Musalmans. These proposals are not a sincere attempt to solve the Indian political problem. They leave the question of parity between the Pakistan and Hindustan Federations at the Centre, which was the fundamental pre-condition for the acceptance of an All-India Centre by the Muslim League, for the Constituent Assembly in which the Musalmans shall be in a hopeless minority. The British Government has stabbed the Muslim nation, the Scheduled Castes and other minorities in the back by completely surrendering to the Congress. The so-called checks provided for the safeguard of their rights and interests are ineffective, and can only result in confronting the Confederation Union and even the Constituent Assembly with insoluble deadlocks. These proposals, therefore, are merely a clever attempt to prolong the British imperialist hold in India.

The unqualified recognition of the sovereignty of the rulers of the Indian States and their right to retain all powers excepting those which they voluntarily cede to the Union, a right which, strange to say, has been denied to the peoples of the provinces, is a further device of British imperialism to check the progress of the Indian people and to introduce their own fifth-column in the so-called Constituent Assembly. Millions inhabiting a third of this sub-continent have thus been deprived of their right of participation in the constitutional structure and feudal-bureaucratic rule will guide their destines irrespective of their will and aspirations.

This House is of the opinion that the Muslim League Working Committee representatives in the Tripartite Conference went too far to compromise with the Congress in their anxiety to achieve speedy independence for the peoples of India, while the Congress showed no such attitude. This House affirms that nothing less than Pakistan, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution, can ever be acceptable to Muslim India.

This House while reiterating full confidence in the statesmanship and leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, request the Muslim League high command, and the All India Council, to declare once for all, that there can never be [the] slightest compromise on the Muslim nation's right of self-determination, assures them of the complete readiness of the Muslim University students [to take part in] any struggle that may have to be launched to defeat this Anglo-*Bania* big business conspiracy and to achieve our cherished goal of Pakistan.

In the end, this House demands of the British Government that separate sovereign Constituent Assemblies of the Hindustan and Pakistan areas be immediately set up, and that the unwanted British transfer power to them, and quit with [*sic*] bag and baggage, leaving these Constituent Assemblies to come to any agreement about the formation of any all-India Centre.

This House further warns the representatives of the alien rule that any attempt to impose a constitution which has not the sanction of the Muslim League shall be resisted by all means.

A.T.M. MUSTAFA
Vice-President, Muslim University Union
GHAYUR-UL-ISLAM
Honorary Secretary, Muslim University Union

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S. M. H. Ghazi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Bombay II/12

BOMBAY,
7 June 1946

You fought bloodless revolution and fought it to its glorious and victorious end, a feat of yours which is worthy to rank as one of the most remarkable episodes in the annals of human achievement. History will accord you a unique position in the gallery of greatest statesmen of world. Accept heartiest congratulations on having attained virtual Pakistan.

S. M. H. GHAZI

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (103-A)

CONFIDENTIAL

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
7 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is to congratulate you on your grand success of not only mobilizing the entire Muslim nation to the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission proposals but also for bending the British Government to the vital needs of the Muslim nation. The entire success of the present successful termination of the political deadlock is due to your efforts. Now I do hope that you will also be able to sober down the bitter atmosphere in the country to a reasonable state of affairs.

I am sending you two cuttings[1] from the Punjab Hindu press which is bent upon inciting hatred and ill-will between the different communities. You will notice from one of the cuttings that the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee has passed a novel resolution. This was passed after a heated debate of 9 hours. Now it seems that the Congress high command is planning trouble for the Muslim zones by inciting the Sikhs and the Hindus to put forward their absurd demands and not allow the Muslim provinces to settle down peacefully to constructive programmes for the respective group. Now it is for you to counteract the poisonous propaganda

by some peaceful and constructive means. You see how the Sikhs are being roused to hatred against the Muslims for no rhyme or reason only by reviving past bitterness and jealousies. Sikhs are a simple folk and can be easily persuaded to any way of thinking. I wrote to you before[1] that this is being done by a small group of people in the Punjab backed by Patel Group of the Congress who hate the Muslims without any reason. Therefore, now that the work in Delhi will soon be over, it will be up to the provincial parties to get down to bring about goodwill and reconciliation and heal up the wounded feelings. You gave a broad hint in your speech[2] when you said how long will we go on quarrelling? This was a gesture for peace, that Hindus who as you rightly said have wind in their heads, pay no attention to your gesture of goodwill and go on with their bitter attacks. But once the Muslims get into power, these feelings are bound to sober down. Punjab will be the most difficult province to deal with. I do hope you will make it your headquarters and spend most of your time here directing its affairs. From here you will be able to remain in touch with the Frontier and the Sind Provinces too. The Pathans have to be won over as well. At present they are under the spell of the Congress high command.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]See *QAD* (103 B). Not printed.
[2]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2297.

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S. A. Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/113

SINHA LIBRARY ROAD,
PATNA,
9 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is rather inappropriate for me to address you on this occasion, but the exuberance of joy and the irresistible thrill force me to write these few lines to you for your very kind perusal.

The down-trodden community, which has the signal honour of acquiring a God-sent guide like you, has indeed been raised from the mire of obscurity to the blaze of limelight. Your astute statesmanship, versatile genius, incorruptible integrity, forensic keenness and the

penetrating insight into the world politics alone have brought about this result; otherwise we would have been nowhere on the surface of the globe. The nation and the posterity will always remain beholden and grateful to this greatest man of India who holds the Muslim nation, whom he has lovingly fondled in his arms, so close to his catholic heart.

There is a sensation even among the *purdah* [observing] ladies and the small children, who price [*sic* for prize] the man with monocle above everything in this world and indeed he has ceaselessly served to eminently deserve the body and soul of the Muslims. The nation's humble prayer to God is to spare him another six decades in good health to serve as a Messiah for this now great community.

With respects to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours respectfully,
S. A. ASHRAF
Senior Deputy Magistrate & Collector

PS. I hope I have not been forgotten. I may recall that I am the same humble worshipper who got under clouds in Delhi for fighting imperialism and had the good fortune of receiving the sympathy of the Quaid-i-Azam. Subsequently also I made it a duty to pay my humble respects when on a visit to Delhi.

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Maqbool Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/4

SECRET/PERSONAL

TAJ MAHAL HOTEL,
BOMBAY,
9 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After despatching my last letter from Bhopal,[1] I learnt of your message through the Chancellor's messenger. It is now proposed that the States may set up a negotiation committee for the purpose of negotiations and a committee to deliberate with the British Indian representatives on matters of common interest to British India and the States for the interim period. The decision in regard to the States' participation in the Constituent Assembly has been postponed for the present. The note sent to you with my last letter would, therefore, require reconsideration in the light of this development.

Nevertheless, any action taken by the Muslim League on the lines suggested in my note, if approved by you, should be of help even in the Group Constitution [*sic* for Constituent] Assemblies.

My affectionate greetings on your courageous lead at this critical juncture.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

[1]See No. 143.

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M. Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/153

MANGALDAI,
10 June 1946

Dear brother-in-Islam,

I beg to bring to your kind notice the following facts for your kind perusal and information. Since the declaration by the Cabinet Mission of the Bengal and Assam Grouping, the Assam Congress Government's oppression on the encroacher [*sic* for encroaching] immigrants in the reserves has reached its peak in the Mangaldai sub-division. Evictees including women and children are being most ruthlessly oppressed almost daily. As it is raining heavily, evictees have been trying to take shelter by erecting houses in the evicted areas but the officials have been arresting them and taking them to *hajat*, and the poor evictees who have been trying to harvest their paddy are also taken to *hajat* under arrest. As a matter of fact civil disobedience under the pressure of the present circumstances has practically begun. The Provincial League President has been on the spot and he is at a loss at the sight of the ruthless oppression of the authority. Advice and help from the Muslim India is solicited.

Yours in cause,
M. AHMAD
Secretary, District Muslim League

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M. A. Jinnah to A.T.M. Mustafa

SHC, UP III/54

10 June 1946

Dear Mr. Mustafa,

I have received what purports to be a printed resolution[1] passed by an extraordinary meeting of the Muslim University Union and presided over by you on May 26 [27], where the students, who were present, unanimously rejected the Cabinet Mission's proposals appealing to the League high command not to accept them.

I would like very much to know as to how many students were actually present, and how many days' notice was given to convene the meeting. I shall feel obliged, if you will furnish me with these particulars.

I am addressing this letter to you, as the resolution purports to be signed by you as the Vice-President of the Muslim University Union.

Hoping that you will furnish me with full account of the meeting,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A.T.M. Mustafa, Esq.,
Vice-President,
Muslim University Union,
Aligarh

[1]Annex to No. 151.

158

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/62

AMIR MAHAL,
ROYAPETTAH,
MADRAS,
10 June 1946

My dear leader,

My heartiest congratulations on the League's triumph. The hand of God is with you in your stewardship of the Muslim nation. All the machinations and Machiavellian brains of the Hindu Congress have

been buried fathoms deep.

Hope the British will not betray any more weakness to appease the Congress still further. Defeatist mentality seems to have overcome them. If they remain firm, the Congress will have no other alternative but to surrender ultimately. The childish petulance of the Congress high command and their advisor, Mr. Gandhi, betrays their political immaturity. This is the occasion when they have to prove whether they are really sincere for India's independence. The League has put them in the balance, having itself demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that it is we who are really anxious and sincere to attain independence.

With kind regards and esteem,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

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Moosa Ahmed Dinath to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 676/36

JOHANNESBURG,
10 June 1946

Transvaal Muslims congratulate you on your stand in present situation, and view with great satisfaction All India Muslim League Working Committee's acceptance[1] of British Mission proposals. We are confident your decision was in the best interests of Muslims and brings India as a whole ever near[er] to attainment of complete freedom.

MOOSA AHMED DINATH
President, Transvaal Muslim League

[1]Refers to AIML Council Resolution. See Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.

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Agnes St. Ives-Currie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 943/55

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
10 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you a cutting[1] from the *Monthly Review*, the magazine of our European Association. Congratulations again for affairs at Simla but don't forget for an instant that, like the French say of the Germans, they have a cruel and relentless enemy at their gate, so have the Muslims. Therefore, trust in God and the directions of the *Qur'an*, but keep your powder dry!

Yours truly,
MRS. A. ST. IVES-CURRIE

[1]Not traceable.

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Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/62

7 IMPERIAL HOTEL,
NEW DELHI,
10 June 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

Last Friday, when I phoned Khurshid to convey to you a piece of information that had come my way, I had told him I would continue to stay here till the Interim Govt. was formed, which I am doing.

A Bombay friend arranged an interview between Sardar Patel and myself for Saturday last. I went to Khuhro's room to dictate a letter to his P.A. informing you about this when Khuhro said it was unnecessary to do so and that I could contact you if anything useful resulted.

Patel was put out by our decision and kept on saying that to join the Interim Govt. on parity basis would be equivalent to a national suicide of the Hindus. Since I could not say *aameen* to this, I pointed

out that (i) there was a cause for rejoicing that both Gandhiji and Jinnah had viewed the long-term proposals favourably, (ii) that parity was accepted at Simla by the Congress, and further that (iii) the Viceroy may accept now the long-pending Congress demand of forming a national government by even bypassing any political party that was inclined to be intransigent.

Quaid-i-Azam, may I place before you my formula of how best we can choose our team? Let's have one each from the Eastern and Western Zones of Pakistan, one from the minority provinces and one each from the Services and the States.

You said at our Council meeting[1] that we can work on the two decks, provincial and group, and blow up the topmast. Will that be possible since the complete constitution is subject to ratification by the British Parliament?

As regards voting in B and C Assemblies, we shall be more favourably placed in C and not in B. In Sind, we shall have to be alert in not losing a seat to [G. M.] Sayed who has already declared his opposition to groupings.

Such a very great deal will also depend on the chairmen of our two Assemblies. If Sir Nazimuddin is going to the Centre, Sir Azizul Huq may probably be the best we can have in C.

If Congress is not coming into the Interim Govt., a superhuman burden will fall on us. Patel will indirectly attempt to push in his men (Deshmukh for Finance) so that he may have five snipers to shoot and sabotage and at the same time be available to recompense the industrialists and black-marketeers who support the Congress.

Quaid-i-Azam, it can never be for me to tell you that the enormous power we shall soon be wielding has the potentialities of regenerating, re-creating and re-vivifying our nation or destroying us also if we prove unworthy of our charge.

You said at our Council meeting that you had spent sleepless nights considering the British proposals. It is difficult even to imagine the responsibilities that will come to weigh on your person in the days to come. In times such as these, Phirozeshah Mehta used to quote Tennyson:

"I have not made this world
And He that has—will guide".

May God hold our lives as perpetual sacrifice for yours and may

He always protect, keep and guide you.

Yours obediently,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]Held at Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, on 5 & 6 June 1946.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/4

CONFIDENTIAL

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
11 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am forwarding to you another cutting[1] from the Punjab Hindu press which discloses the sinister designs of that fascist grand council of Patel group about which I wrote to you a few days back.[2] It seems the Congress is determined not to come to a friendly settlement with the Muslims on any account. They are planning to trouble the Muslim zones in every possible manner. Bhim Sen Sachar has only voiced what the masters have dictated to the Punjab Congress which is not only inciting the Sikhs to trouble but is putting forward absurd demands everyday. I have heard from the very inner circles of the Congress that even if they accept the Cabinet proposals they will never work in a team spirit with the Muslims without [which] the scheme would not bring any fruitful results for the country. The Muslims have to be on their guard to meet this deplorable situation. Everyone not only in India but all over the world has applauded your gesture of friendliness which should be accepted by the Congress for the sake of the larger good of the country. God forbid, if they reject this offer of reconciliation there is bound to follow trouble in its consequence. I do hope that this time God will give sense to the Congress leaders to avert this catastrophe.

I am also putting another cutting[3] in which the Hindu press has attacked Sheikh Abdullah of [*sic*] sinister designs. They do not even

spare the Muslims who are in their fold. Even Panditji[4] has condemned him for skipping the limits of States' Peoples Conference resolution. How they have defrauded the Hindu Raja who is reducing the Muslim masses of Kashmir to the level of dumb driven cattle.

I hope you have received my other letters, five in number,[5] addressed to you in Delhi. I know you are so extremely busy in settling the destinies of the Muslim nation but you have to be in touch with everything.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab V/5. Not printed.
[2]See No. 152.
[3]See *SHC*, Punjab V/6. Not printed.
[4]See Statement dated 26 May 1946 in S. Gopal, ed., *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. XV, New Delhi, 1982, 366-71.
[5]Jinnah replied to this letter saying he had already acknowledged her earlier ones. He thanked her for all the information provided by her. See *SHC*, Punjab V/7. Not printed.

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Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/35

CECIL HOTEL,
SIMLA,
11 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I heard on radio that Congress was demanding parity. In view of the Sikhs launching civil disobedience on 23rd, and further in view of the fact that Akali Baldev or other Akali will always vote with Congress, I see no harm in your allowing the Viceroy to nominate a Congress Sikh from Punjab to the Executive Council. This will further weaken Akalis who are always a nuisance and the sooner they get absorbed in the Congress the better from Indian national point of view, and if the Congress Sikh, after nomination to the Executive Council, resigns due to the Sikh social pressure, then the Viceroy should promise to give the Sikhs a cold shoulder and not appoint a Sikh at all.

By conceding this you may persuade Viceroy to appoint a Christian or preferably a European, i.e. Anglo-Indian, who will not be in the pocket of the Congress. If he is thinking of chaps like Maharaj Singh

then that is as bad as giving the seat to a rabid Congressite.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

PS. It should not be difficult for the Viceroy to find a Christian or an Anglo-Indian who is likely to vote with the League or at least not likely to go against us out of a perverse mentality [*sic*]. In this way a compromise can be brought about between the Congress and ourselves on the question of parity. No answer is needed but please tell Khurshid to drop a line to say that you received it.

FIROZ NOON

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A. T. M. Mustafa to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/55

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY UNION,
ALIGARH,
12 June 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I had the honour of receiving your letter dated 10th June 1946[1] today, and hasten to submit the particulars, you desire to know.

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Mir, ex-Secretary of the Union, and Mr. Mohammad Idris Mufti requisitioned a meeting of the Union to move a resolution condemning the Cabinet Mission proposals, on May 19, 1946. I, however, persuaded them to wait till your reactions were known. After the release of your statement dated 22nd May 1946,[2] in which you had strongly criticised the proposals, the Secretary of the Union forwarded the resolution to Mr. Shoukat Hameed, President of the Union, for his sanction, which he readily granted. A meeting of the Union was therefore called for the 27th May 1946, to discuss the resolution. Keeping in view the importance of the resolution, printed copies of it were distributed in the University, on the morning of the 27th, as soon as they arrived from the press. A short notice of the meeting in accordance with the rules and the usual practice, had been given three days before, that is on the 24th. I am enclosing the copy of the notice[3] sent to me by the Union Office

On the 27th May, only a few hundred members of the Union were present in the University, because the first and third year classes had already been released, and most of the post-graduate students had also left after their examinations. Of the rest of the students, the B.A. and B.Sc. final classes were having their examinations and the Engineering students were busy with their preparations. Therefore, only about 150 members could attend the meeting (according to the constitution of the Union, 30 members form a quorum). The President of the University Muslim League was present in the meeting.

The actual resolution was, however, amended in the meeting. All the amendments except the one about the States were proposed by Mr. Moinul Huq Choudhury, General Secretary of the All India Muslim Students' Federation, and were accepted by the mover and allowed by me, because Mr. M. H. Choudhury told us in private that he had learnt from a responsible source that you wanted the Muslim public to condemn the proposals in strong terms. I am enclosing copies of the original resolution[4] and the amended resolution[5] as passed by the house (as Mr. Mohammad Idris Mufti was absent, in accordance with the rules of the Union, I allowed Mr. M. Hashim to second the resolution).

Though the actual attendance at the meeting was small as compared with the total membership of the Union, it was evident from the trend of the feelings of the students that the resolution expressed the will of a great majority of them, at the time. I was afterwards approached by many students and asked to have the resolution printed and distributed among the members of the AIML Council.

The reason why the students favoured rejection of the proposals was that, at that time, it was generally understood that the proposals represented a final settlement and that the Muslim League would have to discard its creed of sovereign Pakistan, if it were to accept them. But now that the Muslim League Council has declared that it accepts the proposals only because they contain the germs of Pakistan and that it adheres to the Lahore Resolution as its final goal, I assure you that Aligarh stands solid[ly] behind the decision of our national parliament, and that our faith in your statesmanship and leadership is as firm as ever. We believe that with the help of *Allah* and under your wise and brave leadership, we shall very soon achieve our cherished goal of full sovereign Pakistan.

I seek your permission to take this opportunity to submit another matter to your kind consideration. We intended to approach you about it in Delhi, when we were there during the AIML Council

meeting, but we thought it fit not to trouble you at that time, when you were awfully busy. It is long since we have not had the honour of a visit from you. For the last two years students have been clamouring for it. We shall feel highly obliged and honoured if you could very kindly afford a day to pay us a visit in September next, when the University re-opens. We have also to present to you a sum of rupees five thousand and one hundred on behalf of the Union which we have already collected. The students insist that it be presented to you here in Aligarh. Hope you will give sympathetic consideration to our humble request. I shall take the liberty of approaching you personally about it, when the University re-opens.

With deep regards and respects,

Yours-in-Islam,
A.T.M. MUSTAFA
Vice President

PS. I am lying ill since I came back from Delhi and my examination is also very near. Otherwise I would have definitely availed myself of the honour of submitting the whole thing before you personally. But if you would so order, I will take the privilege of meeting you any time you desire.

[1]No. 157.
[2]Appendix II. 21.
[3]See *SHC*, UP III/56. Not printed.
[4]See *SHC*, UP III/59, Not printed.
[5]Annex to No. 151.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/8

CONFIDENTIAL

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
12 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It seems there is going to be a breakdown again in the once hopeful negotiations. This should not be allowed. The Congress does not agree to give you parity in the Interim Government, and are insisting on having 15[1] instead of 12[2] members as suggested by the Cabinet

Mission. The best thing is to agree to this increase of members. But you should insist that the Viceroy should nominate these five[3] members out of which three should be secured for the Muslims at the outset. This can easily be done by asking the Viceroy to nominate Mr. Ambedkar, as the Scheduled-Caste member, [and] Brother Ahmad Shah of the Lucknow University as the Christian representative. He was always the nominated member of the Upper House of U.P. Assembly and was a member of the National Defence Council. He is a personal friend of the Viceroy and I am sure the Viceroy would gladly nominate him. He would always go with the Muslims on all matters. Then out of the Anglo-Indians the Viceroy could previously arrange to have a man who will go with you. Europeans and Anglo-Indians are generally pro-Muslim. But you should make sure that he is the pro-Muslim kind. Let the Congress have the other two seats. They are planning to have Sir Maharaj Singh; he would go with the Congress as an Indian Christian. If you can get these other three men on your side you should not object to the number being raised to 15. This, in my humble opinion, will solve the problem. I hope you will think over it.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]For the Congress views, see No. 480, *TP*, VII, 856.
[2]For the League viewpoint, see Appendix I. 26.
[3]Refers to parties other than the Congress and the League.

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Ahmad Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/37

ALLAH NAWAZ CASTLE,
DERA ISMAIL KHAN, NWFP,
13 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I respectfully venture to draw your full attention to a most vital point for your impartial and deep consideration for the good of India and Indians.

2. As according to the good democratic principles and the free will of each voter, the most important question of republican or monarchical form of government for Italy has been decided by the

public vote in a referendum, so the question of the Indian provinces join[ing] or not [joining] the group system, should likewise be decided by the public vote in the provinces, which is indeed the most important and fundamental question for the freedom, self-determination and the free choice of the people of each province of India. What I have suggested is the just, fairest, democratic, unobjectionable and the civilized way of knowing and judging the free will and choice of the public and of deciding such public and important questions accordingly and justly without any secret partiality or open favouritism to any class or party in a province or in the country as a whole. Present and past history of Europe and America proves and supports my suggestion and view, and these historical facts you know very well.

3. Sir, to make my suggestion and proposal very clear and very easy, I say that I do not propose the tedious, troublesome, very expensive and undesirable task of the general election for the provincial legislatures, local bodies, or other sorts of elections and to put the public into trouble again so soon after the recent general elections in the provinces. Nor [do] I propose to enlarge the franchise which will cause a very long delay. But I propose only the recording of the votes of the voters present, according to the present rules in the form of two parties, viz. one supporting the grouping system and the other opposing it, as was the case of the parties in Italy. Such a referendum can be performed easily, quickly and very cheaply in each district of each province, without any kind of blame, trick or tactics, against the British Cabinet Delegation, or the Congress or the Muslim League. In all the big and small civilized countries of the world such important questions are decided by referendum; then why such a safe, sound and universal system of referendum should not be used in the provinces of India.

4. The British Prime Minister and the British Cabinet Delegation have stated and proposed so much freedom and free choice to India that it rests entirely with India whether to remain in or out of the British Commonwealth. Then in face of such statements and proposals it naturally and perhaps legally and diplomatically seems a self-contradiction, if the provinces are compelled by the very same authority to join the groups against their future freedom and progress. In addition to it, the Presidents of the Indian National Congress and of the Muslim League wish India and the Indian provinces to be quite free and independent, exercising all autonomous and sovereign powers as free units like Amercian states or any other civilized and free country in the world. Then why, according to their own speeches and statements for liberty, freedom and independence,

both the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League do not agree to make it optional for the provinces whether to join or not in the groups from today and not after some years? And why both the Presidents do not jointly request the Cabinet Mission to make it also an optional question for the provinces and not a compulsory one? I cannot understand the logic, the charm and the legal and constitutional force which perhaps both Presidents are seeing that (1) How India can be supposed quite free and independent when each province and unit of hers is compelled or can be compelled to accept a forced system and a system prepared by the Britishers and not by the Indians or by the peoples of the provinces? (2) If the British Cabinet Delegation cannot compel India to remain in the British Commonwealth for India's own safety and advantages, then how and with what authority, the British Cabinet Delegation can compel the Indian provinces to join in the [*words illegible*] against their free will and also fearing many dangers and obstacles in their future life? (3) Is it a fact, and if it is a fact, then what are the reasons, advantages and arguments for allowing India to remain in or out of the British Commonwealth? If India is so allowed then why the provinces are not allowed to remain in or out of the groups? Can it be reasonable and possible to believe that the question of the provinces is more important than the question of the whole Indian Empire?

5. Lastly and respectfully I request the good British Cabinet Delegation and both the good Presidents of the Indian National Congress and of the Muslim League, to reconsider calmly and coolly this suggestion of mine in the light of the present Indian reasonable and just opinion and not fanatical and hostile opinion together with the present movement, activities, tendencies, ideas and mentalities in the world of today and specially in the present upheavals in Asia and Europe after the present war and the fall of Germany. We are glad, the world is glad, and the allies are glad for the defeat and destruction of Germany but such a victory has brought in each country far greater and graver problems and matters, hardships and difficulties which perhaps are worse in certain cases than the war itself was. I have written this letter with goodwill, and I trust it will be read and considered by goodwill also.

Hoping you are in sound health, and with best wishes,

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
AHMAD NAWAZ KHAN
Knight
Nawab of Dera

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Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/ 104

PESHAWAR,
13 June 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

People from the neighbouring State of Dir (NWFP) have come to me. They complain of the misrule and the exactions of the Nawab.

Their deputation is anxious to meet you. Will you kindly suggest a date and time convenient to you, so that a deputation of Dir State Muslims can wait on you?[1]

I hope you are well.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

[1]Jinnah expressed his inability to meet the deputation saying he had to leave for Bombay immediately after his business in Peshawar was over and that he might meet them in July but could not commit himself in advance. See *SHC*, NWFP II/106. Not printed.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/9

CONFIDENTIAL

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
13 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of June 10[1] which you have written in spite of the strenuous and heavy responsibilities that lie on your shoulders these days. The eyes not only of all Indians but of the peoples of the whole world are focussed today on the deliberations going on between you and the Congress. May God give you His light and guidance to make the best decision at this critical hour of the country. I am compelled to write again to tell you how the leaders party [*sic*], which is run by the Congress party here, is planning to pass a vote of no-confidence against the League Mayor Mian Ameeruddin.[2] They have got hold of that poor Indian Muslim Khan

Sadiq Ali and have offered to pay him a sum of rupees two hundred a month, if he goes over to their side. [Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan] Qizilbash is keeping him in secret custody in his own house and only lets him go out in his own car. The Minister, Lahri Singh, has done his level best to manipulate only those persons who have promised to oppose the League at every step. My name was strongly recommended by the Chief Corporation Officer, Mr. Kennedy, ICS, as well as by the Deputy Commissioner but Lahri Singh crossed my name out, for he said I was pro-Muslim. The same game was tried by Khizar Hayat-cum-Congress during the election when six members of the Scheduled Castes were kept locked in the cantonments and were paid large sums of money and promised squares of land. So you see what foul means are being used against the Muslims to deprive them of their due right. The Congress people openly go about saying that they will never cooperate with the League in any way. The cutting from today's *Tribune* points to the future atmosphere. The very name 'Parity Poison'[3] points to their mental attitude towards the Muslims. How on earth is there going to be peace and goodwill in the country, one cannot understand. If the Hindus continue to adopt this attitude of hatred and ill-feeling towards the Muslims, it should be the duty of Muslims to take up the challenge and expose the Hindus thoroughly, under the machinations of Brahman leadership. This you can only do if you have a planned programme not only for India but for the whole world. The Congress has been doing its propaganda for the last twenty years and now they have their full plans to send out emissaries and ambassadors to all the countries of the world. They have even got men ready to go to all the Muslim countries and do its propaganda against the League. Are the Muslims going to remain asleep over this matter? It is the duty of the League to prepare literature and books from now [onwards] for propaganda all over the world. I wrote to you on May 29th[4] all about this. I sent the letter to your Simla address. I do not think you have received that very important letter. So I am forwarding another copy of it to you again. I have chalked out a full plan of propaganda. If you agree to the plan, I shall ask Swamiji to run up to Hyderabad where you are shortly going to visit the Nizam of Hyderabad. He is at present in a big conference.

Hindus today are intoxicated with the democratic majority rule idea. But we have to expose the mockery of this idea when they have not an iota of democracy in their own society. How then can they be trusted with the power of government? To hand over political power to such a people would be to hand over power to a rule of tyranny

which is so evident in the Hindu life. It is now for the Muslims and Christians and others to unite and tell the world that as long as Hindus hold on to the caste-system idea they should be segregated from the others whose every breath of life is equality, fraternity and justice. The demand of Pakistan was born for these very reasons that are there in the League [Legislators'] Convention Resolution.[5] That Resolution has to be made into a slogan by the Muslims. It should not be left on paper only. You should see that it becomes a living reality to everybody and it will be only then that all the progressive forces will rally round the Muslims who uptill now have slept as far as propaganda is concerned. The publicity department of the League should become the vital side of it. You have to win over all non-Hindus to your side and I firmly believe that if we take up this question seriously and expose the dangerous implications of the menace of Hindu imperialism, every body will run to the Muslim side.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab V/2. Not printed.
[2]See *SHC*, Punjab V/10. Not printed.
[3]*SHC*, Punjab V/11. Not printed.
[4]No. 117.
[5]Enclosure to Appendix I. 4.

169

Hugh Weightman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 479/1-2

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
14 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received through Batavia and London the following message for you from Dr. [Sultan] Sjahrir, Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia.

On behalf of my people, especially of our 60 million Muslim countrymen, I congratulate you and your party for the wise and important decision you made by accepting the latest Cabinet Mission proposals.

I am convinced that you and the other great Indian leaders will be able to form a strong national cabinet that will lead your people through the difficult period of transition to full nationship [*sic*].

We envisage the day that you and the other great leaders of India will visit our country as the highest officials of a free and great India.
2. Dr. Sjahrir has sent a similar congratulatory message to Pandit Nehru.

Yours sincerely,
WEIGHTMAN
[*Secretary*]

170

I. H. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/82

UNIVERSITY OF DELHI,
DELHI,
14 June 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing these lines to you, because I feel that the Muslim nation requires the services of all Muslims at this juncture. I am a wholetime servant of a Hindu-dominated University and it is not possible for me to take part in active politics. But I feel that I could perhaps render some insignificant service as a student of history and politics. There must be many like me who would like to serve the cause. I wonder if you have ever given thought to the creation of a small unpaid research and reference section which may perform the duties of a fact-finding bureau and which may be entrusted with writing memoranda, notes and briefs on various topics. This will be very necessary when the Constituent Assembly begins to function. If you decide to organize such a bureau, I will feel honoured to render such assistance as lies within my power.

My antecedents are that I was a member of the Pakistan national movement when I was at Cambridge. I was co-opted a member by the Higher Education Sub-Committee of the League Education Planning Committee. I am an ardent Leaguer, though my occupation prevents me from doing any active work. I have not made any effort to meet you, because I had nothing particular to say and I could not think of wasting your time. I am personally known to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Professor A.B.A. Haleem of the Muslim University, and

Dr. Afzal Husain Qadri, from whom you may enquire regarding my *bona fides.*

Yours sincerely,
I. H. QURESHI
Head of Department of History
and Dean of Faculty of Arts

171

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/52

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
14 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sorry I could not explain to you in our short interview some of the important matters I desired to talk to you [about].

Now that Congress has rejected the Interim Government Plan, may I submit the following:

i. The Congress has exposed itself as a totalitarian body which has accepted the Hindu Sabha slogan of 'no parity, no partition but pure Caste Hindu domination.' Expose it to the USA.
ii. We accepted the British Plan on the condition that Muslim League must have parity with the Hindus, including Scheduled Castes unless they get separate electorate.
iii. That the Interim Government will be formed with League, with or without the Congress. We are confident that you will stick to these terms.

Now may I suggest the following:

a. that the President and Secretary of All India Muslim League should not enter Interim Government but should be free to work for League reorganisation;
b. that Nawabzada should be free and whole-time worker and member of the Constituent Assembly of Group C;
c. that care should be taken to protect the life, honour, religion and culture of the Muslims of the Hindu provinces, particularly of U.P., Bihar and C.P;
d. that i n my opinion Lt. Col. Jaipal Singh, ex-Revenue Minister, Bikaner, ex-Principal, Chiefs College, Roypur, President,

Adibasi Mahasabha, the recognised leader of the tribals of Chota Nagpur, and an Indian Christian, may be backed for the Indian Christian seat in the Executive Council. He combines the capacity of the leader of the tribals and aborigines of India and of the Indian Christians. Besides, under his leadership, tribals have contributed very largely to war efforts. He is a staunch supporter of Pakistan and the League. Once Sir Maurice Hallet proposed his name for the Centre.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

172

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/12

CONFIDENTIAL

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
15 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you more cuttings from the Hindu press to show what malicious propaganda is being made against the Muslims to spread hatred and ill-feelings and to revive past bitterness. The Hindus are inciting the Sikhs to act as the martial race, themselves being unfit to cope with the Muslims. What necessity was there to write under the photo of Akal Takht the place where the Sikhs [had] pledged[1] to fight against the Moghal Empire? This is nothing but sheer mischief. The other cutting[2] shows the grand fascist council of Patel group pledging to support the Hindus and the Sikhs against the grouping system. This is also a plan to keep their hands in the Muslim pie in order to prevent them from concentrating on their constructive work for their zones. It seems that in spite of the government plan to separate the Muslim zones in order to save them from Hindu exploitation, the Congress is planning to keep itself busy in your sphere of influence instead of quietly settling down in their *Akhand Hindustan*. You have to plan to counteract their influence from now [on], otherwise there is going to be no peace. The third cutting[3] also is a bitter attack against the Muslim League. All that is going on is a clear case for a homeland for the Muslims. The Hindus are still harping on the unity of India only for the purpose of having something to exploit. The Muslims have been their victims.

Of course, there is nobody to speak for the Christians whom the Hindus hate more than the Muslims and whom they want to re-absorb into the Hindu fold. But thank God that you appeared on the scene of India just at the right moment to save not only the Muslims but other minorities as well who would have been swallowed up by the Hindu monster. Uptil now the minorities have not thought deeply [of] what you have done. But in years to come, I am sure they will look upon you as a saviour. After everything is settled you should make a programme of winning over all the minorities to your side. A diplomatic policy of appeasement will have to be chalked out and worked judiciously. That is why I write again that your presence in the Punjab will be an absolute necessity. The Muslims have done no propaganda. Look at the way the Congress is doing its propaganda telling the minorities that it will do this and do that. It will be the business of the Muslims to tell the minorities that they have nothing to fear, their rights would be safeguarded. The Hindus are trying to make it appear as if the Muslim rule is going to be a tyrants' rule and very oppressive. The neighbours tell us that Muslims will impose *jazia* on the non-Muslims. Now this is just a trick to antagonise the people against the Muslims who will need to contradict all the poisonous propaganda. I think the first thing to do will be to contact the press which is the mighty weapon in their hands to spread wrong things.

I am sending the cuttings to you only to show the great mischief that is being done at this critical juncture when momentous decisions are being made by the leaders. I hope God will give you health and wisdom to do the best for the nation.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab V/13. Not printed.
[2]See *SHC*, Punjab V/14. Not printed.
[3]Not traceable.

173

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 458/48-9

BY AIR MAIL

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
15 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Europeans here are getting jittery. They met and intended to issue a statement to the effect that as they did not wish to stand in the way of a settlement, they did not propose to exercise their vote. I have induced them to stay their hands but I do not know up to what time they will do so. I have pointed out to them that they might consider the situation if their voting or non-voting was the only obstacle in the way of the Congress accepting the Mission's proposals; but when the Congress are putting forward several other reasons, there is no reason why they should give up their position at once. I do feel, however, that, much though it goes against the interests of the Muslims, the Europeans will be forced to declare that they will not vote if their voting or non-voting is the only issue between the Congress and the Cabinet Mission. I think the Congress are playing a war of nerves and the Europeans, who think that some day they will have to declare that they will not vote, feel that it will be a grand gesture if they were to make their declaration now. I further think that if they were to declare now, the Congress will be in a much stronger position for further concessions, whereas if they do not do so the Cabinet Mission will have this up their sleeve in making terms with the Congress.

Do you desire that a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League should not be called now? There was one important matter there for discussion, viz. the organisation of an Election Board in order to enrol members and to run the elections, which may have to be postponed if the Council does not meet. If you think, however, that with the present tension amongst us a meeting of the Council will worsen matters, will you please be good enough to order me by telegram or Maulana Akrum Khan by telegram or Abul Hashem, Secretary of Provincial League, by telegram to postpone the meeting?

With deepest respects,

Yours sincerely,
SHAHEED

174

Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 313/6

HOTEL IMPERIAL,
NEW DELHI,
16 June 1946

My dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Just a line to respectfully suggest that the portfolio of Supply should be taken over by Muslim League member. This department is very important from the point of view of industries, as the Dept. of Industries and Supplies and that of Disposals are under the Supply member. These are very important departments and trust my humble suggestion will receive your consideration.

I shall be staying here till the 19th, and on hearing from you the date and time convenient to you to grant me an interview, I shall come round to pay my respects to you.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
AHMED E. H. JAFFER

175

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 238/18-9

PERSONAL

BHOPAL,
CENTRAL INDIA,
17 June 1946

My dear Jinnah,

I write you this brief note not because I feel that you may not have thought of all this yourself but because I have felt that opinion[s], which I freely express, with your permission, on matters of great importance in these critical times, sometimes are of some little help to you. I shall be very brief.

The Mission has departed from the original plan of 5:5:2 in the Interim Government, but in my judgement the fundamental point, namely parity between the Congress and the League and the Muslims

and the Hindus, has been fully conceded. The depressed class man has not come in as a Congressman but as a representative of his community. The rest do not count. I therefore feel very strongly that we should not reject the proposal though we should protest violently. Our acceptance of the Interim Government proposal of the Viceroy is most vital to our future, as also the retention by the Muslims of the Defence portfolio which I now feel you should take, provided some of your conditions are acceptable to the Viceroy. There can be no Constituent Assembly without the Quaid-i-Azam.

We have the grouping secure. The Europeans should be allowed to quit the Constituent Assembly unless you ask for it and there is no need for you to oblige the other party in this matter.

May I repeat my request that we should accept the 5:5:4 ratio? It does us no harm and the advantages are great.

Of course you know best. These are mere proposals for what they may be worth. I know you do not mind my telling you exactly how I feel.

And now may I take this opportunity of congratulating you most earnestly for the great work you have done for the Muslims.

If I may say so, you have been great and God alone in His bountiful mercy can reward you for the service to us all. You have 100 million human beings devoted to you and grateful to you alone.

Yours ever,
HAMIDULLAH

176

B. R. Ambedkar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 175/6

PERSONAL

22 PRITHVI RAJ ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
17 June 1946

My dear Jinnah,

Apropos our talk on the phone last night, I have sent a telegram to Mr. Attlee. I am enclosing herewith a copy of it for your information. I am also issuing it to the press.

Yours sincerely,
B. R. AMBEDKAR

Enclosure to No. 176
B. R. Ambedkar to Clement Attlee

Telegram, F. 173/7

22 PRITHVIRAJ ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
17 June 1946

At the time of the last year's Simla Conference the Viceroy on my protest and with the consent of the Home Government promised to increase the Scheduled Castes' representation in the Interim Government to two seats in a Council of fourteen. I had demanded three. As a compromise I accepted two. New proposals for Interim Government announced[1] yesterday give Scheduled Castes only one seat. This is a gross breach of a solemn promise given after due deliberation. One seat [is] most unfair. Mission is treating sixty million Untouchables as being equal to four million Sikhs, [or] three million Christians, in the matter of representation. The Scheduled Castes' nominee does not represent the Scheduled Castes, is elected entirely by Hindu votes, and is a creature of the Congress. Representation to Scheduled Castes Congressman is no representation to Scheduled Castes; it is representation to Congress. Cabinet Mission heaping upon the Scheduled Castes one wrong after another and is bent on sacrificing them with a view to appeasing the Congress and destroying their independent position in the public life of the country. Please intervene and redress the wrong by directing Mission to give Scheduled Castes two seats, to be filled by nominees of the Federation which the Mission knows alone represents the Scheduled Castes. Scheduled Castes insist on two seats or none. To avoid misunderstanding of my motive I like to state that I have no desire to be in the Interim Government and will stand out. I am fighting for the rights of the Scheduled Castes. I hope there is some sense of justice left in the British Government.

B. R. AMBEDKAR

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.

177

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/30

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
19 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not like to influence your opinion but would like certainly to press my own. In Cabinet, influence and arguments count more than counting the heads. Your presence will enhance importance of all the Muslim League representatives. Therefore, in the interest of the Musalmans at the present moment, it is very desirable that you guide the policy both inside and outside the Government. Such representation is not unusual. It is done in Britain and in other European countries. The person who guides the policy inside also guides the policy outside. It is [*sic*] in keeping with the traditions, if you act as leader of Muslim League group in Cabinet, Muslim League Party in Central Legislature, and also the Muslim League in the country.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

178

Agnes St. Ives-Currie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 943/56-7

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
19 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Congratulations on your great (parity) victory! Hold the fort, do not give in, the European world [*sic*] of England and America are only just waking up to the fact that there are any people called Muslims in India—hitherto Nehru's dear sister has been prancing in America hypnotising those silly emotional people into believing that

the British have oppressed and enslaved them for 150 years, where the only oppression [that the] soft English fools have exercised is to mightily oppress Indians with mistaken kindness, especially the criminal lunatic population of Bengal. This Congress population ought to be declared an illegal body as before or atomic-bombed. India has been made a glorious India by the skill and labour of our forefathers, mine amongst them. A bit of lead used in the construction of the Chenab bridge as a paper weight is on my writing table as [a] proof. I have written strongly to Sir P. Lawrence and told [*sic* for him] they are nothing but political adventurers gambling away the assets of the Indian empire—assets piled up by the energy, brains and blood of our forefathers. For God's sake get out of India for your unnecessary continued presence here is only encouraging the Congress dacoits to [commit] ghastly acts of lawlessness. Witness the murder of those two poor girls going on a well-earned holiday to Kashmir. Pity, I am not in the Central Assembly. I would smash the Congress and their old bannia Gandhi head to foot. As Queen Elizabeth said, "the spirit of Henry VIII still lives in his daughter."

Yours truly,
MRS. A. ST. IVES-CURRIE

179

Syed Ali Bux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 31/8-9

BEGUM BAZAR,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
19 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I invite your reference to my letters dated 8th February,[1] 11th February[2] and 2nd April 1946.[3] I enclose herein copies of two letters,[4] one written by me to Sir Mirza Ismail and the other his reply to it. With all the emphasis at my command I have fully impressed upon him during numerous interviews and several letters that Hyderabad must be saved at any cost for the Muslims under the guise of building it, and that to achieve that object your patronage and the support of the Muslim League is indispensable. I am glad to say that he has pledged himself to this programme and due to different influences I have brought to bear upon him, he is willing

to cooperate with the Muslim League for carrying out this programme in Hyderabad. I hope to bring him on his knees before you, and I request you not to push back a very useful man who is coming into your fold. I need not tell you that only a man, who is apparently an established pro-Hindu but who is at heart pledged to serve the Muslim cause, can save Hyderabad now. Sir Mirza has come round and has been fully inspired. I am today leaving for Bangalore and hope to get a more definite commitment from him.

A *firman* of H.E.H. was privately circulated the day before yesterday among members of the Executive Council announcing the appointment of Sir Mirza and saying that if the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari desires to relinquish office immediately he may hand over charge to Sir Mehdi Yar Jung, the Deputy President. Yesterday a letter has been written by H.E.H. to Sir Mirza asking him to come and take over charge of office as soon as possible. I want that he should obtain your blessings before he assumes office in Hyderabad. Anyhow, I shall acquaint you with the whole situation after my return from Bangalore.

I was glad to learn from a young man named Mr. Bahauddin Saleem that you have accepted his invitation to come to Hyderabad to be weighed in gold and silver.[5] I very warmly welcome the honour you want to bestow on Hyderabad. All the Muslims here are beaming with enthusiasm to give a befitting reception to their Quaid-i-Azam, the single-handed fighter and champion who has successfully fought to liberate the Muslims from a double yoke of slavery. But the notice is too short. It would facilitate arrangements if you would please fix your programme somewhere in the end of July. I trust you will have received a telegram to this effect before this reaches you.

With respects,

Obediently yours,
S. A. BUX
ex-Private Secretary
to late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 486, Vol. XII, 562.
[3]See F. 1107/134-5, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]See F. 31/10-12, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]See No. 180.

180

Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/109-11
[Original in Urdu]
[Extract]

SALEEM MANZIL,
USMANSHAHI,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
19 June 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

With the blessings of God I wish you well and pray that He may protect you from the evil eye and keep you happy and healthy to guide us for a long time. I have not yet received a reply to my two letters[1] sent earlier. Before I make a further submission, I wish to congratulate you on leading a slave minority (the Muslims) on the road to independence and securing their rights without any financial or physical sacrifice. You brought glory to Islam, gathered the Muslims on one platform, and led them with dignity. I sincerely beseech God to protect you against your enemies, and pray to Him to motivate the Muslims to follow you in letter and spirit.

You are requested to visit Hyderabad some time towards the middle or end of July or in August, to enable us to celebrate your birthday, to which you have already agreed.[2] To demonstrate that your life is precious to us, we will weigh you in gold and silver and donate it as *zakat/sadqa* on your behalf, which is permissible in Islam. Preparations in this regard are being made for the last seven months.[3] Messages for the occasion have been solicited from different parts of the world, and have been received so far from the President, Palestine-Arab League, and the President of Transvaal Muslim League.

An early reply is requested.

Your old and faithful servant,
BAHAUDDIN MHAMOOD SALEEM SIDDIQI

[1]Jinnah had already replied saying that he was trying to come to Hyderabad by the end of that month. See *SHC*, Hyderabad I/96. Not printed.

[2]On 27 June it was announced that Jinnah would not be weighed in gold and silver. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 115, note 2.

[3]Also see No. 208.

181

Razia Sadiq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/669-70

151 HUSSAINPURA WEST,
AMRITSAR,
19 June 1946

Dear Sir,

My father has died recently. He was a very rich businessman. But his partner cheated him and as a result we have lost all our wealth. I am his only daughter. I have appeared in the B.A. examination held this year. Owing to some financial difficulties I can neither join B.T. class nor M.A. and without doing B.T. or M.A., I cannot get any respectable post. Besides this, it is my only wish to do M.A. but now all my hopes seem dashed to the ground. I don't know what to do. My life seems to me being ruined.

All our relatives who flattered and loved us very much only a year before, when we were rich and my father was alive, have left us in a state of distress. My self-respect prevents me from asking them to help me to continue my studies. But I don't feel any shame in telling you my condition and asking your help, because you are our leader and have got a kind heart. I am sure you will save the life of a Muslim girl from ruination who has no one in this wide world except an old mother who has been left quite helpless by the cruel hand of fate. I want your help not as a charity but as a loan. After finishing my education, when I get some post, I will pay back all the money. I hope you will pay attention to my request. I am anxiously waiting for your answer.

Yours faithfully,
RAZIA SADIQ

182

Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/435-6

9 YORK ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
19 June 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May I, with your permission, make a suggestion about the League's participation in the projected Executive Council.

It appears that most probably you will not come in as one of the members. If so, this decision of yours will be a wise one and will certainly be appreciated favourably [*sic*] by the Muslims, who would need your unfettered guidance at this critical juncture of their national development more than ever before.

If your place thus falls vacant in the Executive Council, allow me to suggest that you may kindly recommend the name of Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who has, during the last few months, not only given proof of his integrity, ability and loyalty to the Muslim League, but has also demonstrated that he is capable of handling delicate situations in a wise and statesman-like manner. Moreover, his selection for the Executive Council will satisfy the claim of the Punjab, which is going to be the major partner in western Pakistan.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIAN BASHIR AHMAD

183

Ihsanullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/688-90

IHSAN HOUSE,
CRATER, ADEN,
20 June 1946

Dear brother-in-Islam,

I am not personally known to you, but all the leading Muslims of India, who have been to Hejaz on *haj* during the years 1920-1937, are

fully aware of my existence. I am a born anti-Hindu and I had a bitter experience of their [behaviour] with the Muslims as early as 1900, when I was searching for a junior clerical job at Lahore from office to office, but as the head clerks were mostly Hindus I failed to get a job in spite of the recommendations I had from notable Muslims to the heads of various departments. In the end, I only succeeded in obtaining a temporary post, which was to be filled by an open competitive examination.

This bitter experience of the days of my youth made me a staunch enemy of the idol worshippers, and I am fully convinced that the Muslims can have no room in India except as menials, and even that—I then thought—would not be easy to get.

My personal experience as a clerk was that in a majority of Hindu staff, a Muslim, in spite of better qualifications, had no chance for promotion; was surrounded with intrigues; and the result was that he was often thrown out for the slightest negligence or even without a fault at all. My Hindu head-clerk did not even like to employ Muslim peons or *pankhawala*. They wanted to have entire Hindu staff. A Muslim clerk was told false tales of the Muslim kings and their tyranny and the conversion of his ancestors to Islam by sword, and thus induce him to become an *Aryasamajist*.

When I left India, I carried this bitter experience of my life, and since 1920, I am engaged in anti-Hindu propaganda, and pressed my enlightened *hajis* for the division of India, though Maulana Shaukat Ali and other nationalists thought of me as a propagandist for the British Government which was trying to keep British India disunited for the benefit of the British Government.

It had been my idea since the days of my youth to see India divided into Muslim India and Hindu India, which idea was opposed by the Indian nationalists, amongst whom I shall always remember Maulana Zaffar-al-Mulk, the editor of *El-Nazir* of Lucknow, for his bitter attacks in 1927 or 1928. His point was that the Muslims of U.P. would not leave the bones of their ancestors in the hands of the Hindus, and I had to tell him to prepare himself for wearing the sacred thread and becoming a Hindu himself.

I am glad to see that the imagination of an uneducated and inexperienced man has now become the national policy of the Muslim leaders, and though I myself had nothing to do with Indian politics and am now a man of no importance, and a forgotten one by all those who once took pride in my acquaintance still as a Muslim I do have sympathy with my co-religionists in India, though I have no means of enforcing my objects, but as a true Muslim I must show my

sympathy to them even in words.

I am doing this in my own humble way by writing to the local authorities about the true state of affairs in this colony, begging them not to allow the Hindus [to be] elected to the Councils, although they unfortunately hold this Colony at present under their influence. The trade is theirs, important government jobs are in their hands, and even for ordinary clerical jobs Hindus are imported from India. I am grieved and my heart is bleeding that noble Arab race even after 100 years of British rule in this Colony is only fit to serve the *bania* and occupy very junior posts in government offices and do menial jobs.

I am carrying on propaganda in a small way, but there are no capable Muslims in this Colony for important jobs and I have been pressing upon the local government to engage Muslims from India, Sudan or Palestine, failing which to engage Christian Arabs from the Arab countries. So far I have not succeeded. The British Government only bows before the majority; loyalty and other services count [for] nothing to them as is the case with our Punjabi Muslims, whom the government has now thrown away, ... But, thanks to God, in spite of a small number of traitors amongst us, the Muslims in India seem united. I shall always remember the encouraging words of our greatest soldier, General Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, who, during his visit to Hejaz gave me the honour of becoming his host, pacified me by asking me not to worry about my brothers in India as his Tiwana regiments are enough to meet the demand. Honestly I was not satisfied with the words of this great man of the nation. I believe that the Hindus of these days are quite different to those of 50 years ago when one Punjabi could have driven off thousands of Bengalis single-handed and unarmed. But still in the presence of unity, your leadership and encouragement from such persons as Sir Firoz Khan Noon, one is given the hope that the case of the Muslims in India is not totally lost.

According to my humble capacity, I have made up my mind to serve my country by the expulsion of the Hindu community from this Colony, and I am forming a Young Men Muslim Association with the idea of uniting the several sections of the Muslim community into one group, and have issued an appeal to the Muslim public. But ignorance, poverty and disunity of the Muslims are the obstacles in my way and, over and above this, I myself am not an educated man, as it would appear from the wording of this appeal to you. I have informed the local government that my movement would be conducted on the lines of our enemy, Gandhi—non-violence and boycott.

For this purpose, I wish to start a labour union and I have already written a letter to the British Labour Party, copy attached,[1] for advice,

but received no reply.

I am not a wealthy man and therefore appeal to you to help me in the cause, which I have taken upon myself, by deputing one of the League's men to come to Aden for a few months to act as an adviser and start the various schemes for us, during which period he shall [*sic*] be my guest. My main difficultly is lack of education and having spent all my life in government service I know nothing about the formation of unions, associations, societies, etc., and I am thus badly in need of an expert in law, and so I am compelled to appeal to you for help. In case the League is unable to depute a capable adviser at their expense, I would beg you to help me by selecting a suitable person for six months, and I am prepared to pay him from my own pocket Rs. 200 monthly with board and lodging, besides the passage money. So I beg you to help me in all possible ways so that I may be able to play my little part in the great cause of our nation.

It is also my wish that when a legal man is deputed by you, he could be found employment here in a government job or be encouraged to practise locally through my and my friends' influence, and in this way more and more Muslims could be brought into this Colony. A magistrate with first class powers receives in Aden Rs. 450 as a starting salary, while a successful lawyer earns between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 7,000 a month.

In conclusion, I thank you from my heart for all the sacrifices you are making for the great cause of the nation.

With kindest regards, and *salaam*,

Your brother-in-Islam,
IHSANULLAH
M.B.E.
Late British (Indian) Vice-Consul

[1]Not traceable.

184

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP II/24

LUCKNOW,
20 June 1946

My respected Jinnah Sahib,

In the light of the fact that I am also a Muslim and thus much

interested and awfully worried for my community, hence indirectly for my own sake, I think it is my due privilege to express my hearty thanks and congratulations on your most time-honoured leadership and innumerable successes with which you have been crowned from time to time, and many more are still waiting for you in the near future. I feel quite confident that you will surely honour me and encourage me by accepting my humble offerings to you.

2. Ever since you organised the League, I have been keenly watching all the developments. My interest has increased since the recent developments. Since your achievement, namely proving the Two-Nation theory, the Muslim majority is with you and the League. Pakistan is the final goal of every Muslim and Pakistan is the only solution to achieve independence of the country where peace and prosperity will rule.

3. There are certain points that are constantly haunting my mind and I take the liberty to bring them to your kind notice in the earnest hope that they will find your approval. In case you do not agree with any of them, please do not condemn them as such and do not start hating me for them.

a. Though all the clauses contained in the Cabinet Mission proposals are quite opposed to your demands, yet in the interest of the community and country you and your Council have accepted them. The only bright hope in the proposal is that they have accepted the principle of Pakistan but either they feel shy or they are cowards to accept it openly lest they might be injuring the feelings of the Congress. The second point that is most nauseating for the Congress is the grouping of the provinces and at the pitch of their voice they are opposing it and like an old widow are weeping and crying over it. As a matter of fact, in the absence of two sovereign states, this grouping is nothing and, moreover, every province has a right to opt out at any time but not in the beginning. In this respect, the Indians and the citizens of the world can never ignore your liberal and compromising attitude.

b. There is every hope that you all will agree even to this fresh Interim Government formula of 5:5:4 which is quite contrary to the promises of the Viceroy of various dates, latest being 15-6-46.[1] This too is another example of compromising attitude. In my opinion you all must insist on the following points:

i. No non-League Muslim, who will always behave like a quisling, should be included.

ii. No further changes or modifications should be made to satisfy or

please the Congress.

4. In my humble opinion it is far below your dignity to be a minister in the Interim Government. I think you must stay out. Only one member from U.P. is enough, i.e. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan should be replaced by somebody else. There should be one representative from each of the five provinces of B & C groups, having one already selected, i.e. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, the remaining four vacancies are to be filled up. I think Mr. Sa'adullah from Assam and Firoz Khan Noon or Mr. Jaffar (who is a Shia and you must include one Shia) from Punjab to be there. If Sardar Nishtar is quite suitable then he should be allowed to represent NWFP but in case some better man than him is available from NWFP then he must replace our Sardar.

5. In selecting the men we must have in mind the following points: a. a true Muslim, b. a strong man, c. a good diplomat, d. a great debator, and e. a good constitutionalist.

6. Please don't take me otherwise. I am sure when an ordinary and quite informed man like me can think of such things, [how] men like you and of your group can miss them? They must be thinking beyond my imagination.

7. A very great Muslim Leaguer once told me that there is one Mr. Jaffar, a Shia gentleman from Punjab, who is second to you. I hope you could bring him and get him thoroughly trained because now you are fairly old and God forbid someone must be ready to carry on your mission successfully.

8. The two groups of portfolios should not go to Congress, namely Defence and Foreign Affairs, Planning, Communications and Finance. They should be wisely distributed. You should plead the cause of Scheduled Castes and get one more seat for them and so also for Anglo-Indians. It matters little if the number goes to sixteen if it could go from twelve to fourteen, why not from fourteen to sixteen.

9. In the end I beg to be excused for not having addressed you as Quaid-i-Azam. Believe me, Sir, I do not like it at all. I visualize in these words the typical Hindu idea of hero-worship, a dangerous fascist like Fuhrer[2] or Netaji.[3] I think you are not more than a mere human being and a great, loyal and honest servant of your community and country. It is no honour to give you such titles. The greatest honour that one can give you is to follow and obey you. I hope you will agree with me and reject the title once for all.

10. In case you find any sense in these lines of mine, please give

some comments on them in the *Dawn* and the *Pioneer*.

I beg to be excused for bad English and a dirty hand,

Your most obedient follower,

S

[PS.] Let my identity remain unknown for the time being.

[1]The date appears to be incorrect. For the Statement issued on 16 June see Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.

[2]Means a 'leader' in German; part of the title assumed by Adolf Hitler, German Chancellor (1933-45), in 1934.

[3]Means a 'leader' in Hindi; refers to Subhas Chandra Bose, a Congress leader who formed the Indian National Army to fight alongwith the Japanese against the British Army during World War II. He was killed in an air-crash in 1945.

185

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 613/1

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
20 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I send in original a wire I have received from K. B. Khuhro regarding Sind representation in the Interim Government, for such action as you may deem proper to take on it.

I am unable to make any suggestions to you in this matter as I had expressed to you my readiness to abide by any decision you might take in this behalf.

Hoping you are doing well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

Enclosure to No. 185
M. A. Khuhro to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

Telegram, F. 365/111

DELHI,
18 June 1946

Sir Ghulam Hussain, Premier, Karachi

In case League accepts interim plan you must please protest to Mr. Jinnah against Sind not getting any representative in Interim Govt. although Sind Muslims did extremely well in general elections unlike Frontier Province.

M. A. KHUHRO

186

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 203/74

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
21 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I suppose you will now be busy in the distribution of portfolios. You said by the way in one of your speeches that parity will be maintained[1] not only in numbers but also in the portfolios. The portfolios may be divided into the following groups and the Muslim League should have one from each of the groups and certainly in the first five:

1. Finance and Planning
2. Foreign and Defence
3. Supply and Commerce
4. Home and Communication
5. Labour and Education
6. Food and Agriculture
7. Miscellaneous—Health, Disposals, P.W.D.

Selection may be made either by common consent or by negotiation or by any other method for each group. The point that you have raised

that there should be some kind of finality is a very important one and we do not know where we are.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

[1]See Appendix I. 21 and Enclosure to Appendix I. 17, para 6.

187

Begum Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/693-96

SOJA,
22 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In spite of being deep in the mountains, surrounded by sheer beauty and peacefulness, we think about you and the arduous task that is facing you. Being here on this trek does not mean that Firoz does not know the responsibility that all, and mostly you, are facing but as you said on the phone, you did not need him, and noticing Firoz getting angrier and angrier with the Congress for the irresponsible and evasive game they were playing. I thought it best to get him away up here into the wilderness where neither radio nor newspaper can reach us.

I think these parts are just as beautiful as Kashmir and quite unspoiled. I am already looking forward to Manali and if it is as lovely as I am told, I dream of building a little chalet up there and then I may actually like spending a summer in India. In any case, I have not forgotten that this valley is in Pakistan and when the road from Lahore will be built it will be most easily accessible.

Only one thing mars our happiness going through these parts and that is the poverty of the people. So much can be done to improve their lot. Firoz, as usual, is full of schemes. Thank God he has never become complacent, as so many people in India become after a while.

I hope that it may be granted to you to have a little holiday soon after that strenuous time you are having. You would love these hills here.

It is evening and chilly out here in the verandah. Firoz and I send you and Miss Jinnah all the best [wishes] and many kind regards.

Firoz thinks much of doing his trekking on horseback. I am more energetic and walk more.

Our best regards,

Yours sincerely,
VICKY NOON

188

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/346-7

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
23 June 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Now that the Congress has rejected the Interim Plan, I suggest that the League may press for the following in the Central Executive:

i. Muslim League nominees, as you [may] choose. (Nawabzada, Noon, Nazim, Nawab Ismail, Nishtar, Hossain Imam)
ii. Lt. Colonel Jaipal Singh, M. A. (Oxon.), I.C.S. (resigned); ex-Adviser, GHQ Services Selection Board; ex-Colonization Minister and Revenue Commissioner, Bikaner; President, All India Adibasi (Aborigines) Mahasabha, Ranchi, who holds Viceroy's *sanad* for highest individual recruitment in India.
iii. Sir T. P. Rajan, leader, Justice Party, Madras, or Sir Ramasawami Mudaliar
iv. Dr. John Mathai
v. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar or Rao Bahadur Sheva Raj
vi. Dr. N. B. Khare
vii. Sir J. P. Srivastava

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

PS. I particularly press for the name of Lt. Col. Jaipal Singh, the Adibasi leader, who is a staunch supporter of the League and Pakistan and the popular mass leader, rather the uncrowned king of the Adibasis—the tribals of Bengal, Bihar and Assam.

189

Sher Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/713

AL TARAQ,
JHELUM,
24 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sincere congratulations on your masterpiece [*sic*] statesmanship. May God give you a long life and excellent health to guide the Muslims of India to [*sic* for along] the right path, which you and only you can honestly do at this critical juncture.

Sikhs are much disturbed on Mission's proposals and they have appointed a council of action under a soldier, Colonel Gill, and they are also threatening with all sorts of boasts [*sic*].

On reading their provocative speeches, my blood boils and I cannot possibly remain silent. Sikhs may start a *morcha* in the Punjab. I therefore, put through you, my humble services at the personal disposal of Nawab Mamdot, to organize the Punjab Muslims to fight [for] their sacred cause. If you wish to help other provinces with my forty years' soldiering experience in both the world wars, I will do so. I am sending a rough sketch of the organization[1] for Nawab Mamdot's perusal. If you agree, kindly pass this on to Nawab Mamdot under whose personal instructions I will be ever ready like a humble soldier.

Yours sincerely,
SHER MOHAMMAD KHAN
Colonel, Knight

[1]See F. 883/714, *QAP*. Not printed.

190

Agnes St. Ives-Currie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 490/24-5

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
24 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Hearty congratulations on your great victory. The *Statesman* has broken out into a perfect *Te Deum* saying the world can no longer doubt the sincerity of the Muslim League, the *Punica fides*[1] of the other party. The Moghuls are coming into their own. Maybe, what is needed is an active propaganda in all parts of the world. The American soldiers, whom we entertained every Sunday on the Scotch Church lawn after the service, asked me how they could tell a Muslim from a Hindu. I told them that a Muslim stands straight in front of you, looks straight in your face and gives you a straight answer. The Hindu wriggles about like a snake, never looks you straight in the face, or never gives you a straight answer. They assured me they would always be able to tell a Hindu from a Muslim by my description. Do not rest on your oars, many breakers [are] ahead. Sind surely needs a visit from you from time to time. Congress is very strong here; it acts as a reserve battalion to other provinces and the Muslims are hard-pressed. Try to help them.

Yours truly,
MRS. A. ST. IVES-CURRIE

[1]Perfidy, treachery in Latin; Punic faith is the anglicised form.

191

Mohammad Akrum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 338/1-2

30 MRIGENDRA LAL MITTER ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
24 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be sorry to learn that my wife is still in serious condition.

I have, therefore, been unable to attend the meeting of the Working Committee fixed for to-day. For the same reason it will not be possible for me to come to Delhi this month. I trust that my absence will not matter much inasmuch as the situation is in your able hands.

I do not know exactly when the Central Parliamentary Board will select the candidates for the Constituent Assembly from Bengal. I am, however, sending in a separate cover my suggestions[1] to the Central Parliamentary Board. In making these suggestions, I have taken into careful consideration the ability, honesty and loyalty of the candidates. As the Central Parliamentary Board would make the selection after hearing Mr. Suhrawardy and myself, and as I am forced to be absent from their consultation, I am asking Mr. Fazlur Rahman, a member of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and a member of the Provincial Parliamentary Board, to place my views in this respect before the Central Parliamentary Board and yourself. I have discussed with him regarding the merits and demerits of all the probable persons who may be considered for the Constituent Assembly. As the last date for filing nominations to the Returning Officer for the Constituent Assembly has been fixed for the 3rd July and because of my inability to be present at Delhi this month, I have taken the above course.

I have requested you by a telegram[2] to kindly fix a date next month according to your convenience for settling the differences that have arisen in the League organisation in Bengal. In view of the urgency of the matter I should think that the settlement may kindly be made in course of the next month. I should also think that in the interest of lasting peace it may be necessary that some leading members of both the groups should be heard.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD AKRUM KHAN

[1&2]Not traceable.

192

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 203/75

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
24 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not like to interfere in your negotiations and decisions as you know more facts than I do but I do lay a very great stress on your going to the Cabinet for very good reasons. You remain a leader in the Cabinet, in the Legislature as well as in the country. You may resign the membership of the Cabinet if the line of action adopted by the Congress may necessitate to do [*sic* for doing] so. I am strongly in favour of the acceptance of the office, independent of the Congress accepting or rejecting the office.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD

193

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

F. 646/1

ISMAIL BUILDING,
HORNBY ROAD
BOMBAY,
26 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I did not write to you earlier as I did not want to trouble you while you were so busy with the Cabinet Mission. Now that the League has accepted both the short and the long-term proposals, may I suggest that you should see that the portfolios for Reconstruction and Planning and/or Commerce and Industry should be held by a member of our party. This is imperative as our drive for

industrialisation amongst Musalmans will need the fullest support from the top.

Please look after your health. With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

194

Agha Shaukat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 211/1-2

HARMONY,
SRINAGAR,
27 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I arrived here on the 24th June. I have seen a good number of boats. The season being dull, the best ones are also available. The best boat, which is very well-furnished and is also broad and roomy, will cost you about Rs. 800 per month. The second best ones (like the one in which Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was putting up) will cost about Rs. 600 per month. About the *ghats*, I will try to fix up the best that will be available in consultation with the Director of Visitors Bureau.

Malaya in which the Prince of Kapurthala is putting up is not available. Sohrabji has not yet arrived. He is expected in August. But I shall try if one of the boats on that side can be moved elsewhere to make room for your boat.

Mr. Jinnah, your visit is most essential. Pandit Nehru is determined to visit again. The authorities also, so far, seem to be determined not to allow him to enter Kashmir. It is believed that the Political Department's consent has been obtained. Kashmir is becoming the hottest spot in India.

Kindly let me know what I should do about the boats, after making inquiries whether the present time is opportune to purchase a boat. I understand that it would mean paying a very much higher price than the actual value of the boat. I am told it is better to order a new one to be made in accordance with one's own plan. The boat can be ready in six to eight months.

I hope this note finds you in the best of health.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
A. SHAUKAT ALI

195

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 907/157

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
27 June 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just read the Cabinet Mission's latest statement[1] and in the absence of any pronouncement from you whether or not this has been done with your concurrence, it appears that we have been badly let down. The present declaration certainly sets at naught the Viceroy's announcement of June 16th.[2]

In view of the above I have sent you a telegram[3] requesting that a demand be made on our behalf for the postponement of elections to the Constituent Assembly till the question of the Interim Government is satisfactorily settled.

In this connection permit me to point out that the right conceded to a community to raise a major communal issue is as deceptive as the preamble to the Mission's award in view of the overriding authority which the Chairman, who would be a Hindu of the Constituent Assembly, can exercise. I had therefore thought that the real stage for raising the issue whether or not our rights have been adequately safeguarded in the Constitution will arise at the time when the British Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, vide paragraph twenty of the statement.

At that stage, we could effectively press into service the August Declaration since that was made with the concurrence of Parliament and at a time when the Britishers' very existence was in jeopardy.

But if the Labour Government can play so fast and loose with us, as they apparently seem to have done after obtaining consent from us to join the Interim Government, then it is not improbable that, when the final stage for rectifying the Constitution is reached, they may say, "to hell with the minorities," if only the treaty with the new Indian Government and His Majesty's Government can be satisfactorily concluded as per paragraph twenty-two of the statement.

If we have gone into the Constituent Assembly, the likelihood of the Interim Government satisfying our demand will definitely

recede. As you have pointed out in your letter to the Viceroy, our [AIML] Council more readily agreed to accept the long-term proposals after you had taken it into confidence as to how the Interim Government was to be formed. The Council's resolution[4] may not have said it in so many words but its spirit was that we were partly accepting the long-term proposals in view of the satisfactory nature of the short-term one. If I am not far wrong in thus interpreting our resolution, I submit that we would be right in making the demand that the elections to the Constituent Assembly be postponed till after the Interim Government has been formed.

We are all aware of the fact that it is the provincial governors who have fixed the days for the elections but they should readily accept our demand in view of the heroics of their bosses, and besides no harm will be done to anyone by a short postponement. As against that, the Congress will certainly wish for the continuation of the Caretaker Government, even if it consists of wholly British officers, if that would prevent us from ruling at Delhi.

Yours obediently,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]See No. 619, *TP*, VII, 1062-3.
[2]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[3]Not traceable.
[4]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.

196

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 599/2-4

28 June 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

I sent you a wire yesterday[1] and wrote[2] by air, (sending a copy of this letter by rail), requesting you to make a demand for the postponement of the Constituent Assembly elections.

While I feel certain that you will make this demand, I fear the Viceroy may be evasive and put forward a plea that since the C[onstituent] A[ssembly] would not meet till the 2nd week of August, at the earliest, there is ample time for the parties to get together and form an Interim Govt.

If we accept this, it will put us in a very difficult position, and besides the provincial governors are almost certain to interfere

with the elections, though their opportunities to do so is [*sic* for are] very limited. If we did [*sic* for do] not meanwhile get an Interim Govt. of our choice, we shall have to issue an edict to our members not to attend the C[onstituent] A[ssembly] and all this will further complicate matters.

Much more important than all this is the tremendous pyschological impression in the country that had the Congress rejected even the long-term proposals, these too would have been scrapped as the Interim Govt. was done despite the bombast of June 16th. If justice is not only to be done, but must appear to be done, then no political party can afford to neglect the impressions which the latest move of the Mission has created.

The months of August and *Ramazan* will run concurrently and the great inconvenience it will cause [to] all Muslim members to start their labours in the C[onstituent] A[ssembly] during the fasting month and to be away from their homes on *Id* days, can also be good argument for postponing the summoning of the C[onstituent] A[ssembly] to sometime in September, and the elections to it a little earlier. By that time, the question of the Interim Govt. should be settled satisfactorily. If the Viceroy is found adamant and would not postpone the elections, the real reason for it may perhaps be found in what a friend has just written to me from Delhi that the Congress accepted the long range plan only after it received written assurances that the Interim Govt. plan would be scrapped and that is how Gandhi's darkness turned into light at the prayer meetings. If this was true, the fear I expressed in my yesterday's letter about the indefinite continuation of the Caretaker Govt. will be further strengthened.

Should you decide to move for a postponement and should even this simple demand be refused—our course of action appears abundantly clear to me—we cannot possibly participate in the elections.

The Congress have decided to back up a few Leaguers in B & C Groups, not of course by votes, but otherwise. Since the final selection is in your hands these chosen Leaguers will have to be perfect Jekylls and Hydes.[3] I have therefore to request you to make your own inquiries about Shamshuddin Ahmed in C and Gazdar in B Group. Since the Congress acceptance of the Plan, the *Sind Observer* is campaigning for

Gazdar's selection. A cutting from its to-day's issue is sent under a separate cover.[4]

Deepest regards from,

HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 195.
[3]A character in R.L. Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), with good and evil personalities.
[4]Not traceable.

197

Muhammad Ghous to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/731-2
[*Original in Urdu*]

PISHIN,
28 June 1946

Janab Quaid-i-Azam, protector of the rights of Muslims,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The Muslims of Baluchistan including myself admire your efforts to obtain political rights for the province and for inclusion of one representative from Baluchistan in the Constituent Assembly. We pray that God may grant you long life to enable you to serve the Muslims of India for long.

Nevertheless, I have a submission to make. As per press reports the representative from Baluchistan will be elected by the members of *Shahi Jirga* and Quetta Municipal Committee, who are seventy-six in number. On principle, a representative is elected to serve the people and not merely to draw the salary of Assembly membership. I want to bring to your notice that none of the members of *Shahi Jirga* is a well-wisher of the people. In fact, they are in the pay of the British Govt. in India. Therefore, they look after the interests of the Govt. and not of the people. The *Jirga* members are not elected by the people but are nominated by the Govt. The people of Baluchistan are of the firm view that election of Baluchistan representative by the members of *Jirga* would amount to denying the people their political rights. This is causing great resentment among the people. It is also rumoured that the prospective candidates are offering rupees ten thousand for each vote. What can the nation expect from the crop of such candidates whose only desire is

just to become a member of the Constituent Assembly? In these circumstances, I would suggest that the member of the Constituent Assembly should be elected by the people. It will have two advantages. Firstly, the people will have the opportunity to express their own preference, and secondly the elected member will have the good of the people at heart. He will be the true representative of the people. In the circumstances, we, the residents of Pishin in particular, and of Baluchistan in general, strongly recommend the nomination of Qazi Mohammad Isa. We expect you to help us in electing the true representative of Baluchistan. May God help you!

Your well-wisher,
MOLVI MUHAMMAD GHOUS
Imam, Jam'e Masjid

198

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 621/5-6

AMEER MAHAL,
ROYAPETTAH,
MADRAS,
29 June 1946

My dear leader,

Once again the Congress has shown itself in its true colours. Nothing short of domination will they be satisfied with. The Britishers have lost every sense of propriety and gratitude. They are in the grip of a defeatist mentality, and have been on that account giving in to threats and intransigence on the part of the Congress high command. Whatever the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission might say in their self-defence, there has been a breach of faith on their part. The Viceroy in his statement[1] has conveniently forgotten to refer to the 26th June, the date on which he decided to inaugurate the Interim Government, whether all the invitees accepted his invitation or not. He has surrendered the British Government to the whims and fancies of the Congress who have by their intransigence, prevented the people of this country from taking over the Government, especially in view of the very critical situation that has been created by the scarcity of food and cloth in the country. Evidently what the Congress wants is not independence, but a seat or two more so that it could dominate

the Musalmans. We can under no circumstances agree to the so-called nationalist Muslim entering the Executive Council by the back-door. It seems to me that after this experience we have no other alternative, but to revive our demand for Pakistan, and nothing short of it. If an Interim Government is to be agreed to on the basis of the 16th May proposals,[2] we should ask for 50 per cent of the total seats in the Viceroy's Council and 50% of the important portfolios. The League Working Committee has acted in a very statesmanlike manner under your leadership in sending acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation as per the proposals of the 16th June. What remains now for the world to realise is that it is not the Muslim League which is intransigent or obstructing the progress towards the attainment of independence, but it is the Congress which is not really for independence, but wants dominance under the protection of the British bayonets.

Now that the Cabinet Mission have left India[3] and they propose to continue negotiations from England or in India itself through the Viceroy, I might request you to kindly write[4] to Premier Attlee, Mr. Churchill[5] and other important members of the British Parliament who could take up our case in Parliament and with the British Government. There is likely to be a debate soon, and I am afraid Mr. Churchill may take up the case of the Scheduled Castes alone and fight for them without giving the necessary attention to the Muslim case. I might also suggest for your consideration whether it is not advisable to send some of the leading Muslim Leaguers to England where they can meet the Premier and other members of the Cabinet lest our case should go by default. You may also kindly write to President [Harry S.] Truman who may be apprised of the Muslim case and the part played by the Congress. I am sure you would have done all these things yourself already. But it is only in my anxiety for strengthening our just case and doing everything possible to win it ultimately that I have made the above suggestions.

The Constituent Assembly might be elected, but we must be prepared to meet with obstacles at every stage of the proceedings of this constitution-making body. I have no doubt that our team will be able and strong enough to meet them at every stage and come out successful. We know that Mr. Gandhi and the other members of the Congress high command have given their own interpretation to the 16th May proposals, and have also agreed to work them with many mental reservations.

You had a very long and strenuous period of work. I request you

to go to Matheran and take complete rest for a month or two.

With kind regards,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

[1]See No. 619, *TP*, VII, 1062-3.
[2]Appendix I. 20
[3]The Cabinet Mission departed on 29 June 1946.
[4&5]See Appendix I. 54.

199

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 557/254

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
29 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In confirmation of my telegram[1] to you, I write to say that I guarantee [Abdus Sattar] Pirzada's loyalty if selected for one of the Sind seats on the Constituent Assembly.

I support him if any Minister is being taken. He is a senior and able barrister.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN

[1]See F. 557/255, *QAP*. Not printed.

200

Tajdin Allibhai Janmohomed & Sadrudin Ebrahim Dahya to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC II/57

P.O. BOX 677,
MOMBASA,
30 June 1946

May it please our beloved and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

For the first time in the history of East Africa, Muslim youth of Kenya are astir and they have decided to organize themselves. On

the 11th June the Muslim youth of Mombasa under the age of 25 years held a mass meeting in the local Muslim hall when it was decided to form themselves into a body under the name and style of The Young Muslim League.

It is the resolve of my aforesaid League to organize and unite the youth of all sections of the Muslim community, to inculcate true Islamic spirit amongst its members by cultivating good and clean habits and useful pursuits and [to] engender mutual love, sympathy and respect. It will strive to bring about greater awakening and enlightenment in every direction amongst the Muslim youth so that they may play their rightful part in a useful and cumulative manner.

We are directed by our Managing Committee to take the liberty of requesting you to send us a message[1] giving us your guidance and blessing for the serious and earnest task that we have set for ourselves alluded to above, for which we shall feel greatly honoured and heartened.

The Muslim youth of this country have an implicit faith and confidence in your ability to guide the destinies of our co-religionists in India and ever pray for your long life and unqualified and glorious success.

We remain,

Sir,

Yours respectfully,

T. A. JANMOHOMED
President

SADRUDIN E. DAHYA
Secretary

[1]Jinnah thanked and advised them to organize the Muslim community in Kenya and work selflessly for their common good. See *SHC*, FC II/58. Not printed.

201

Mohammad Farooq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 796/19-20

IMAMBARA,
GORAKHPUR (U.P.),
30 June 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

"Be not dejected and be not depressed, verily you are highest if you are strong in faith." *Qur'an.*

I have just recovered from the rude shock of the depressing news of the postponement of the Interim Government[1] and the first inspiration that came to me is the verse from *Qur'an* quoted above. I am sure we shall win; but it requires, no doubt, as you have so often said, a strong faith, a true spirit of sacrifice and grit to bear hardships and labour combined with inexhaustible courage and perseverance. I am of opinion that it will not serve our purpose at present, if we boycott the elections of the Constituent Assembly in the beginning. It is, however, to be considered at a later stage what should be our attitude, when the deliberations of the Assembly begin. Probably a convention of the elected Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly may be found necessary to decide our future course. It is for you to think and decide how it will serve our purpose, if the moulders of our destiny and bestowers of independence to India decide that the members of the Interim Government should be chosen by representatives of different communities in the Constituent Assembly. I do not think that either the British Cabinet or the Congress or any reasonable person can challenge the legality or the logic of the procedure. I am sure it will also serve our purpose. The idea struck me on the morning of June 27, 1946, at Naini Tal as you would call it a flash of intelligence; which has already appeared in the *Pioneer*, Lucknow, dated June 30. I am herewith attaching the cutting of the *Pioneer* for your perusal.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M[OHAMMA]D FAROOQ
M.Sc., *MLA*

[1]Wavell wrote to Jinnah saying that after the long negotiations that had taken place already, he felt the need for a short interval before the formation of an Interim Government. See No. 631, *TP*, VII, 1076-7.
[2]Not traceable.

202

Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 31/22

HYDERABAD RESIDENCY,
30 June 1946

Your telegram of twenty-eight June.[1] In the light of the contents of

my letter to you dated first May[2] in answer to your letter of twenty-seventh April[3] [and] after ascertaining British Resident's views I have placed my own views whatever they were before His Excellency the Viceroy[4] for his consideration and to decide the matter in the way he thinks best. This shows that appointment to be final or not final depends upon his wishes or ruling. I am afraid I cannot make situation more clear than this.

NIZAM

[1]See F. 31/21, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]No. 69.
[3]No. 59.
[4]Not traceable.

203

M. A. Jinnah to the Editor, the Time *weekly, New York*

F. 199/107

Undated [June 1946]

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 24th June,[1] and I am returning herewith your two cover pages of the *Time* magazine.

As I think the description, "Mohamed Ali Jinnah: His Moslem tiger wants to eat the Hindu cow",[2] is offensive to the sentiments of the Hindu community, I cannot put my autograph on the cover page of the *Time* magazine, as requested by you. But I am sending my autograph on a separate paper since you are very keen about it.

I am also returning your stamps, which you were good enough to send, but I am afraid they cannot be used in India.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]For the cover page description, see F. 1123/54, *QAP*.

204

M. A. Jinnah to Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram

F. 1107/243

[Undated] June 1946

Dear Mrs. Rallia Ram,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 1st June,[1] 4th June[2] and the 7th June,[3] and I am grateful to you for all the information that you have been good enough to give me, and the enclosures. I have read your letters and the press cuttings with great attention. Some of the suggestions are very well-thought-out and are very useful indeed. I thank you for all the trouble that you have taken, and I shall bear in mind everything that you have said.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 139.
[2]No. 146.
[3]No. 153.

205

D. Chandra Talukdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/169

GAUHATI,
ASSAM,

[Undated] June 1946

Dear Sir,

I beg to intrude upon your valuable time for the perusal of my humble letter and hope that you will kindly send a reply to me. Assam proper has a separate culture and social customs from the Bengalis. But by this grouping with Bengal, Assam had the danger of losing all of its own and the dream of Bengal people for making a greater Bengal has been fulfilled. But [for] so long, by the efforts of the Assamese people, this was checked and by dint of labour and perseverance of our predecessors. Assam could have thrown away

Bengali language and its influence from the schools and courts of Assam. But by this grouping system it will terribly affect the whole aspiration and zeal of the Assamese people for the growth of their own culture and literature. Assam was an independent country before 1826 when it came under the control of the Britishers. Assam stood against the foreign aggressor more than nineteen times and a great general like Ram Singh, deputed by *Badshah* Aurangzab, was also defeated at Saraighat by the strength of the Assamese people. Even after the advent of the Britishers, Assamese Hindus and Muslims were living like brothers. But by the influence of Bengal this will create an upset.

So I appeal to you that you will kindly consider it and try to exert your whole strength to exempt Assam proper up to Cooch-Bihar as a separate province without going into the group.

The para to opt out will not enable us to go out of the group as the people of Sylhet, who have Bengali language and culture, will be for making greater Bengal. If the grouping system succeeds instead of Pakistan it will be really a Bengalistan and the Assamese Muslims, so far I know, will also greatly suffer. All Assamese consider it to be a misfortune and a great trouble to the Assamese nation and the Govt. servants, even the ministerial officers, vehemently protest against this grouping. I wish anarchy, disunity and quarrel be removed by doing justice and fair play to the Assamese culture and social structure.

A copy of the resolution is sent herewith.[1]

Anticipating your early reply,

Yours faithfully,
D. CHANDRA TALUKDAR
Secretary,
Ministerial Officers' Association

[1]See *SHC*, Assam I/170. Not printed.

206

Jamil Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 198/1-4

9 MAHABAT KHAN ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
1 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It seems to me quite imperative that we should have proper machinery to stand up to any challenge that forces of evil or perfidy may be capricious enough to throw now or in the future. The Britisher has conveniently let us down. The Congress Governments are carrying on all-out persecution. Militant Hinduism, in the garb of R.S.S. and other secret organizations, has embarked upon terroristic activities, determined to wipe out the Muslims from the face of India.

What is our position? Politically organized we are, but only for peace and constitutionalism; and we have reasons to believe that we shall be allowed neither the one nor the other by the British-*Bania* combine if it develops into a rabid organization. We are immobilized today—our resources in material, manpower and morale are not yet harnessed for the task of carrying on a relentless and obdurate struggle for truth and justice for the kingdom of *Allah* whose [*sic*] cornerstone is envisaged and symbolized in Pakistan.

The world hates us because we are Muslims and for no other reason. And so long as we are Muslims we must be true to our God, for He alone is our hope, help and succour, and whosoever depends upon Him shall not know defeat. For verily has He decreed: "And after referring to the context We proclaimed in the *Zaboor* (Book of David) that verily the Earth shall be a heritage unto Our faithful and perfect servants. Verily, these verses are manifest unto the nation of faithful servants".

This is now the right time to strengthen our faith and to mobilize our material and manpower resources. The Muslim nation awaits your definite lead in both. We must prepare for defence of Muslims' rights, property and life, nay of Islam itself.

The organization of the National Guard is getting slowly into [its] stride but it must increase in volume and tempo. This is only possible if it takes the shape of a mass movement in a minor key; and after all the Muslim masses have been inactive since the Khilafat [Movement], so there must be a rehearsal.

I suggest that an efficient central League executive be formed to (i) initiate and organize the National Guard movement and (ii) undertake a nationwide propaganda campaign throughout the length and breadth of India to mobilize all our resources and to weld the Musalmans into a fine battle-worthy weapon which can be at your disposal, whenever you are compelled to use it.

Propaganda is half the battle—the other half is actual warfare. Win the first and you win the second. At present there is no efficient Muslim propaganda body, however. But this is no time for half-measures. (Even the Sikhs are doing better).

I have a plan, but I think it will be much better if the League were to evolve one itself. It could, of course, utilize my services if it thinks fit. The point I make is that the central executive must consist of people trained in modern propaganda methods which are wide, varied and highly technical and by no means restricted to newspapers. There are Muslims sufficiently sincere and trustworthy. Such bodies as Muslim League Writers' Committee have not been very successful just because they lacked the necessary experience and imagination. But there is no dearth of capable Muslims.

The last point I must mention, before I finish, is the urgency of developing intimate relations with Muslim countries and the expediency of dealing with Moscow (on a neutral basis). League emissaries should be sent wherever possible and a foreign affairs bureau should be set up quietly and given no publicity whatsoever.

I have personally never lost faith in you and your leadership and I am confident that you will yet succeed in leading the Muslims to their goal. Therefore, do I hope that my suggestions will not be in vain?

A last suggestion, very humbly put forward, is that your statements should in crucial cases contain appropriate Qur'anic verses. Because after all we are attacked and hated only for being obedient to the *Qur'an*. And that glorious Book is our strength, inspiration and infallible sole guide—here and hereafter. The appeal such quotations will have in India and abroad is immense.

May *Allah* give you strength to lead and to win!

With *salaam,*

Yours most sincerely,
JAMIL AHMED

207

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 796/3-4

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
2 July 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I read the names of some of the Muslim League candidates for the Constituent Assembly. I am sure you will agree that it is desirable to have some persons with expert knowledge. May I suggest the names of the following distinguished persons for your consideration:

1. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan
2. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed
3. Dr. Sir Zia Uddin [Ahmad]

The first named, as you know, is an authority on constitution and Muslim history and his wide knowledge and experience will certainly be very useful. The other two can be very helpful in regard to questions of finance, taxation, tariff, currency exchange, etc. I do not think we can find any other persons among Muslims with better and more extensive knowledge of the subjects with which they are concerned. This is a most critical moment and the vital nature of the Assembly work demands that our most efficient men should be there.

The [British Cabinet] Mission's latest *volte face* has been a great shock to Muslim India. One really wonders if their promises, assurances, clarifications, etc., mean anything. If Congress persists in its wrong interpretation of Para 15 of the Mission's Plan relating to grouping of provinces, there will be a deadlock at the very first sitting of the Constituent Assembly. After the Mission's latest performance it is by no means certain whether they will enforce their interpretation of the grouping clause as given in their statement of May 25.[1] Another sinister move of the Viceroy is his statement in one of his letters that the assurances given to you related specifically to the Interim Government which would have been set up had both parties accepted the Plan of June 16.[2] It means he might go back not only on the basics of the June 16 Plan but also on the assurances given to you. I have no doubt you are considering these points.

If I personally can be of any assistance in the work of the Assembly, my services are at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Appendix I. 25.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.

208

Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 696/442-3

WOODLAND COTTAGE,
CHIRAGH ALI LANE,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
3 July 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I sent you a telegram yesterday,[1] which I hope you have received. Immediately after my arrival here, I contacted some of the prominent leaders who are very active in making arrangements for your visit. I was shocked to know that the invitation[2] extended to you to [be] weigh[ed] in gold and silver was sponsored by some non-descript fellows and they have not been able to collect even a few hundreds and the people here have only read it in papers. They simply describe it as a big hoax. Efforts are however being made to present you a purse and collections are going on. I even learnt on good authority that H. E. H. asked the Council to report him about the persons who sponsored the idea of weighing you. The Council, after making due inquiry, submitted to H. E. H. that no such move is afoot in Hyderabad.

Sir Mirza's appointment as Premier is considered as a settled fact. For your discussion with H. E. H. I have received [a] few suggestions, which I will personally explain. In this connection I have to tell you some very interesting things.

In view of the inauguration of the reforms so many parties have sprung up and want to take advantage of your visit for personal ends. Detailed information will be submitted to you on your arrival here.

I am trying to book my passage for Nagpur, and if arranged, will meet you in Nagpur.

Arrangements for the publication of the pamphlet are being made and hope it will go to the press soon.

Yours sincerely,
NOMAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 180.

209

Mohomad Yaseen Zubairi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/13-5

STATION ROAD,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
3 July 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Although I havn't met you so far, but [*sic*] your gigantic and dynamic personality is always before me. I don't think there should be any one Muslim in India or outside who should and does not know you. Your services for the Muslim world are such that no Musalman can forget them and they will be recorded in golden words in the future history.

After the death of the well-known Muslim leaders—Ali Brothers—Muslims of India used to think that they were doomed for ever and [that] there would be no one to tackle their problems. Your entrance into the field, with superhuman force and zeal, has altogether wiped out that idea. You have now made it impossible to think in those terms.

Your sacrifices at the cost of your health, wealth and everything, have created in the mind of each and every Muslim a place which can even command one's life—that is my strongest belief.

My wish has always been to serve at the feet of such a leader as you are, but certain domestic problems always came in my way.

Since I have come to know that my beloved Quaid-i-Azam is coming to Hyderabad, I am really restless to see that day and place my own services at his disposal. Having no patience even to wait till

your arrival, I herewith take the opportunity to offer my services for the care of such a precious life as yours; expecting at the same time to see you always hale and healthy.

Besides, I would request you to kindly allot one evening for me in your Hyderabad programme, when I intend to arrange your meeting with the medical men of Hyderabad.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours affectionately,
M. YASEEN
Doctor

210

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/153

MANALI,
3 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It appears that all the three important assurances which the Mission gave you and on which your Council gave their verdict, exist no more.

1. Whoever cooperates will take over Interim Govt.
2. Parity with Congress 5-5. They added a sixth to please Congress.
3. Nominations [of Muslim members] to the Executive Council will be by you and not the Viceroy.

Both the interim and the long-term proposals were to stand or fall together. One has fallen through the Mission.

Would it not be advisable to call a meeting of your Council and place the case before them and let them share the responsibility for the next step?

I have a feeling that the Congress are going in to wreck the grouping and, if they do not succeed, they will again not cooperate and the whole process of the Interim Govt. may be repeated.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know what your programme for July is. Tomorrow we go off to Mandi where we stay with H. H. for a week and then I go to my village (P.O. Nurpur Noon, Dist. Shahpur) for a week to see to my farming (P.O. Sardarpur Noon). If you have a week or two to spare, come to Kulu. It has a lovely climate.

Many kind regards from us both to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

211

Mohammad Zakaullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 31/27

SIMLA,
3 July 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending herewith a copy of telegram from Nizam to Sir Sultan Ahmad for your perusal. Kindly acknowledge.

Sincerely yours,
MOHAMMAD ZAKAULLAH

Enclosure to No. 211

Nizam of Hyderabad to Sultan Ahmad

Telegram, F. 31/28

HYDERABAD (DN),
29 June 1946

Sir Sultan Ahmad, Constitutional Advisor, Chamber of Princes, Sadabhawan, Solan

Not knowing you are outside Delhi I sent you my telegram. Please take delivery of that telegram. Hope you as promised give me help in appointment Sir Mirza Ismail as Mr. Jinnah is opposing it tooth and nail. On the other hand His Excellency appears to have approved my suggestion though this is not announced as yet but will be done soon. Please do what is needful without further delay. Hope you are well.

NIZAM

212

Z. H. Lari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 368/3-7

26 HAMILTON ROAD,
ALLAHABAD,
5 July 1946

Dear Mr. President,

On 2 July 1946, Ch. Khaliquzzaman Sahib told me that I should

not go to the Constituent Assembly and [that] the Central Board would not select me for two reasons: firstly because I am the Deputy Leader and he being the leader, both cannot be taken, [and] secondly, no person would be selected unless he gives an undertaking that he would not be away for a single day from Delhi. I replied [that] both were untenable. In the Central Assembly you were the Leader and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan the Deputy Leader, still both had been selected. I could not think that the Central Parliamentary Board would make one rule for the Central Assembly and another for the Provincial Assembly. I also pointed out to him that the Provincial Assembly would conclude on 10th August and would not meet till February next. (I may note here that there are two Deputy Leaders. I find from press report that Begum Aizaz Rasool, Deputy Leader for the [Legislative] Council, has, in fact, been selected although in the Council there is no other speaker while the Assembly can claim many). For these reasons I insisted that the first ground given by Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman could not hold water.

As for the second reason, I pointed out to him that the Central Parliamentary Board had nominated two members of the Sind Assembly who happen to be Ministers as well. In the Sind Assembly, the position is such that even if one member is absent, the official measures will be defeated and the Ministry thrown out. If the Central Parliamentary Board could contemplate occasional absence in Section B where the League would get precarious majority, I could not appreciate the insistence of cent per cent presence in Section A where number is immaterial. Notwithstanding these, Chaudhry Sahib openly gave out before party members that I should not go in.

One Mr. Ayub Qureshi, on behalf of Ch. Khaliquzzaman, convened a meeting of the party for the 3rd. Its notice was received even by me on the evening of the Ist. As a result only 27 out of 70 members were present. Overwhelming majority, however, of those present, I understand, suggested my selection. I personally did not make any suggestion as a protest against the method adopted.

Now I find from the press report that the following have been selected:

1. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan
2. Ch. Khaliquzzaman
3. Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmoodabad
4. Begum Aizaz Rasool
5. Mr. Rizwanullah
6. Molvi Aziz Ahmad Khan, and
7. Maulana Hasrat Mohani

You know all of them and are in a better position to judge who is more qualified. But I may note two things:

i. None of them is a commoner except Maulana Hasrat Mohani. I know the shortcomings of Maulana Hasrat Mohani and if the Board had overlooked him on those grounds, I could appreciate it. But having selected him, it is rather funny that he has been placed 7th. The reason is obvious. It was agreed between us after calculations that the 7th man is not likely to get in. Selection of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, therefore, is merely a make belief, [*sic* for make-believe], otherwise he should have been placed at least 3rd in the list. The first six, who are sure to be elected, belong to aristocracy and in matters pertaining to the social make-up of the estate, their views are apparent.

ii. The list does not contain any expert. Without meaning any disrespect to anybody, I may say that hardly a few have got legal acumen, debating skill, knowledge of the constitution, or grasp of economic fundamentals. In this connection the names of Hon'ble Niamatullah, ex-Justice; Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan and Dr. L. K. Haider [of Muslim University, Aligarh] were suggested. But none of them has been taken in.

In Section A there will be only 20 Muslims out of a total of 187. Neither you nor Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan will be there. It is necessary, therefore, that every one selected for Section A must have outstanding quality of one kind or another. I understand that you have got power to revise the selections made by the Central Parliamentary Board. I therefore suggest the following:

a. If Maulana Hasrat Mohani is retained, he should be one of the first six. It would look very ugly if he were defeated.

b. Two experts should be included in the list.

c. My name be included and it be put immediately after that of Ch. Khaliquzzaman. In case you do not consider my candidature advisable, some other commoner having progressive views should be taken in.

In respect of the last suggestion, this letter of mine may be treated as an appeal on my behalf against the selection made by the Parliamentary Board.

I have been taking a prominent part in League activities simply to secure a better constitution. And now that a constitution is going to

be framed, I am denied a say in the matter. Is it just? Is it fair?

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Z. H. LARI

213

Syed Ali Bux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 31/33-4

SHAMSIA, CHANCHALGUDA,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
5 July 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On July 1, I sent you an express reply-paid telegram[1] requesting you to grant me an interview at Delhi or Bombay to discuss latest developments relating to the matters I had referred to in my letter of June 19,[2] which was received by you on June 24. No reply has been received. I am afraid you do not intend to give sufficient credence to my entreaties, and, if I am not wrong, it may be that I have been wasting my time writing letters to you. I might mention here that in my very first letter dated February 8, 1946,[3] I closed the letter with the words: "You should know better. If I am wrong, command me to shut up." I meant exactly what I said. A word of reply at that time would have stopped my efforts.

[*A portion omitted*][4]

If it is one of your usual pincer movements, I beseech you not [to] press it too hard lest any one or even both concerned should be driven to desperation. The gentleman now is exactly where you want him. He is prepared to go farther than the implications of the enclosures to my letter of June 19. I feel it my duty to write this last letter of this series. I do not mind the result of our efforts, having done my duty faithfully by God and by you, who I believe is my Quaid-i-Azam.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
S. A BUX

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 179.
[3]Not traceable.
[4]This portion contained unverified accusations.

214

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 309/298-9

CALCUTTA,
5 July 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It seems almost certain that the gutless Englishman will not cast his vote in the Constituent Assembly election. He seems to be too afraid of Hindu agitation. Confidentially, a tentative decision to that effect has been reached. This is dreadful as it reduces us to a precarious position. The Government here too seems to keep on dinning into the ears of this group that it would be better if they did not vote at all.

Kindly treat this information as confidential.

With kind regards,

Yours v. sincerely,
HASSAN

215

Rusi Mistri to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 133/25-6

BOMBAY,
6 July 1946

Congratulations on overwhelming loyal support Muslim India. Legitimate Muslim claim inevitable necessity. Pakistan never so fully recognized as in Wavell Plan[1] and Amery's speech[2] parliament on White Paper. Fully appreciate your refusal to subject League nominations to outside suffrage on plea of agreed panel. Humbly suggest provide best chance Wavell Plan. Achieve speediest victory over Japan. Establish world peace, progress and secure highest interests Indian Muslims. League panel be presented with personal, verbal intimation to Wavell of League members' inability serve Executive Council with non-League Muslim if your Working Committee so decides. Myself favour League members serving Executive Council with

League quota in allied and wider interests as well as Indian Muslims.

RUSI MISTRI

[1]Annex I to No. 505, Vol. XI, 560-3.
[2]Annex II to ibid., 563-6.

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Sayed Mohammad Ahmad Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 760/251-2

LAHORE,
6 July 1946

This mammoth gathering of the Muslims of Lahore held in the Wazir Khan Mosque Lahore makes a fervent appeal to Your Excellency that all the Muslim Executive Councillors must be Leaguers. The Muslims of Lahore have no confidence in the hired *maulvis* of Jami'atul 'Ulama. They are traitors of the *millat*. The Muslims of India in general and the Punjab in particular have implicit faith and full confidence in the Quaid-i-Azam. Islam ordains unity of nation but Maulana Azad acting against this commandment of God proved himself to be a traitor. He is a mere puppet in the hands of the High-Caste Hindus and is desirous of disruption in the Islamic unity. He has absolutely no right to represent the Muslims.

ABULHASNAT SAYED MOHAMMAD AHMAD QADRI
Khatib, Masjid Wazir Khan

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Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 392/86

11/1 LANSDOWNE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
6 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You are perhaps aware that I want to retire from politics and if possible help in establishing industries in Bengal. But as long as national struggle for Pakistan continues I cannot run away from the

fight. My services therefore are at your disposal. If you think I should go to Hyderabad I am willing to do so.

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

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Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah

F. 315/7-9

FARANGI MAHAL,
LUCKNOW,
6 July 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As the matter of selection of candidates for the Constituent Assembly is of vital importance, I take the liberty of bringing to your kind notice the nomination of seven members from United Provinces[1] as published in yesterday's papers. So far as the selection of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Sahib, the President of the U.P. Muslim League, of Ch. Khaliquzzaman, the leader of the U.P. Legislative [Assembly] Party, and of Raja Sahib Mahmudabad, the Treasurer of both the All-India and U.P. Leagues, is concerned, [it] is most satisfactory. All the three of them, besides being the members of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, are the best qualified for the job in every respect. As regards the rest, it cannot be said that they are the best available persons. None of them is a person of either outstanding qualifications or of great experience. One of them after thorough inquiry made by the Working Committee of the U.P. League has been held guilty of misappropriating a good amount of League's money while holding the most responsible office of the General Secretaryship of the U.P. Provincial League. And there is another member who does not know his mind whether he is a Communist, a Socialist, a Congressite or a Leaguer.

On what principle these four members have been selected we do not know. The selection in any case is not satisfactory at all.

Even if they secured the majority of votes, which I am sure they did not, from a small number of the members of the Legislative Party who attended the meeting, the U.P. high command ought to have exercised their discretion in recommending the best qualified persons, both from inside and outside the U.P. Legislature. The

Congress has not confined their representation to the members of the Legislatures or even to the members of the Congress organisation but are selecting those whom they think would serve their cause efficiently and would work in the best interest of the Hindu community. So, in the best interest of our community we ought to have also selected, for this most important work, the pick of our community, whether they were legislators or outsider [*sic*] Muslim Leaguers. We were assured that persons having expert knowledge would be given preference.

Such names were suggested but no eminent jurist, no good constitutionalist nor a person who would be useful in matters relating to finance is found among selected candidates. However, it is high time that in the best interest of the community and for the good name of the organisation your goodself be pleased to intervene in the matter and revise the list before it becomes final. I hope I shall be excused for making an encroachment upon your valuable time. I may also submit that the views expressed above are not only of mine but are of a good number of responsible members of the League.

With respects,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
JAMAL MIAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 986-7, for the list of ML nominees.

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Noor Alam Khatoon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 696/445-50

BEGUM BAZAAR,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
6 July 1946

Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I most heartily welcome your visit to Hyderabad—two complete years after the sad and untimely demise of *Quaid-i-Millat*,[1] your devout devotee—when problems of vital importance affecting Hyderabad in general and the Hyderabad Muslims in particular have reached the most critical stage for the solution of which your presence is needed the most.

Kindly allow me to avail [myself of] this opportunity of acquainting you with the conditions obtaining in Hyderabad. I shall, of course, confine myself to refer[ring] in brief, only to the matters which directly concern the Hyderabad Muslims and claim your attention for their immediate settlement:

1. The foremost question is of course that of the appointment of the future President of the Executive Council in place of the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari who is expected to relinquish office in August, 1946. According to the rumours afloat, Sir Mirza Ismail is the probable choice which has so far met with wide disapproval of the Muslim public in view of his strong pro-Congress leanings. None knows more than you that a wrong choice at this fateful hour would seal the destiny of the Hyderabad Muslims and go a long way in [*sic* for towards] impairing the cause of the Indian Muslims in general. Your influence, if exerted in the selection of a right person, would solve more than fifty per cent of the vital problems confronting the Hyderabad Muslims.

2. As you are well aware the constitutional reforms scheme announced by the Hyderabad Government in 1938 was in the first instance rejected by the Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimin but was later accepted when the Hyderabad Government, thanks to the untiring efforts of the late Nawab [Bahadur Yar Jung] and your timely assistance, gave assurances in writing to the effect that certain alterations which were agreed upon between Government on the one side and the late Nawab and yourself on the other, would be incorporated in the *Qaununcha* (Constitutional Act) on the reforms at the time of their introduction. Now, when the time has arrived to fulfil those assurances, Government has fallen to the lowest stage of moral degradation by blatantly ignoring them for the obvious reason that the champion of the Hyderabad Muslims is no more. The issue, you will agree, is so important that it demands your interference to get it decided in favour of the Muslims who now feel themselves helpless.

3. The third point which equally requires your attention is the latest issue of the Dienpalli Mosque. The mosque was actually demolished by the unscrupulous act of Mr. Farhatullah, *Taluqdar* of the district concerned. On the protest of the Muslims, government showed bankruptcy of statemanship by issuing a communique replete with mis-statements and mutilated facts. When the protest grew acute, a high Muslim official with a prejudiced mind was appointed to enquire into the matter who, as was only expected, all the more complicated the case. The government unwisely maintained a long silence and never cared to respond to the reasonable demands

of the Muslims, namely (1) reconstruction of the mosque at its original place and (2) dismissal of Mr. Farhatullah. Not only this; H.E.H.'s *firman* commanding the immediate reconstruction of the mosque was kept pending without giving it due regard and respect. The matter then took a serious and unforeseen turn and ultimately ended in an unfortunate incident of arson, looting and attacking of the Prime Minister and some other high State officials by an unruly mob numbering thousands. The government instead of realising its fault arrested, as a reprisal, a number of staunch workers of the Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen who had no hand whatsoever in the incident. They were, a few days ago, released on conditional bail after being remanded to jail for about three months. Although the case has been entrusted for trial to a Special Tribunal, there seems little hope that an unbiased decision would be arrived at. Your interest in securing the acquittal of the Majlis workers is solicited.

4. Last, though not least in importance, is the unfortunate rift in the Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimin. From the moment the *Quaid-i-Millat* passed away, party feelings were manifest in the Majlis camp, which were sharpened by conspiring elements outside the Majlis and developed in the present disruption in the rank and file of the Majlis. Thus the compact organisation of the Hyderabad Muslims, which took several laborious years for the late *Quaid-i-Millat* to build up, foundered on the rock of personal considerations and mutual distrust. The Majlis is now divided into two groups—one led by Moulvi Abul Hasan Syed Ali, ex-President, who had now no constitutional connection with the Majlis, and the other, the party in power, led by Moulvi Mazhar Ali Kamil, the present President. Both parties are indulging in levelling charges and counter-charges against each other, thereby bringing disrepute to the Majlis and defeating the very purpose for which it was formed.

It may also be mentioned here that since the first news of your visit to Hyderabad [was] published in the local press, irresponsible persons under the name of bogus organisations began to form committees to arrange for your reception. This was obviously a part of the nefarious propaganda to deprive the Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimin [of] the popularity it enjoys and the influence it exerts on the Muslim public. Supporters of Moulvi Abul Hasan Syed Ali, including one Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem,[2] whom probably you granted an interview at Delhi, as well as Nawab Mandur Khan, step-brother of the late *Quaid-i-Millat*, who disliked him (Mandur Khan) during his life-time, joined hands with the opponents of the Majlis in helping them to achieve their ends in view. These opponents of the

Majlis who also support Sir Ismail are now on the look-out for an opportune moment to claim to represent the Muslims and thus to pave the way for Sir Mirza's appointment. The inclusion of Mr. Mandur Khan in the rival party is very significant in that it designs to use him as an instrument for reviving the age-old differences between Sunnis and Mehdavis. The generality of the Muslims is very much grieved at the situation. As the future of the Hyderabad Muslims depends mainly on the maintenance of the solidarity of the Majlis which is regarded by all as the sacred legacy of the late *Quaid-i-Millat*, I, on the auspicious occasion of your visit, fervently appeal to you to evince a keen interest in the disposal of matters referred to above in favour of the Muslims and request you not to leave Hyderabad unless an amicable settlement between the two rival parties of the Muslims is effected, which I am sure your arbitration can bring about.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
NOOR ALAM KHATOON
Begum Bahadur Yar Jung

[1]Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung.
[2]See Nos. 180 & 208.

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Zulfekar Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 659/14-6

AURANGABAD,
7 July 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Abul Hasan Syed Ali is a traitor to Muslim nation; he has been removed from the presidentship of Anjuman-i-Ittehadul Muslimin because of his underhand dealings with the Hindus for his personal benefit. He has made H.E.H. the Nizam believe that he has great influence over you and thus he has got in connection [*sic*] with Mirza Ismail also. He is working against the Muslim nation and has become a tool of Hindus as they have paid him big sums. Now he is trying to get ministership by any means. He is second [G.M.] Sayed and [Abul Kalam] Azad. If you meet and talk to him, that much is sufficient for him to make H.E.H. the Nizam, President [of the Executive Council], and the Resident believe that you are in his favour. Tell H.E.H. not

to send such men to you directly or indirectly. This is very important. As God is aware, it is nothing but the truth. You alone are fighting for the existence of Islam in India and traitors are springing up from every side. May God protect you from their vile schemes and guide you in His true wisdom and light. Refuse to grant him any interview. God bless you and grant you a long life and health.

Yours sincerely,
ZULFEKAR HUSAIN

PS. Please give advice to H.E.H. the Nizam about constitutional affairs that he should take advice from some eminent Muslim jurists from both inside and outside the State. Chhatari, owing to his personal weaknesses, has entrusted this work to Moin Nawaz Jung and Ali Yawar Jung; both these gentlemen do not know a word of law; the first is a matriculate and called H.C.S., [and] the second is an ordinary B.A. in History. Now and then they get [Sir Walter] Monckton from England. There must be a committee of eminent lawyers at this critical time, which is a matter of life and death for Muslims of Hyderabad. In Hyderabad there are only four [lawyers], namely Mirza Yar Jung, former Chief Justice and Law Member, who is B.A., LL.B., Zulkadar Jung, M.A. (Cantab) and Barrister-at-Law, Akbar Yar Jung, although only a first class pleader, but [*sic* for yet] a very experienced and intelligent man, and Mahamood Yar Jung, Postwar Planning Secretary, who has got service of 32 years and [is] a very able man. Unfortunately at this juncture the affairs of the State are in the hands of young boys, inexperienced and under-educated.
Please don't show this letter to anybody, otherwise many innocent people will come into trouble. The whole Muslim world is looking to you to save Hyderabad; that you can do by giving strong, plain advice to the Nizam to be strong and [to] take matters in his hands.

ZULFEKAR HUSAIN

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Mohammad Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/423-24

CAMP PAHLGAM,
KASHMIR,
7 July 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I think some practical steps should be taken to demonstrate our disapproval of the Cabinet Mission's decision. The Muslims should boycott English goods and take a vow not to purchase anything from Hindu shopkeepers. Outwardly it may be said that [in order] to ameliorate their economic condition, the Muslims should use Indian goods and as far as possible, purchase them from their own brethren. To make the scheme successful the leaders will have to set an example to the Muslim public. It is only when their trade is affected adversely [that] these capitalists can be brought to their senses. Mine is only a humble suggestion and you know best what to do under the present circumstances.

Yours truly,
MOHAMMAD HUSSAIN

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Mohammad Akrum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 550/1498-00

CALCUTTA,
9 July 1946

Monster [*sic*] mass meeting of Calcutta industrial labour areas representing three hundred [and] seventy-six associations, institutions, traders, workers, labourers and federations of seamen/Lascars held on 8 July 1945 under my presidentship. Calcutta reiterated faith in Quaid-i-Azam [as the] only authoritative leader of Muslim India capable of delivering goods. Second resolution condemned Abul Kalam's nomination Simla Conference contrary White Paper as sinister design on integrity of Islam, protested against open conspiracy for fulfilling Gandhian game of setting Muslims against Muslims

division by bolstering up quislings. Gandhi's replacement by Abul Kalam made conference huge farce and fraud meeting. Challenges Abul Kalam to seek election Bengal Assembly on Pakistan issue. Third resolution declares that Muslim League should not agree formation Interim Govt. without three conditions firstly British Govt. must recongnise Muslim self-determination; secondly Muslim equality Govt. and administration must be genuine and through Muslim League alone; thirdly guarantees that nothing will be done to prejudice Pakistan issue and jeopardise Muslim rights, interests. Resolution concludes, "unless [and] until guarantees for these principles and for equal power and safeguard[s] for present and future are given, League should not accept Wavell Plan". Fourth resolution expresses deepest anxiety, alarm, indignation at sinister Congress all-out propaganda for by-passing League "any attempt to by-pass Muslim League will be shameless betrayal of hundred million Muslims, breach of solemn pledges and futile effort to foist totalitarian rule and fascist domination of Caste-Hindus over Muslim and other peoples. Muslim India will take it as act of war on Islam and resist Anglo-Hindu *raj* to bitter end and regardless of all consequences". This betrayal will be tantamount to sacrificing anti-Japan parties and anti-fascist peoples and handing over India to avowed anti-war pacifists, defeatists, quislings who organised all-India open rebellion, sabotage movements at gravest hour of war when Japan was knocking at India's gates.

AKRUM KHAN
President,
Bengal Muslim League

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Hajer Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 550/1705

CEDAR COMPANY,
OLD ANURADHAPURA,
CEYLON,
10 July 1946

We the members of the South Indian Muslim League Sub-Committee Tinnevelly District residing at Anuradhapura Ceylon express our sincerest thanks for the undertakings taken by the League at the

Simla Conference. We have full confidence in your leadership and trust that the Muslim League shall hold complete responsibility to select members for the Executive Council. May God help you in your undertakings as a leader and we expect success.

HAJER MOHAMED
Secretary, South Indian Muslim League Sub-Committee

224

Agha Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1136/407-8
[Original in Urdu]

HALL BAZAR, AMRITSAR,
10 July 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In its meeting held on 6 July 1946, the Working Committee of the Amritsar Muslim Students' Federation passed the following resolution which is enclosed for your perusal.

AGHA BASHIR AHMAD
General Secretary,
Amritsar Muslim Students' Federation

Enclosure to No. 224
[Original in Urdu]

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee of the Amritsar Students' Federation considers the proposals of the Cabinet Mission as highly unsatisfactory for the Indian Muslims and strongly condemns reneging on the promises made to the Muslim League about the Interim Government. The Muslim League had accepted the Mission's proposals as they contained fundamentals of the Pakistan demand. It appears that the Cabinet Mission had prepared two sets of proposals, one for the Muslim League and the other for the Congress, in an attempt to please both. While Pethick-Lawrence in his speech explaining the proposals indicated the grouping as compulsory, the Viceroy in his correspondence with Abul Kalam Azad referred to it as optional. It appears that the British capitalists have, in their own interest, bowed before the Hindu capitalists. In order to please the Congress the Cabinet Mission ignored

the promises made to Quaid-i-Azam, and in the bargain Congress accepted a bureaucrat as head of the government, thus pushing back the struggle for independence by fifty years. The Congress did not accept equal representation for the Muslims. The fact is that Congress is not interested in complete independence; they want to establish *Ram raj* under the aegis of the British Government.

In view of the above-stated position, we request the Quaid-i-Azam to convene a meeting of the Muslim League Council with a view to reviewing their earlier decisions and letting all concerned know that the Muslims of India have the strength to face the situation created by the Cabinet Mission by going back on their promises.

The Muslim students are prepared to sacrifice their lives, if so desired by Quaid-i-Azam.

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 629/1-4

GUL-I-RA'ANA,
HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
11 July 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

[Qazi] Isa came to Delhi from Quetta today and reported the situation to me. I have suggested to him that he should go to Hyderabad and place all the facts before you. After hearing Isa, I am of the view that we should not put up an official League candidate from Baluchistan. It is quite clear that the officials have been exercising undue influence on the *Shahi Jirga* to elect some one who will take his cue from the Government.

I think a telegram of protest may be sent by you to the Viceroy, if you, after hearing Isa, also think so. The Congress, I think, must have lodged a protest with the Viceroy in this connection.

The Agent, Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi, informed me that the bank had received twelve thousand rupees from Isa from Baluchistan and this amount has been credited to your account No. 3 as was desired by you.

I hope you are keeping well. It appears from newspaper reports that you are having a very busy time in Hyderabad. There is nothing

fresh that has happened in Delhi since you left here. You must have noticed that Nehru has made the position of the Congress very clear with regard to the Constituent Assembly. They have accepted nothing except the method of election to the Constituent Assembly. It was a correct decision not to attend a meeting of the Constituent Assembly.

Yours sincerely,

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

PS. I propose that we should invite to the Council all the League members who are elected to the Constituent Assembly[1] and who are not members of the Council. Please let me have your approval by telegram.

L.A.K.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 980-8, for the complete list.

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/436

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
11 July 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you are supposed to be addressing a public meeting at Darus-Salam this evening,[1] I wish to make the following suggestions:

1. Your press statement[2] from New Delhi that the Maharaja of Kashmir should grant immediate responsible government to his people has evoked a comment in the local Congress papers to the effect that Mr. Jinnah should give similar advice[3] to His Exalted Highness. Local Hindus are exploiting your statement for their own ends.

The correct position is that the treatment meted out to Hindus in Hyderabad is very different from that meted out to Muslims in Kashmir. There the Muslims are a downtrodden and suppressed lot; here the Hindus, though not in Government service, dictate the policy to Government. Financially, they are better off than their co-religionists even in British India and the Hindu States. They have full possession of the entire economic resources of the State. *Patels* and *Patwaris*, who are the virtual rulers of the villages, are all Hindus. Banking, trade, industry and agriculture are the monopoly of the Hindus. Hyderabad

Muslims are mere wage earners. The intelligent and educated among them have no means of livelihood other than Government service. Rural Muslims are worse than depressed classes. Neither the Government cares for them nor the Majlis. Hindus here enjoy the same privileges and benefits now that they would have enjoyed under a full-fledged responsible government. The grant of responsible government in Hyderabad would merely mean the ejection of Muslims from services.

Such being the case, it is advisable that you make some statement which would make it impossible for local Hindus to exploit your former statement for their own purposes.

2. Hyderabad Muslims expect a lead from you on the following questions:

a. Should Hyderabad send representatives to the Constituent Assembly? If so, how?
b. Should Hyderabad work on the basis of joining the Union or entering into an agreement with it?
c. What should be the attitude of the local Majlis towards the Hindu movements? Should it enter into any pact with them, resist them, or continue to behave like mere spectators, as the Majlis is now doing?
d. Should the local Majlis identify itself openly with the Muslim League or only have secret relations with it?

These are some points on which your guidance is needed. Whether you prefer to give such guidance in the open or in the course of private talks, is left to your discretion.

Sorry to inflict this letter on you.

Yours respectfully,
A HYDERABADI MUSLIM

[1]See Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 116-8.
[2]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2304-5.
[3]See note 1 above.

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Fasih Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1107/311-2

IFTIKHAR MANZIL,
PAKISTAN LANE,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
12 July 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Recent exit of two members of Sind Muslim League party has reduced the party to a minority party in the House. In fact the position from the very beginning was unstable, and so, in order to maintain the ministry, we had to patronise the opportunist element of our organisation. The result was that our organisation suffered heavily.

So, under these circumstances, I request you to ask Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to immediately tender the resignation of the ministry. No further attempt should be made to keep the ministry in office by hook or [by] crook. On no account [should] ministerships be offered to these political gamblers. Prestige and honour of the Muslim League comes first, while ministries may come and ministries may go.

I am sure once Muslim League occupies the opposition benches in Sind, our best men who are now engaged in ministerial intrigues will devote themselves to the organisation. Furthermore, our party will be overhauled. Let the opportunist element walk over to the coalition party. We don't want them.

Furthermore, immediate care should be taken of Sind Provincial Muslim League, which is not running smoothly under Mr. Gazdar's presidentship.

I have got my holidays these days. My classes shall begin from 7th September 1946. I shall be at the disposal of the high command during this time and can go to Sind, if ordered.

I hope you shall pay serious consideration to these points and also hope that you will intimate me with [*sic*] the orders and your decision.

Pakistan *Zindabad!*

Sincerely yours,
FASIH UDDIN AHMAD
Vice President,
M[uslim] U[niversity] Union (Jr. Section)

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Syed Ali Bux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/439-44

SHAMSIA,
CHANCHALGUDA,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
12 July 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In reply to my request for an interview, your Secretary told me that you [had] said that if I was seeking an interview to discuss the subject-matter of the letters I had been writing to you, you saw no need to grant me an interview.

I do not mean to offend you if I tell you that the money of a Laik Ali or an Alladin could buy your support to their aims, while all our sincerity and selfless entreaties could not attract your attention. You could not have dared to refuse an interview to a mediocre like Babu Khan and you could take the initiative to invite a declared and deliberate enemy of the Muslim cause like Ali Yavar Jung to come and see you. You should not take this as an offence as these are plain facts. I am taking this opportunity to write to you because I am anxious to tell you, in spite of your refusal to meet me, what I would have told you if I had secured an interview. The only pity is that you cannot now search my mind by cross-examining me.

In the first instance, ever since this affair began, you have relied most probably on reports from interested quarters which sought to exploit your personal dislike of Sir Mirza [Ismail]. I have every reason to believe that my method of approach to the problem was the right one and that you are, now, convinced of it yourself, having studied the position from close quarters. If you have understood the position as correctly as I do, even now much can be saved.

One side of the developments since July 5 (my last letter) may still be unknown to you. H.E.H. was very much perturbed at the prospect of his being forced by your extraordinary influence to change his decision. If his decision had not become as public and as final as it was [*sic*], he might have revised it. To add to this, there was the clamour of the Congress press that you were coming here with the one and only object of preventing him from taking Sir Mirza. The plain fact is that he was afraid that any change in his already-too-public decision would give a just reason for undesirable interference on the

part of the Congress. This reluctance on his part to displease you on the one side, [and] to maintain his own prestige on the other, landed him in a very uncomfortable position. That was when we could, and did, exert all our influence in your favour on the right plea that to displease you in the least would be to create a division in the loyalty of the local Muslims and putting a stop to all the sympathies of Muslim India in general.

At this juncture the statement of the President of the Majlis who could not be brought round to accept this line of action turned the tables against us. He is known to have been instigated by Chhatari to issue that statement. In spite of this set-back we were not disheartened. We suppressed all counter-statements we could lay hands upon. Of course, Hindu leaders did issue statements commenting upon this, but the fact that for two days we could successfully control even the deliberately anti-Ittehadul Muslimeen from publishing such matter must be noted. We actually got a printed statement erased from the printing machine at 4 o'clock in the morning and burned the copies that carried it. I am enclosing a copy of this statement[2] as printed in the copies which were burnt (July 7th) as also a copy[3] which was finally distributed.

Even before this, overtures from the side of H.E.H. had begun and we were asked to help him to save the prestige of the throne. To do this as harmlessly as possible, we decided to bring out a pamphlet which would carry statements supporting Sir Mirza, so that we could give you an impression of the strength of the section of opinion supporting him and at the same time strengthen the hands of H.E.H. (as interpreted by circles close to him). But this pamphlet could not come out of the press until the evening of 9th July, that is after your audience with H.E.H. In the meantime one statement in favour of Sir Mirza had slipped out of our hands and that was perhaps one of the reasons for the stiff attitude of H.E.H. The attitude of H.E.H. before your arrival here was this. He was going to tell you of the difficulties in his way to change the decision and was going to give you every possible assurance on behalf of Sir Mirza or himself, and was in favour of convincing you by arguments and if necessary by appeals and entreaties. Some of his advisors had told him that you would not be adamant and that in view of his unenviable position you would agree. This is perhaps where they committed the mistake. I apprehend that your interview with Mr. Zahid Husain suddenly changed his attitude. You must have laid all your cards on the table, with the result that every word that was told to you during the audience was pre-determined; so that he might not lose his case

by allowing you a chance to argue. We came to know of this during the night itself and met his advisors and told them that in any case you shall [*sic*] not be displeased. We were given the impression that it would be so. My greatest handicap was that in spite of my efforts, I could not secure an interview with you before you saw H.E.H. Without having known the attitude of H.E.H., which is best reflected from that of his advisors as it had developed after your interview with Mr. Zahid Husain, the way in which you opened the question was a little too abrupt. In the meantime we were hoping, all of us, that matters ancillary to the position of Hyderabad vis-a-vis Cabinet Mission's proposals would prolong your interviews with him and that the stage of decisions would come only after two or three days. But the decision had been taken that H.E.H. would adopt a firm attitude, as firm as he could, and he would simply not allow you to open your case by announcing that everything had been decided and that all advice at this stage was too late. As far as I know, and indeed the fact is an open secret, that he did not allow you to talk upon this matter and the meeting ended abruptly within forty minutes.

On your side the cause of your insistence was said to be H.E.H.'s telegram[4] to the Viceroy that you were not to be allowed to interfere in his internal affairs. If this issue had been raised directly but in a rather apologetic tone, you might have been more successful. But what has happened cannot be undone.

Our misfortune is that you immediately began discussing this matter as loudly as you could; for instance, you discussed the issue in your interview with Nawab Hassan Yar Jung and Nawab Mandoor Khan in the presence of two irresponsible type of young men, Mr. Bahauddin Saleem[5] and Kolas, and before long your whole attitude was public. You are said to have suggested direct action on the issue to Majlis leaders. This attitude of yours gave rise to grave apprehensions in circles close to H.E.H. and in the minds of all informed Hyderabadis. Our gravest fear was that you might say something undesirable at the public meeting. We conveyed this fear to the circles close to H.E.H., and their reaction as also that of H.E.H. himself was that he was prepared to meet you and make it up with you if you did not say anything in the public meeting detrimental to the interests of Hyderabad and if you took the initiative to meet him again. The real fact is that the attitude of H.E.H. depends on his advisors, but when he takes a definite stand they are powerless to change it. But as you know he is a man of moods and when he is in a good mood they take the opportunity to convert him to their views. It

is no use cursing his lack of foresight; we have to make the best out of a bad situation.

The first condition having been fulfilled, whether through the appeals of the Resident or others, the only thing that now remains is that you should seek another interview apparently to discuss other matters with H.E.H. If this is done, I am convinced, H.E.H. himself will try to make it up with you. It appears that the Resident and Ali Yavar Jung have given H.E.H. the impression that matters will as a matter of course be straightened out after one or two weeks and that there is no cause for anxiety. This means that time will heal everything. We do not want this. We desire that your presence and its disquieting effect on H.E.H. should sober him down to ease out feelings of both sides. If the other impression gains ground a compromise may become very difficult.

Some quarters fear that Sir Mirza may not be so anxious to seek your blessings and pleasure, now that you have exerted your full pressure and influence against him and failed. But I don't think this is correct. To do justice to him, he is not a man to use such tactical advantages where you are concerned. I am sure he sincerely believes that your sympathy and support will be necessary to save Hyderabad. As such I am confident that he is still prepared to make it up with you in the same manner as he was when I last met him at Bangalore on June 23.

You might ask, "why all this"? You are doing nothing for yourself and a revenge for a disappointment which you had to suffer at the hands of the very man whose interests you desired to safeguard does not behove your sincerity. To revenge or to take any strong action against H.E.H. at this moment would be to ruin Hyderabad and her Musalmans. If you break off your connections with Hyderabad, we might be severely handicapped, for it is through his fear of you that we can bring him round if he (Sir Mirza) fails us in his promises. You shall not fail us now saying, "Your Ruler did not accept my advice. So go to hell with him". For God's sake do not even think of this. Sir Mirza has been taken for 2 years. You can push some dynamic administrator like Sir Ghulam Muhammed into the Vice-Premiership in place of the imbecile Sir Mehdi Yar Jung and you can make sure that he succeeds Sir Mirza. During these two years we will exploit Sir Mirza's pro-Hindu reputation as usefully as we can. When that cloak is off, any other would be as good as he.

There are very vital problems before Hyderabad: for instance, the status of Hyderabad in the Union if it comes into being, the Negotiating

Committee vis-a-vis Hyderabad, the ceded districts, the question of securing a sea-port. One supreme effort should be made now when things are still being shaped. All these questions must be discussed by you with H.E.H. The way Chhatari bartered away Hyderabad to the Chamber of Princes through the machinations of Ali Yavar Jung deserves all condemnation. Ali Yavar Jung is now master of all he surveys. Please get him out of Hyderabad if you can and you will save Hyderabad. He is a hundred times more harmful than what Sir Mirza might have been if he were what you think he is.

Concluding, I must reiterate that if you express the least hostility to Hyderabad and her Ruler you will play a part analogous to what Jawaharlal played in Kashmir. Your hostility may even end Hyderabad within two years, for there will be the invasion of Hindus and the division of loyalties between the Ruler and yourself would drive the last nail in the coffin.

Yesterday's developments are worth notice. Some responsible persons approached Hosh Yar Jung and asked him to initiate a compromise from that side. As the public meeting was in sight he had promised to take interest in this. But this morning he flatly refused.

This man is definitely known as the man of Sir Sultan Ahmad and as such all his actions are feared to be calculated to harm your prestige. But the biggest difficulty is that this man enjoys the confidence of H.E.H. Therefore it is better that you take the initiative to meet H.E.H. and clear all the cloud.

In the meantime we will work on the other front and will try to persuade Sir Mirza to understand your point of view and work out his way to see you and settle matters at first hand.

Let me urge on you that any compromise on this score either with H.E.H. or the Resident will be of no avail. Sir Mirza was quite prepared to give you every possible commitment to your entire satisfaction. Although certain interested persons have communicated to him on the telephone every development since you came here, still I trust that he can be forced to come to terms with you. Few people in Hyderabad desire this. And my friends and I are among these few. I am determined to pursue my line of action, driven by a strong conviction that you shall [*sic*] appreciate my sincerity soon after you have overcome your rage at this disappointment. However, a hint of your reactions in regard to my line of action would further

strengthen my hands and my determination to fight it out to a successful conclusion.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
S. A. BUX

[1]No. 213.
[2,3&4]Not traceable.
[5]See No. 180.

229

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/23

PRIVATE

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
12 July [*1946*]

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you a copy of the *Tribune* and a few other cuttings[1] from the press that are worth bringing to your notice. You must have read this speech of Panditji[1] in other papers; but this is how the Punjab[2] has presented it to the public. It should be the duty of the press to bring about an atmosphere of goodwill and reconciliation. But what do we find all around: nothing but fanning the flames of communal hatred and ill-feeling. This sort of attitude can never bring peace and harmony in the land; it will only lead to a blood-bath which the people seem to be bent upon. Your gesture of "goodwill to other communities and unity amongst ourselves" does seem to fall on deaf ears.

Louis Fisher seems to be a paid agent to bring low the Muslim League and the Muslim nation in the eyes of everybody. I hope you are following his articles in the press. It is a pity that such mischief-makers should be let loose in India at a time when there was [*sic*] need of [an] unbiased peace-maker.

The editorial on Hyderabad in the copy of the *Tribune* is worth reading. I think it is an attempt to hide the misdeeds of the Hindu ruler of Kashmir. How truly Pothan Joseph writes in the *Dawn,* "Venom today has been canalized away from the traditional British target and therein lies the triumph of the British mission, coupled of course with localization of our quarrels in India, away from London. Since

it is we who quarrel, the fight is brought across our trenches."

I hope you received all my letters and cuttings sent to your Delhi address.

I do hope you have taken enough rest during these days, for heavy work is ahead of you again.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See S. Gopal, *Selected Works*, XV, 241-8.
[3]Ibid., 243.

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Fazle Abbas to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 557/266

NADIAD,
KAIRA DISTRICT,
13 July 1946

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MEETING OF THE MUSLIMS OF THE KAIRA DISTRICT AND NADIAD CITY ON 13.7.1945 AT 2 P.M.

This meeting of the Muslims of the Kaira District and Nadiad City resolve as under:

That this meeting sends its sincere support to the policy and attitude adopted by *janab* Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib and the executive committee of the Muslim League with regard to the rights of the Indian Muslims on behalf of the Muslim League in the matter of the proposal put forward by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Wavell before the country at present; and this meeting urges upon His Excellency the Viceroy to recognize the legitimate and proper claim of the Muslim League as being the only institution of all the Indian Muslims. This meeting also expresses its entire and full confidence in *Janab* Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib's leadership and assures him that each and every Muslim of the Kaira District is ready to devote and sacrifice his best, financially and bodily, if of all sort [*sic*] as per instructions of Quaid-i-Azam *Janab* Jinnah Sahib and the Muslim League. That this meeting invokes the blessings of *Allah* to crown all efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League [with success] and despises the low [*sic*] attempts

made by Congress newspapers to rule by dividing the Muslims against Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League. Considers the President of the Congress Maulana Azad as enemy of the interests of the Indian Muslims.

FAZLE ABBAS
President,
Kaira District League

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A. C. Lothian to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/437

THE RESIDENCY,
BOLARUM,
HYDERABAD,
14 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received the attached message from Mr. Sen, Secretary to the Government of India in the Food Department, for transmission to you.

Yours sincerely,
A. C. LOTHIAN

Enclosure to No. 231
B. R. Sen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/438

IMMEDIATE [*14 July 1946*]

Unofficial American Famine Mission who met you at Delhi some days ago have now completed their Bihar and Orissa tour. The first batch of five members will leave India tomorrow and second batch will leave on Tuesday. I have been asked by them to approach you with the request that you might give a message addressed to President and people of the United States asking for help to India in this hour of her great need which they could carry with them. They feel certain that a message from leaders of main political parties in India as well as from His Excellency the Viceroy would greatly strengthen them in their efforts to mobilize public opinion in the United States.

2. For your consideration I submit following points:

i. By drastic measures of procurement and rationing we have distributed our inadequate resources as fairly as possible. The ration scale is already too low and even this inadequate ration will repulse [*sic*] unless substantial imports are made available.
ii. We appreciate the efforts already made by U.S.A. in helping India but if India is to be saved from famine more help must be forthcoming.
iii. The peak period of distress will be from beginning of August to end of October. Whatever quantities U.S.A. can spare for India should therefore be despatched as far as possible during this period.
iv. We realize that people in other parts of the world are pleading for your aid. Classification [*sic*] appeal nevertheless for special assistance to us as our need is great.

3. I should be grateful if you would be good enough to send this message by immediate telegram to me so that I could hand it over either to first batch or second batch of the Mission. I have made similar approach to Mr. Nehru and am expecting a message. His Excellency the Viceroy will also probably address a message to this effect.

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M. Osman to M. A. Jinnah

F.696/472-3

HYDERABAD,
DECCAN,
14 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I crave your indulgence for encroaching upon your precious time so unwarrantably but I do hope that in view of what I have to say you will kindly pardon this intrusion.

You know that the people of Hyderabad have been clamouring for the last seven years for reforms, responsible government and adequate representation which are the signs of a civilised and progressive government. You know, also, that the Government of Hyderabad is preparing to give all these to us very shortly.

But I am almost positive [that] you are not aware of the fact that in Hyderabad people do not pay any kind of tax—not even the income tax which is the first and most rudimentary mark of civilisation. The entire expenses of our State are met from out of the revenue of agriculture, excise and customs only. When we demand reforms, responsible government and all that goes in the name of civilisation, I believe it would be in the fitness of things that the people of the State be made to pay all kinds of taxes that are levied in British India or at least the income-tax.

The principle which I am putting forth for favour of your kind consideration is, I am sure, not unknown to you; for the slogan of the American War of Independence was "No representation, no taxation".[1] Hence I say that when the people of Hyderabad— specially the party which is in the majority here—demand representation, they must also pay something in the shape of taxes to meet the many and varied expenses of a progressive State. It is futile to ask for all kinds of amenities without paying for them.

I, therefore, request you kindly to suggest the above point to the authorities concerned here and also to mention it in your speeches if and when the occasion arises either here or in British India.

Yours obediently,
M. OSMAN

[1]There was an uprising in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1773 against British customs officials, during which the colonists boarded British ships in the harbour and threw chests of tea overboard. The event, known as the Boston Tea Party, featured the slogan, "No taxation without representation". The American War of Independence began later with the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

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Fateh Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/43

PERSONAL

DAULA NANGAL GATE,
BATALA,
DIST. GURDASPUR,
14 July 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have travelled a lot throughout India and have gone twice to Hedjaz on pilgrimage and I have found that Muslims all over the world are degenerating and are playing a losing game everywhere. I

have tried my level best to find out the root cause of this and have come to the conclusion that it is character and character alone that can make a man succeed in this as well as in the next world. If you agree to this, may I enquire what steps you are taking to build up that character in Muslims in the present movement of the All India Muslim League—that character which was their pride in good old days. I feel must [*sic* for most] disturbed lest the present movement of Pakistan under your able guidance may not fail like so many other movements that started previously in India, simply for want of character alone.

Reply by return of post is earnestly solicited and begging to be excused for encroachment on your valuable time.

Yours sincerely,
FATEH MOHAMMAD
Secretary,
Majlis-i-Khadman-i-Haram in India

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Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/76

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
15 July 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wanted to write to you about the new developments following the AICC meeting at Bombay[1] but I could not do so earlier as you had gone to Hyderabad. Now it appears from the papers that you are leaving Hyderabad on the 15th and I hope this letter will find you in Bombay.

I enclose herewith copy of a statement[2] issued by me with regard to the situation created by the declarations of Congress leaders and the decision to call a meeting of the League Council. After the Mission's betrayal of its plighted word and the unabashed confessions by Congress leaders of their diabolical designs about constitution-making, it is time that we also show our teeth. I am afraid that our conciliatory and straightforward attitude was mistaken as a sign of weakness and surrender by both the Cabinet Mission and the Congress. The effusions of Nehru and other Congress leaders at their recent meeting leave no

doubt that they do not consider themselves bound by any of the provisions relating to the method and procedure of constitution-making, laid down in the Mission's statement of May 16[3] and that they are determined by sheer force of numbers to stifle and suppress us and create 100 per cent *Akhand* Hindustan through the Union's Constituent Assembly. In view of these developments and the repeated surrender of the Cabinet Mission to Congress bullying, it could, as Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has very well put it, certainly be suicidal on our part to join the Constituent Assembly. I have made certain suggestions in my statement which I request you kindly to consider. I believe the League must insist on the British Government restating their policy and intentions with regard to the working of whole of their plan in all its bearings and we must declare that unless satisfactory assurances are forthcoming, we will not only keep away from the Constituent Assembly but make its working impossible.

I particularly invite your attention to point No. 1 in my statement. This is most important. We can forestall the attempts of Congress to enlarge the scope of the Union's Centre by framing constitutions of our choice of the groups and provinces in sections B and C in the first instance. The Congress want to take away many important industries under cover of Defence and Communications and such important fiscal and economic subjects as customs, tariff, exchange, loans, credit, and foreign trade under the pretext of power to raise finances for the Union and Foreign Affairs. That Nehru's contentions in all these matters are wrong, would be patent to all fair-minded persons but fairness is the last thing we could expect from the Congress majority in the Constituent Assembly. The only way to prevent the Congress from making the Union's Centre all powerful is to have the constitution of the groups and the provinces made in the first instance.

Another important point is the right of groups and provinces to secede from the Union. When so much stress is being laid on the freedom of provinces to opt out of the groups, there is absolutely no reason why the right of secession of provinces and groups from the Union should not be unequivocally conceded. I think we should make a determined stand on these two questions whatever the consequences may be.

I read in [the] *Dawn* that the League contemplates appointment of an Experts Committee to assist the Muslim representatives in the Constituent Assembly. Many of our experts could not find a place among the League representatives. It is therefore all the more desirable that an Experts Committee be appointed. May I suggest a

few names:

1. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan
2. Dr. Kazi Saiduddin Ahmad
3. Chaudhri Niamatullah

Nos. 1 and 3 are well-known to you. I need not say anything about them. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad, I understand, was keen to go to the Constituent Assembly. He has all the time and his knowledge of history and constitution should be made use of. No. 2 was Reader in Geography in Aligarh and is now head of the Department of Geography at Lahore. He can be very useful in regard to geographical, economic and ethnical aspects of Pakistan and questions relating to distribution of population, demarcation of boundaries and delimitation of constituencies.

I also place my services at your disposal and you can use them in any manner you please.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convener,
Committee of Writers,
All India Muslim League

[1]From 6 to 7 July 1946. In this meeting Abul Kalam Azad formally laid down the presidential office and invited Nehru to take over.
[2]Enclosure.
[3]Appendix I. 20.

Enclosure to No. 234
Statement by Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, UP V/77

ALIGARH,
13 July 1946

Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad, Convener Muslim League Committee of Writers in a statement to the press says:

The tall claim made by Mr. Nehru in 1938 that there were only two parties in India—Congress and the British Government and others must simply line up—proved a blessing in disguise in that it spurred the Muslims to action and led them to build an organization at whose doors Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru had to knock repeatedly. But Mr. Nehru like the Bourbons of old has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. He persists in attacking and belittling the Muslim League and throws out the arrogant challenge that he proposes to create many new situations and to convene his own proper Constituent

Assembly some time later. The Muslims have reason to be thankful to Mr. Nehru for warning them betimes of real intentions of the Hindu Congress without mincing words. The Muslim League gladly accepts his challenge and will give a fitting reply when the League Council meets in Bombay towards the end of this month. The impetuosity and rapacity of Mr. Nehru and his colleagues has already set the clock back by forty years and thrown the people of India into the bureaucratic grip; their arrogant declarations and disingenuous interpretations of the Cabinet Mission's proposals might completely wreck all hopes of the evolution of a constitution conferring freedom and independence on the people of India. For provocative bombast and insidious chicanery, the performance of Congress leaders at their recent meeting are unbeatable. If there were any doubts about the Congress designs in regard to constitution-making they stand completely removed.

It is, indeed, a pity that the Muslim League's conciliatory, honest and straightforward attitude was misconstrued as a sign of weakness and surrender by both the Cabinet Mission and the Congress. In the truly shopkeeper's fashion the Congress haggled and the Mission yielded, taking the Muslim League for granted; and the sordid business reached its culmination in the Mission's *volte-face* and betrayal of written pledges and promises. Not even British history can provide a parallel of such outrageous breach of faith and eating of words on the part of statesmen. The Mission's vacillation and pandering to Congress whims has led the Congress to throw to the winds all notions of political honesty and straight dealing. There cannot be a shadow of doubt now that Congress are out to use the machinery of the Constituent Assembly to create hundred per cent *Akhand* Hindustan by sheer dint of their numerical majority and the expected British acquiescence, absolutely regardless of the basic provisions of the operative part of the Mission's plan pertaining to the process of constitution-making of the groups, provinces and the Union. Mr. Nehru makes no secret of his determination not only to kill grouping right at the beginning but also to cripple the provinces by bringing in all manner of subjects under the Union Centre and thus making it an all-powerful Hindu-dominated Central Government reducing all non-Caste-Hindu peoples to serfdom. When one major party unequivocally repudiates the very fundamentals of the plan under which it was to meet another major party to build a constitution acceptable to both, it would be nothing short of suicide for the other party to join the Constituent Assembly envisaged in the Plan.

The Muslim League Council at its meeting[1] on June 6 had clearly stated that it accepted as a whole the scheme outlined in the Mission's

statement of May 16,[2] amplified in their second statement dated May 25,[3] and had reserved the right to revise its attitude in the light of developments which might take place. Considering all the developments, the Muslim League, in my opinion, should now demand of the British Government to restate their policy and intentions in categorical language with regard to the following points:

1. That the framing of the group and provincial constitutions shall proceed in accordance with the procedure laid down in Para 19 of the Mission's statement of May 16 in the first instance and the Central Constituent Assembly shall not in any way interfere with these constitutions.
2. That the right of groups and provinces to secede from the Union should be clearly recognised in the same manner as the provinces have been accorded the right to opt out of the groups after the first general elections under the new constitution. We cannot rely on the mere provision regarding revision of the terms of the constitution. It is only when Congress realize that provinces have an inalienable right to secede that they will show a spirit of accommodation in the Union.
3. That any decision taken by the Central Constituent Assembly contrary to the basic provisions of the operative part of the Plan shall not be given effect to by the British Government.
4. That the scope of the Union Centre shall be strictly confined to the three subjects—Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs; and the power given to the Union to raise finance for itself shall not be used to infringe on the fiscal, industrial and economic freedom of the groups and provinces.
5. That in case of dispute as to what is a major communal issue, the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly shall not merely consult the Federal Court but act on the advice of the Court.

Unless satisfactory assurances are given by the British Government with regard to the point stated above, the Muslim League should refuse to enter the Constituent Assembly and demand the convention of a separate Constituent Assembly for the six Muslim provinces with power to conclude treaty with the Constituent Assembly of the Hindu provinces regulating mutual relationships and providing for the protection of minorities in the two states on reciprocal basis.

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.
[2]Appendix I. 20.
[3]Appendix I. 22.

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Abdus Samad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/44

108 G MODEL TOWN,
LAHORE,
17 July 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I am the person from whom you [had] received an unsolicited donation in the shape of a cheque for Rs. 100 on 2.12.1941, and who [had] then suggested to you to call for subscriptions from the Muslim public and ventured to submit then many other suggestions also.

I now send you a cheque for Rs. 200 out of my *zakaat* fund and suggest that you might consider the advisability of calling for and starting an all-India Muslim Economic Fund (absolutely non-political) for the redress [*sic*] of the economic conditions of the Muslims of India, enjoining on the Muslim public to subscribe to it out of their *zakaat* funds in this notable month of *Sha'baan*, which might form the basic foundation of the *Bait al-Maal* fund in the Pakistan days to come.

I also venture to suggest to you to appoint a committee of experts to devise ways and means to start industrial concerns in the provincial areas of Pakistan so as to ameliorate the economic conditions of the Muslims of these provinces. Presumably you have already established a Planning Committee for the said purpose but perhaps the matter is one which needs to be expedited and the Muslim public called upon to buy shares of the various would-be concerns.

I suggest further that the matter concerning the so-much-accumulated interest which accrues in the banks in India from the money which is deposited by the Muslims but which remains untouched by them and goes to swell the coffers of the bank, should receive your earnest attention and ways and means should be adopted to secure the same for the economic redress [*sic*] of the Muslims of India.

In the end, I beg to submit that in regard to the cheque which is now being enclosed I give you the option to utilize the same in any other fund, should you so feel called upon to do. I have ventured to advance these suggestions for whatever they are worth and being a layman, I am sorry I have not been able to make them more concrete. I, however, hope that you understand what I mean.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUS SAMAD KHAN

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Syed Jama'at Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/48

ALIPORE SAIDAN,
DISTRICT SIALKOT,
17 July 1946

Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have sent a message,[1] last week, on your noble intention of going for *Hajj*. Now I send you a message of congratulation on the sweeping victory of the League. Out of ten crore Musalmans, God has chosen you and bestowed upon you the honour of successfully leading the Muslim League to this glorious victory. You have succeeded, by the grace of God, in spite of the opposition of five groups. The other parties have spent lakhs and crores of rupees in corrupting Musalmans and setting them against you and the League. But they have failed in making the Musalmans the slaves of Gandhi, except of course three persons. God bless you for the tremendous work that you have done for the nation.

I also congratulate H.E.H. the Nizam and the people of Hyderabad that they have honoured ten crore Musalmans by weighing you in gold.[2] Never in the history of the world has anybody been weighed in gold, except the Aga Khan. And now this honour has been done to you because God has given you a unique position among the Musalmans of the world.

Now it is your sacred duty that leaving all your other engagements, you should proceed to *Khana Ka'ba* and the shrine of the holy Prophet [PBUH] according to your promise, and thank Them.

I am sure you will be determined to go for *Hajj*. You can fly from Karachi after *'Id al-Fitr* [*sic*] and reach Mecca the next day. You can offer the ceremonies of *Hajj* within five days and then within a few hours you can reach Medina *Sharif*. You may stay there for a few days and then fly back to Karachi. All this journey will take about twenty days.

I shall be very grateful if you could kindly inform me by telegram on the following address,[3] as soon as you have taken a decision on this point.

I shall be waiting for your telegram.[4]
Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
SYED JAMA'AT ALI

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 179, note 2.
[3]Address omitted.
[4]Jinnah replied saying that, given the rapidly evolving political situation in India, he could not leave the country for the time being. See *SHC*, Punjab II/51. Not printed.

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Abdus Samad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/40

CONFIDENTIAL

108 G MODEL TOWN,
LAHORE,
18 July 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I have received credible information that Dr. Khan Sahib, Prime Minister of the Frontier Province, and his brother, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, have made a huge fortune during the last ten years. They used to be ordinary zamindars and Dr. Khan Sahib used to run an ordinary medical stall. This is considered to be the result of the consistently heavy flow of money from Wardha. Their agricultural land, which used to be a minor thing in days gone by, has now spread over to nine miles in area and they are having palatial buildings, separate for every son of theirs, located in their village which can match the splendour of the Viceregal Lodge. They have been able to send their boys for study abroad and that might have involved a lot of expenses. It seems extremely necessary that a searching enquiry be instituted by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, MLA of the Frontier Province, into all this, and it should be established beyond any shadow of doubt as to what could be the estimate of all this and that such a huge amount of money could not have been but ill-gotten. If facts and figures prove that the money earned has been phenomenal, [out] of which lands have been purchased, buildings constructed, boys sent for education abroad, then the Khan Brothers should be thoroughly exposed in the eyes of the public and they be dethroned from the wavering pedestal

on which they are still perching themselves.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUS SAMAD KHAN

PS. A copy of this has been sent to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, MLA, Peshawar.

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Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/26

SECRET

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
19 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I think I should give you advance information about the arrangements we propose to make for the representation of India at the Peace Conference opening on the 29th July.

2. The High Commissioner in London will be asked to lead the delegation which will consist of himself and Sir Joseph Bhore. Sir Joseph Bhore has been selected to represent the States. The High Commissioner will be informed, and it will be made clear in the communique, that on the formation of an Interim Government it is hoped that the delegation will be enlarged and the High Commissioner will be relieved to return to his post.

3. I am sure you will agree that this is the best arrangement we can make pending the formation of an Interim Government.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

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M. A. Jinnah to Maratib Ali

SHC, Punjab IV/68

20 July 1946

Dear Sir Maratib Ali,

Miss Jinnah has shown me your letter of the 7th June[1] addressed

to her, but as you know I was so pressed with the developments that were taking place that I was unable to attend to it earlier.

I thank you very much for your very kind concern about my health and your feelings that I should have some rest. I wish I could do so and avail myself of your kind hospitality, but just at present it is not possible for me to get away from my duty. You know the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League are meeting on the 26th and 27th of this month, and, thereafter, I am unable to know how the developments will take place. Later on, if I can manage to have some little rest, I shall certainly take advantage of your kind invitation, and the things can then be arranged at Kashmir or Murree as the case may be. I am sorry I was not able to reply to your letter earlier.

With kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Sir Maratib Ali,
C/o Syed A & M Wazir Ali,
Colaba, Bombay

[1]No. 150.

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M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 31/46

20 July 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

On the eve of my departure from Hyderabad, I had sent you the following telegram:

> Am deeply disappointed, matter very serious. You already know the position. Had long talk with Lothian.[1] He is going send you full report. Am leaving tomorrow, will send you account as I see it from Bombay. Please prevent crisis, await my letter.

I hesitated and delayed writing because of the postal strike fearing that you may not get my letter. But I find that the situation has improved and I am therefore posting this letter at the earliest possible moment.

Before my departure I had a long talk with Sir Arthur Lothian. He knows all the details and fully realized the seriousness of the situation that will arise if Sir Mirza Ismail is finally appointed Prime Minister

of Hyderabad and Sir Arthur informed me that he would make a full report to you.

The Nizam is under some undesirable influences and is completely misled. He is trying to take shelter under what he says that the final decision rests with you. In fact he is creating the impression that he is in favour of the appointment of Sir Mirza because the wishes of the Resident are such and because it has your approval which, I know as you assured me, is not a fact; and similarly Sir Arthur Lothian made it very clear to me. But since the Nizam has taken up this position that the final word rests with you, it is now for you to save the situation in the best way it is possible for you to do so. I can only repeat that it will be most unfortunate if this appointment is not prevented and is bound to create trouble. I have, as I told you, no desire to back up any particular individual. Any capable man that you may think proper and desirable may be appointed, but I strongly appeal to you to consider the situation carefully and avoid the appointment of Sir Mirza Ismail.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]British Resident at Hyderabad since October 1942.

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Abbas Sunbulah Al-Hussaini to M. A. Jinnah

F. 676/7

BARRETOS,
BRAZIL,
20 July 1946

In the name of *Allah* the Beneficent, the Merciful

Respected Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

With our hearts overjoyed, and with feelings of happiness, we present to your honour our congratulations, which are so heart-felt that neither our mouths nor our pens are capable of adequately expressing them, on the complete victory which has been achieved in India's struggle for freedom due to your and your party's efforts. Such victory is always the ardent desire of those freedom-loving personalities who devote their life, their energies and their wealth to the cause of freedom. Such people continue to fight the powers of aggression until they

secure victory. The lamp of their faith is always burning because freedom is their natural right. They are always guided on the right path so that they pay the price of freedom.

Therefore, we were as happy on your success as we were on the independence of our Arab country a few months ago. We offer our thanks to God.

We have been carefully studying your movement from across the seas. We were in wonder [*sic*] about your great personality, that you have achieved all that you wanted to, and which we wished you to achieve. Lately, the cables brought us the good news which gave peace to our hearts, and told us that God's justice has made the right triumph over the wrong and that the dominant power has been broken and has been forced to admit that India has a right to freedom, which right it had usurped for so many years.

The Islamic Union of Brazil, which was established by great Arab personalities, and other associations which have been awakened by religious consciousness, present their sincere congratulations to your honour. Our hearts know as to what the difference is between the darkness of the past and the bright dawn of the present. This dawn is the forerunner of the great future whose sun is about to rise. We pray to God to unite us and enable us to devote our energies and our attention to that path which may lead to the re-establishment of the greatness of Islam under a free Islamic flag.

We pray that you will honour us by accepting our humble greetings.

Sir, if any Arabic newspaper is published in your country on purely Muslim affairs, please make arrangements for it to be sent to our address, because our League is anxious to know the conditions of Musalmans wherever they are and whichever country they may belong to.

Our aim is only one— that we may be worthy of our religion, and take the message of our religion to mankind. God alone will enable us to do so and to have faith in Him.

ABBAS SUNBULAH AL HUSSAINI
President, Jami'at Ittehad-i-Islam
(Islamic Union)

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M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Rasul

F. 884/126

20 July 1946

Dear Sir,

In continuation of my previous letters,[1] I beg to inform you that at last I have been able to persuade Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan to hand over the amount of funds which he collected for the purpose of Islamia College to the extent of Rs. 27,500. Out of this, Rs. 12,000 have already been realized and a telegraphic transfer receipt from the Imperial Bank of India, Quetta, for Rs. 15,500 has been sent by me to the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi, and when realized will be credited to a separate account, i.e. Account No. 3. I will hold that account as a provisional custodian for the purpose for which the fund was raised and shall be glad to hand it over to some proper authority representing the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan.

As regards the remaining amount, Mr. Isa asserts that he has spent Rs. 5,000 for the work and the planning. He also asserts that he only received Rs. 32,500 and not 35,500. Please let me have if you are in possession of any reliable information to the contrary.

Mr. Isa has also sent me a copy of your letter to him of the 13th December, 1945,[2] and his reply to you dated 31st December,[3] and you must have already gathered from his reply that he says that he collected a total of Rs. 32,500 out of which Rs. 5,000 were spent upon work and planning.

I have done my best to avoid any further trouble and therefore please inform the Anjuman that they should officially communicate with me further in the matter.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Rasul, Esq.,
Baluchistan Secretariat,
Quetta

[1]See *SHC* (673). Not printed. Also see No. 328, Vol. XII, 388-9.
[2]No. 349, ibid., 406-7.
[3]No. 402, ibid., 472-3.

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M. K. Qadri to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1106/457-8

RATLAM,
21 July 946

Sir,

In view of the situation under [*sic*] which Muslims of Ratlam State have been entangled, I feel it my sacred duty to bring the following facts to your notice in order to seek your valuable co-operation for safeguards and assertion of the rights and claims of our people in the political, social and economic life in Ratlam State. This is purely and completely a Hindu State, where Muslims are in abject poverty and are most illiterate, though they are one-third of the whole population. Till this time, due to the benevolent and benign look of His Highness, the Musalmans have been ever loyal, but for [*sic*] the expected changes in the political field, our assertions are due, though our obedience to our generous Ruler will never be forgotten.

I would now like to give an account of the existing conditions that have induced me to write you this lengthy letter:

Though Prajamandal (a Congress organisation) was in full swing [*sic*] yet some time back Communist or Labour Party has appeared in Ratlam and gathered an adequate force through their agitations in mill etc. The mill labourers undoubtedly are underpaid and underfed in such hard times while on the contrary their bosses are amassing wealth. The mill labourers being agitated placed their legitimate demands before the mill owners. The mill owners in the intoxication of the backing of State authorities never cared to look into the troubles of the labourers. An account of the mill here will not be out of place. The mill belongs to a Gujrati Hindu who is *pucca* orthodox capitalist and contemptuous of Muslims. Scarcely, for want of labour few Muslims after great many supplications and adulations are engaged by them. The mill owners in order to convert the rising labour agitation played a highly dextrous game, by inducing the Prajamandal henchmen to provoke the entire people against the State for their demand of reducing the prices of foodgrains and increasing the ration. Thus the selfish mill owners were successful in achieving their cunning aims when a large and huge crowd of people excited by the

Prajamandalists or mill henchmen took [out] a procession through the city and convened meetings in which judiciously Communists were amalgamated with Prajamandal and thus a united display for condemning the State administration, instead of mill labourers demand, was arranged. Here the long suppressed and forgotten Prajamandal comes into force [*sic*]. The public—both Hindus and Muslims—were badly provoked by fiery speeches and Muslims were particularly shown, of course outwardly, great sympathies in the most treacherous garb of unity which the illiterate and totally ignorant Muslims could not understand and hence had to surrender. Anyway, the frenzied mass overruled [*sic* for defied] Section 144 due to which the police had to open fire which resulted in the death [of] and injuries to Muslims mostly.

The Hindus or the Prajamandal is cleverly exhibiting false sympathies for the Musalmans by attending funerals and by distributing foodgrains to the needy and by every means which they find befitting the occasion. (You would have experienced these things much better than what I have). Now the question arises why the Hindus of Ratlam are so [*sic*] well-wishers of Muslims particularly at this time when the review of past ten years shows that these very Hindus were blood-thirsty of the Muslims. Every atrocity has been committed by them on Muslims. Will you ask, whether they have not boycotted the Muslims? Will you ask, have the Hindus kept any Muslim officer in the State? (Ten years before, Muslim officers were 50%). Will you ask, the position of Muslims in the last Municipal election when even their nomination papers vanished and every possible attempt was made to reduce the strength of Muslims. Why forget [*sic*] the unity? In the joint electorate only Muslim candidates were defeated. Why, then, at this moment the Hindus have become our well-wishers?

Because, firstly, as per the new constitution, the Ratlam Council is likely to be handed over to the public. Naturally Prajamandal or Hindus would desire and use every means to avoid the separate communal electorate system so that a few Abul Kalams or Mir Jafars might be deputed [*sic*] on behalf of the Muslims. That is why, being aware of the future, they are endeavouring to create Muslim opinion in their favour.

Secondly, in the present disturbances, hazardous responsibilities are being expected which the Prajamandal, in pursuance of their duplicate [*sic* for duplicitous] methods, want to get rid of and get some Muslims confounded, and they might appease the State. That is why two days back they organised a committee under the name of

Peace Committee to lead the entire people of Ratlam who had gone on strike for the last seven days, and very wisely avoiding the leading *banias* to become the president and members of the working committee they insisted upon Bohras and Muslims to take up the entire responsibilities of the situation which was of their creation. Though they failed in getting Muslims of fame and name yet the Hindus grabbed one nationalist Muslim, Mr. Mohammad Umer and succeeded in making the Muslims the scapegoats, so that they may gain cheap fame at the sacrifice and blood of Muslims.

Under such circumstances it is incumbent upon Muslim leaders to step in and guide their brothers at such a critical hour when every drop of Muslim [blood] is precious and it is the duty of each and every Musalman to do everything for the welfare and uplift of Musalmans wherever they may be. Since the situation is worsening at such a high speed and the League leadership is urgently required to establish Muslim rights, it is once more my earnest request to arrange for a few able leaders to guide us as early as possible. If possible or expedient, the matter may be taken up with the State authorities regarding all the due claims of the Musalmans in the State.

Pakistan *Zindabad!*

Yours faithfully,
M. K. QADRI

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Sheikh Gul Muhammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 831/192-3
[Original in Urdu]

RAWALPINDI,
22 July 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Being seriously ill, I am unable to attend the AIML Council meeting which I deeply regret. Before I make my submissions, I wish to explain that in the Council session held at Delhi on 6 June, I, along with some other councillors, had strongly recommended that the proposals of the Cabinet Mission should not be accepted.[1] Since at that time the majority had recommended acceptance of the Mission's proposals, we accepted the decision with patience, in order to

maintain the party discipline.

Now I am happy to know that the AIML Council is meeting in Bombay to review the earlier decision. I consider that in view of the prevailing situation, the proposals of the Mission should be rejected[2] and we should firmly stand by our demand of Pakistan. The Council should declare that the League is not in favour of the Interim Govt. or a defective constitution. As decided at the Delhi Convention,[3] the Muslim majority provinces should have their own centre and a separate constituent assembly which should comprise representatives on population basis. Despite the pressure of British regime and cajoling of Hindus we should be determined to achieve Pakistan.

I strongly believe that the Muslims are now united under the League banner and your leadership. Therefore, no one can stop them from achieving Pakistan. The Muslims would never accept a centre dominated by the Hindus.

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, take a bold stand against the enemies and not be disheartened by the depressed condition of Muslims. God is with us. If the need arises to fight the Hindus and Englishmen, ten crores of Muslims will be ready to sacrifice their lives. Earlier they had laid down their lives during the movement for Shahidganj Mosque[4] and Kashmir agitation.[5] They would do much more for their freedom. Please keep your faith in God and declare your resolve to achieve Pakistan. Muslims will never accept a Hindu *raj*.

Your loyal soldier,
SHEIKH GUL MUHAMMAD
Member, AIML Council

Note. If permitted under the rules, my vote should be counted against acceptance of Mission's proposals.

[1]See Appendix I. 26.
[2]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57.
[3]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 4.
[4]In July 1935, Muslims of Lahore who had gathered to foil the Sikh bid to demolish Shahidganj mosque were fired upon by troops, killing a number of them.
[5]In July 1931, a person named Abdul Qadeer, who had made a speech lambasting the Maharaja of Kashmir, was arrested by the State Police and put on trial. Later, a protesting crowd was fired upon by police, killing 22.

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M. K. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/3

9/25 BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 July 1946

Sir,

The Cabinet Mission in its award [*sic*] of the constitution of free India has failed to recognise entity of the third majority community in India, the Indian Christians, and submerged [*sic*] it in the General [category], while it has recognised separate entity of the Sikh community who are mainly residents of only one province and are younger in age than the Christians. This is sheer injustice to the Christian community; undemocratic on the part of the Cabinet Mission and anti-national on the part of the Congress, to accept this position.

The Indian Christian community dissociates itself from the views put before the Cabinet Mission by Sir Maharaj Singh and party, and strongly protests against its submergence in the General category, and declares that it will never be prepared to accept any constitution which does not grant the right of separate representation and separate electorate to it.

I am asked also to make it quite clear that in case this basic demand of the Christian community is not met, it will be forced to consider and adopt means to achieve this end.

I am therefore asked to enquire from you whether or not the All India Muslim League is prepared to declare its policy with regard to this demand.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. KHAN
Secretary,
All India Christian Rights Committee

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Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/28-9

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
23 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you have been able to see Krishna Prashada[1] and hear from him the situation about the strikes in the Posts and Telegraphs Department. I had a message sent to him that he should tell you I was writing to you on the subject.

2. As you know a Pay Commission has been appointed to recommend, *inter alia,* a co-ordinated scheme of pay scales for Central Government servants. Pending its report, Government agreed that the question of interim relief should be referred to adjudication and they have now accepted *in toto* the award of the Adjudicator, Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha. The Federation of Posts and Telegraphs Unions have however rejected the award and demand more than double what the Adjudicator awarded.

3. Meanwhile the All-India Postal and Lower Grade Staff Union are maintaining their strike in certain centres and their demands, quite apart from cutting across the whole fabric of the Pay Commission's work, would, while satisfying only one section of the employees of the Department, cost rupees ten crore per annum and absorb the whole budgeted surplus.

4. It is quite out of the question for Government to yield to these demands. Concessions already granted to the P&T staff have brought their total emoluments to a level which compares extremely favourably with those of any comparable service. For every crore of rupees that is to be conceded to the employees of the P&T Department, it is roughly calculated that rupees six crore are necessary to satisfy corresponding claims on the railways alone. Already concessions have been made to the railways costing rupees nine crore, which consumes the whole of the estimated surplus and which may make it necessary in any case to consider increases of rates and fares.

5. In fact the new demands, if conceded, would seriously prejudice the finances of the Central Government and would have incalculable repercussions on provincial budgets and on the whole economy of

India. Nothing could be more dangerous to the country at this stage than serious inflation and I know you appreciate that handing out of money may be of no advantage whatever to the individual if the money loses its value and nothing extra can be purchased with it.

6. We are sure that these demands must be resisted and that unless we resist them, the Interim Government, which I hope to form almost at once, will be put in an impossible position. The provincial governments also will be seriously affected and the probable epidemic of labour troubles may lead to grave disturbances all over the country.

7. I think you will agree that in the interests of every one, public opinion must be aroused to resist and end these quite unreasonable strikes and threats of strikes, and I hope you will agree to use your influence with that object in view.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Director General Indian P&T Department. He called on Jinnah on 25 July.

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Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/27

BY AIR MAIL

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
23 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your two telegrams[1] about a successor to the Nawab of Chhatari in Hyderabad. H.E.H. the Nizam has selected Sir Mirza Ismail for this appointment, and I have no good reason for objecting. I have therefore informed H.E.H. the Nizam accordingly. Before coming to this conclusion I received and considered the Resident's report of the conversations which took place when you were in Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]See F. 31/47-8, *QAP*. Not printed. Also see No. 239 for one of the telegrams.

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Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 959/117-8

KH. ABDUL RAHIM BUILDING,
CIVIL LINES,
JULLUNDUR CITY,
24 July 1946

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

Your recent speech at Secunderabad[1] was read with great interest. You have, as many a time before, appealed the Muslim youth to industrialize themselves [*sic*]. This suggestion produced notable results in Muslim students' mind, but they are not getting a practical lead towards industry and there is a danger that the interest shown by the youth will die down without practical help.

Muslims have, as compared to pre-Jinnah era of Muslim life, progressed very little in the industrial field. It is because a very great majority of the Muslim students come from zamindar families or are sons of servicemen, doctors and lawyers and are naturally inclined towards the profession of their parents. The students studying arts try to get service which is quite difficult to get and thus quite a good number content themselves with clerical jobs and the rest run to law or educational lines which themselves have little scope of success these days.

Most of the young men who want to take up industry as their profession do not know how to begin. Capital is another great obstacle in their way. In such conditions most of the young men lose heart, for they do not find anybody to help them through their difficulties and the formula "just try" or "just begin" does not suit them well.

Through this letter I have tried to put some difficulties of getting into a new line of [*sic*] a new man. I want assurance from the Muslim League of its utmost help to spread industrial education and industrial spirit in the Muslim youth. Many a way can be adopted for such action. I will most humbly put some ways which may prove to be of practical help to the youth. I am sure they will get due consideration along with the other plans which you have got in your mind.

Technical schools and colleges should be opened in each and every province of Pakistan or commencement of such institutions

should be helped by the Muslim League. For this purpose Muslim League can take the following steps:

i. It can induce the Muslim League ministries to open such schools or colleges of technology and colleges of commerce in their provinces.

ii. Big Muslim institutions in Pakistan should be induced to open such institutions as described above, along with arts and sciences. Muslim University can be a great help in this case. These technical institutes must have a course including following items along with the others:

a. Iron and other metal-ware industry
b. Textile and cotton industry
c. Leather industry including tanning
d. Drugs and chemicals manufacturing
e. Mining of (coal, metal, manganese, etc.)
f. Oil and petroleum
g. Electrical, civil and railway engineering
h. Manufacture of electrical parts
i. Rubber industry
j. Manufacture of agricultural tools
k. Wood-working
l. Tobbaco and cigarette-making

One institute can have one of the items or more if possible.

A board of expert traders and manufacturers should be formed which should help the youth in overcoming their difficulties in entering different lines, introducing them to various markets, traders and manufacturers interested in those lines.

Muslim traders and manufacturers, i.e. Messrs Ispahani and others, should be induced to open classes in their workshops with courses of three to six months duration to give introductory lectures in different lines they deal in. Such lectures must have a good number of practical demonstrations of work.

Muslim men of capital and estate should be induced to take interest in industry. They can invest a lot of money and thus insure success of many a concern opened for the good of youth.

Muslim League should award some handsome scholarships, directly or through its board of industrialists, to enable some Muslim students to study engineering and industry in the foreign countries. It is said that Akalis have sent or are trying to send some Sikh students to foreign countries by awarding some scholarships.

Hoping that the Muslim youth will not be disappointed by their affectionate patron and saviour,

Yours obediently,
ABDUL MAJID
M.B.B.S. (student),
Ex-Secretary, M.S.F.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice, V*, 124-5.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/53

7/2 A HAYAT KHAN LANE,
CALCUTTA,
24 July 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As I am lying ill, I will not be able to attend the Bombay session of the All India Muslim League Council and the convention of League members of the Constituent Assembly. I beg your permission to lay before you frankly what I feel in my heart of hearts regarding the present situation, in the light of the recent India debate[1] in the British Parliament. I hope you will excuse me for my brutal frankness which, I am afraid, will displease you.

THE SIMLA SURRENDER

I still believe, as I wrote to you in Simla in May 1946,[2] and subsequent events have confirmed my belief, that by offering to agree to an all-India Centre with powers over three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications necessary for Defence, you committed a grievous blunder and gave away the key to the Muslim citadel. What has happened afterwards is but a natural outcome of this initial weakness. It is a complete somersault and I cannot reconcile your absurd Simla position with your position of Delhi League Convention.[3] Only a real fight and real struggle can redeem League reputation, save Pakistan and restore Muslim morale which is lowest at present, thanks to your Simla surrender.

THE PRESENT DEMORALIZATION AND DESPONDENCY

There is general despondency and demoralization among the Musalmans because Muslim masses believe that the League

leaders have neither been able to get recognition of Muslim nationhood and Muslim statehood nor are really capable of launching any fight or struggle for it. Your Simla surrender and the British Mission's betrayal of the League, banking on League's weakness shown in repeated surrenders at Delhi, has given rudest shock to Muslim confidence in the League.

FALSE ASSURANCES

The League leaders, like Sir Nazimuddin, who were very anxious to join the Interim Government, gave us false assurances in the Bengal delegates' consultation meeting on 5.6.1946, at the Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, that the British will keep their word and form Interim Government with the League even if the Congress rejects the Plan.[4] I strongly dissented from this view.[5] But the League leaders committed the League[6] to the Plan without getting unequivocal assurances about the League demands.

BRITISH CABINET RESOLVED TO APPEASE CONGRESS

The British Labour Cabinet of weaklings and cowards has been completely unnerved by the I.N.A. disturbances and strikes in India and is so overawed that they will never care for anything but appeasing Congress, more and more which they have christened as a national, as opposed to a communal, body.

TO SABOTAGE GROUPING

The British Govt. failed to give any assurance or mandatory clarification in the Parliament about grouping. The British will no doubt acquiesce in the Congress resolve to sabotage grouping.

The British Viceroy and Mission itself inspired the Europeans in Bengal and Assam Assemblies to yield to Congress pressure. Mr. Abul Kalam Azad himself appreciates this in one of his letters to the Secretary of State for India. The Bengal [and] Assam Europeans abstained from voting to harm League or appease Congress, on the advice of the British Govt.

The Assam Legislative Assembly, on a motion of the Congress Premier, passed a resolution[7] directing Assam members of the Constituent Assembly to support all-India union and oppose grouping with Bengal.

MONOPOLY OF MUSLIM APPOINTMENTS

The Secretary of State has even hinted that the British Govt. does not recognize the monopoly of Muslim appointments for the Muslim League although they have recognized more than monopoly of Hindu appointments for the Congress by giving the Harijan appointment

also to the Congress. This is adding insult to injury. It shows the evil designs of the British to appease Congress by ignoring the League.

THE MORAL ROTTENNESS IN THE LEAGUE

The cowardice, timidity, chicken-heartedness, life of luxury and ease, and moral rottenness of some of the League leaders has disgraced the Muslim nation so much so that the British and Hindu believe that they can easily ignore and by-pass the League.

LEAST REGARD AND RESPECT FOR TENETS OF ISLAM

The League high command, which claims to be the custodian of Islamic culture and nationality, has the least regard or respect for Islam's basic tenets. Invariably it prefers gamblers and parasites, like Khwaja Nooruddin, traitors and fellows like Prince Yousuf Mirza, and soulless capitalists like Ispahani, to honest, sincere and poor Muslim League workers who have made stupendous sacrifices for the League and who are morally and intellectually far superior to the said class of parasites. What good can we expect from this kind of leadership? What type of Pakistan this leadership is able to design and build? How far these leaders can go on the path of *jihad*? Are they at all capable of thinking in terms of sacrifice, suffering, self-immolation?

These are the thoughts which are tormenting my soul and not only my soul but the souls of millions of Musalmans in the League.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

MORAL PURGE AND SPIRITUAL REVOLUTION BEFORE ACTUAL WAR

a. If you are really sincere in your resolve to get Pakistan, purge your soul and the soul of your high command. Forget the British. Forget the Hindu. Remember Almighty *Allah—Ista'eenu Bis-sabri Was-salaat* (seek succour from steadfast perseverance and prayer). Moral purge and spiritual revolution with *sabr* and *salaat* is the first thing to do before we declare actual war of Islam's independence in India. Make *salaat-bil-jama'at* compulsory for members of your cabinet. Do not despise *salaat*. It is a globe-shaking dynamo which has revolutionized the world. It still can make a new world.

b. Reject the British Plan, root and branch, and reiterate your goal as Pakistan, here and now.

c. Declare that the League will never reconsider any plan unless it is based on immediate Pakistan, with the present boundaries of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab.

d. Launch the plan of struggle for Pakistan I sent to you at Delhi, during the League Legislators' Convention. I am sending a copy of

this plan again to you through Sir Nazimuddin by Thursday.

e. Issue a message to the Islamic world on the struggle for Pakistan.

f. Start a League weekly from London and open a propaganda office in England without delay.

g. Open a League centre at Cairo and arrange for broadcast of League literature in the Middle East.

h. Link up the Pakistan *jihad* with Palestine *jihad* for Arab freedom and the Malay and Indonesian *jihad* in the Far East.

i. Give up the worn-out "defencive" politics of the League, for offence is the only defence. Create civil war in the Hindu fold. Support Adibasis, Scheduled-Castes, non-Brahmins, Ahoms, and Tribals.

j. Declare that Islamization of India—peaceful conversion of the majority of the peoples of India, particularly of the Harijans and the Adibasis, Dravidians and others to Islam, the religion of unity and brotherhood—is the only solution of the political, social, economic and religious problems of India, and the Muslims must devote their whole life and energy to this end as the greatest service to God and man, not in a spirit of aggrandisement but in a spirit of self-effacement, submission and selfless service to God and man. Revolutionary Islam is the solvent [*sic*] of the socio-religious problem of Hindu idolatry, caste-system and untouchability as well as the politico-economic problems of unity [*sic*] and communism. Fear God and fear none [else]. Take your stand on *iman* and Islam, pure and simple. Take courage and invite Gandhi, Nehru and Ambedkar to Islam. Remember Iqbal's immortal dictum—at times of crisis it is Islam which has saved Muslims and not *vice versa*. Make history. Revolutionize League and revolutionize India with revolutionary Islam.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]See Appendix I to 317, *TP*, VIII, 515-7.
[2]Nos. 75 & 94.
[3]See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 505-25. Also see Appendix I. 4.
[4]See Appendix I. 23 for the assurance given by the Viceroy.
[5]In his speech to AIML Council on 5 June, Jinnah had asked every member to feel free from embarrassment and not tied down or fettered in any way that would prevent him from expressing his opinion. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 29.
[6]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.
[7]See Enclosure to No. 44, *TP*, VIII, 76-8.

250

Abdur Rahman G. Gokak & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 907/174-8

VACCHA BUILDING,
BOMBAY 13,
28 July 1946

AN APPEAL TO MUSLIM LEADERS

God helps only a strong nation

Sir,

All over this vast province, Hindus are organising themselves into strong regional groups—educationally, financially and socially. The Gujaratis, under the lead of Mr. Kanhialal M. Munshi, have set up an educational centre at Andheri (Nutan Gujarat); the Brahmins of Maharashtra are setting up their university at Poona under the lead of Mr. Mukundrao Jayakar; the Karnatak Hindus are already agitating to have their separate university; the Konkan Hindus have raised their voice for a separate educational group of their own through their leader, Mr. Shanbhag; the Deccan Hindu States have grouped themselves into one consolidated Union State.

Numerous colleges financed by great Hindu money-magnates are springing up everywhere: in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Konkan and the Deccan Hindu States. This galvanic educational activity shows that the Hindus look upon the educational centres as more effective centre for training up their youth for the political fight in the country than the military camps of old days. What are all these feverish Hindu activities [for]? Their ideal of a militant Hindu *Raj*—a strong centralised state with affiliated autonomous provinces—stands before them.

Activities to curb the Untouchables are already afoot. Means of curbing Muslims are under hectic preparation. In the midst of this great plethora of activities, Muslims have no place. Unless Muslims move for themselves, they will remain more and more under-educated and ultimately, by the logic of circumstances, they will be reduced in the long run to a position not much unlike that of the Untouchables. Indifference and lack of looking ahead on the part of Muslims does not augur well for them if they want to survive as a nation. Under the present critical conditions, they cannot afford to continue to ignore the writings on the wall.

[Five paras omitted][1]

A PROPOSED OUTLINE OF WORK

Every MLA should be given a mandate to establish in his district a League centre of nation-building activity. Every centre should have its press and its propaganda committee under his direct control. This committee should visit every village in the district and prepare notes of the educational, vocational, cultural and other needs of Muslims. They should establish Muslim *Panch* Committees for every *masjid* and *mohalla* to represent their needs to the district centres. At least one visit, every month, should be given for this purpose. To organise and implement the material collected by the Propaganda Committees, District Educational Committee should be set up. These shall organise basic education for children, and adult education for grown-ups at every village, mosque, and *mohalla*.

[Ten paras omitted][2]

THE ONLY HOPE

The hope of the Muslims lies only in organising themselves into a strong national unit in this land.

[Six paras omitted][3]

We remain,
ABDUR RAHMAN G. GOKAK
M.A., B.T.
R. M. MALIK
M.B.B.S.
AND OTHERS

[1, 2&3] These paras contained wild suggestions.

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Malang Ahmed Badsha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 573/17

203 IQBAL ROAD,
MUSLIMPUR,
NORTH ARCOT DIST.,
MADRAS,
29 July 1946

Sir,

I have to bring it to your kind notice that a telegram, which was intended to be sent to you during last week, was held up without

transmission owing to the postal and telegraph strike in Bombay. I, therefore, reproduce that telegram below regarding the communal affray that took place at Vaniyambadi (North Arcot District) of Madras on the evening of the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th instant:

Vaniyambadi North Arcot District Madras three-fourths Muslim majority 40,000 population surrounded all sides exclusively [by] Hindus. Muslims own tanneries, properties, lands in surrounding belt areas. Also tanneries in distant parts of town. By prearranged plan occasion Kavadi lifting procession Hindus passing through town to Trittani communal affray broke out causing enormous destruction Muslim property in belt area and in outlying part of town by fire for four continuous days aggregating over twelve lakhs. No loss of life on either side inside town. In spite control Hindu mob fury property worth sixty thousand destroyed. Third day Madras Premier Muslim MLAs with leader of opposition visited. Took representations from all sides [and] promised consideration after returning Madras. Muslims demanded compensation on enquiry by a committee to be set up by Government. Protection of minorities necessary in a vastly Hindu majority. At present no confidence in public of town [*sic*]. This is first occasion of organised communal attack. Segregating entry [of] *Jathas* proceeding upon defenceless population from all sides mostly inhabited by Muslim women, men having gone on mercantile pursuits. Pray instruct leader of opposition in the Madras Assembly how to deal with situation, how to make this a general issue in the programme of the League.

Yours sincerely,
M. AHMED BADSHA
B.A.

252

Shyam Sunder to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/108-9

MALOOKPUR,
BAREILLY, U.P.,
30 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you will excuse me for this intrusion. It is with some qualms of conscience that I pen this letter. I was long thinking of writ[ing] to you; and today I venture to write. I have got a paper

cutting of a photograph which was taken in 1917 when the leading citizens of Delhi gave a party to the Home Rule Delegation in which you are seen sitting in the middle of the front row between the late Mrs. Besant and P[andi]t Bal Gangadhar Tilak and P[andi]t Moti Lal Nehru in a corner. You were then also occupying a prominent place in the public life when the names of our present day leaders were not even heard of. You are one of the most astute leaders that political India has ever produced. When I was a school boy, I used to read your speeches in the Central Assembly with great interest. I remember how I hurried to return from interior only to hear your broadcast speech on *'Id*—that wonderful performance which I will not easily forget—and the great lesson of toleration. It is really to your credit that you brought the whole Muslim nation into one organisation and infused political consciousness in them in which they were so backward. You have found them in chaos and surely you will leave them a movement.

In reply to the statement that there are only two parties—Congress and Govt. and if there was a third it should fall in line with either,[1] you amply demonstrated the importance and existence of the third party.[2]

Today we find ourselves in a peculiar situation. You are the product of India, who will go in history as one of the nation-builders. You also live in India as all others do. Now the position has been changed—Congress, League and the Government. The whole credit for this goes to you. Life is so short. We do not know why we ignore this fact. Now the whole India looks upon you. Hindu-Muslim question should be settled once and for all. How essential it is in our daily life. I have given best thoughts to the demand of Pakistan. If you insist, have it, but my conviction is that it is not even in the interest of Muslims. Today you are the only person who can deliver the goods. The destiny of future generations rests in your hands. I am confident that you will rise to the occasion; and will give a lead to India and make it great, which had been your mission all through your life, and you will be its saviour once again.

When the heart is full, words are few. You will excuse me for all this. I am still hopeful in spite of the discordant note. Dawn is [the] nearest when the night is the darkest.

Yours sincerely,
SHYAM SUNDER
M.A., LL.B.
Advocate

[1]See S. Gopal, *Selected Works*, VII, 468.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 108.

253

Heidelberg Muslim Community to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 558/449

HEIDELBERG,
TRANSVAAL,
30 July 1946

Muslim community congratulates you on this momentous occasion for turning down[1] the British [Cabinet Mission] Plan. We pray and support every success in the coming struggle and sacrifice for Pakistan.

HEIDELBERG MUSLIM COMMUNITY

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57.

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Khadija Shuffi Tyabji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/167-9

OOMAR MANSION,
WARDEN ROAD,
BOMBAY,
30 July 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Herewith I am sending you the resolution passed at the public meeting of Muslim women held at Kaiser Baugh on Monday, the 29th July.

With *aadaab*,

Yours sincerely,
KHADIJA SHUFFI TYABJI

Enclosure to No. 254

[*Original in Urdu*]

RESOLUTION

This meeting of Bombay Muslim women wholeheartedly supports the decision of All India Muslim League Council against joining the Constituent Assembly and for preparing the nation for all possible sacrifices to achieve the goal of Pakistan.[1] The Muslim women on their part will not lag behind their men in making sacrifices for the cause of Pakistan. This is a matter of life and death for the Muslims.

The struggle of the Muslims amounts to *jihad*, which is incumbent on every man and woman, whether old or young. The sacrifices that a woman is required to make are greater than those of a man because the woman sacrifices her children, husband, father and brother. This meeting of the women assures the men that whatever sacrifice is demanded of them, they would not hesitate to make it.

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57.

255

Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/27

HAROON MANSION,
POONA,
31 July 946

Dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I write this to offer you my heartiest congratulations on the most welcome decision[1] reached at the Council meeting. Above all, I sincerely congratulate you on your excellent opening address and the concluding speech, which I had the pleasure to listen on Saturday and Monday respectively. As far as I am concerned, I need hardly assure you that I am prepared to sacrifice everything and go to jail when the time comes. May you live long to guide Muslim India to obtain our goal of Pakistan, is my earnest prayer.

H. H. Raja of Bilaspur is in Poona for the season and is writing to you, congratulating you on the League's decision. He is also writing to Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor, to withdraw the Negotiating Committee in view of the League's rejection of the Cabinet [Mission's] proposals.

I hope you will have a few days rest and look after your health.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
AHMED E. H. JAFFER[2]
Bar-at-Law

N.B. During the first week of September, I shall start on a tour of Central and Southern Divisions of Bombay Presidency to explain to the masses the resolutions passed in the League Council.

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57.
[2]Jinnah thanked him for the letter. He also asked him to work for the Muslim League. See *SHC*, Bombay II/28. Not printed.

256

Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/98

VIEWFORTH HOTEL,
MURREE,
31 July 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Unfortunately I could not attend the meeting of the All India Muslim League Council as I was ill and confined to bed. I was very disappointed as I had been very anxious to be present at the meeting which was being held at such a critical juncture in the history of the Muslim nation. I have carefully followed the proceedings of the meetings as reported by the Press and Radio. Yesterday I sent you a telegram which was returned by the telegraph office as they are not accepting any telegrams for Bombay. I am therefore enclosing the text of the telegram[1] and have sent a copy of that to the press.

With my respects and sincere prayers for your continued good health and long life,

Yours sincerely,
JAHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ

[1]Not traceable.

257

Ahmad Ali Afaqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/88

DARYA GUNJ,
DELHI,
[*Undated*] *July 1946*

Respected Sir,

The Musalmans have been very impatiently waiting [for] the outcome of the League and Congress negotiations and they are in a suspense. As far as I have gathered from the newspapers, it is painful to write that League is going to accept some very humiliating terms. I am not in a position to say definitely that my presumption is right, but if it is so, it will not only lower the prestige of the League but

there is every likelihood of disruption and disintegration among the Musalmans who are groaning under the heels of the Congress.

To be brief, I want to impress on you that two points are very important; first, the inclusion of a nationalist Muslim; second, the most important, is the grouping of the provinces. As regards [*sic* for far as] the question of the nationalist Muslims is concerned it has become one of the fundamental principles. League has all along been fighting for sole representative character and the break-down of the Simla negotiations was due to this very factor. When the League has taken the bold stand that it will not allow any nationalist Muslim to be nominated by the Congress, it must stick to its position—may it be an unjust stand. Because often very trifling matters become vital issues for the sake of prestige and honour, and if you will go through the pages of history you will find a number of examples such as Junkens' War in the days of [Robert] Walpole. Therefore, at this juncture any tactical retreat will lower the prestige of the great organization. Even this tactical retreat can be tolerated if there is substantial gain and also some face-saving device. You are surely going to face a very difficult situation in the Constituent Assembly in the event the League is going to accept the [Cabinet Mission] Plan.

As far as I have studied the present complicated political situation, I can say, without the least fear of contradiction, that there is no let-out from this lurch and sooner or later we will have to launch the Direct Action. To postpone it, at this critical stage when the feelings and sentiments of the Musalmans have been roused to such a high level, will be the greatest blunder on your part. In this connection, I want to impress on you that the consequences of the League's Direct Action will be far-reaching in the British Parliament as well as throughout the world. The British Government cannot tolerate disturbance as well as suppression of Musalmans and a change of policy is bound to take place in their own interest. The Viceroy has intentionally ignored the League only to discredit the Congress on a very minor plea such as safeguards for minority etc.

At the end, I most humbly request you, Sir, to stop further negotiation and launch Direct Action, to save the honour and prestige of the [Muslim] nation.

Yours obediently,
AHMAD ALI AFAQI

APPENDIX I

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND THE CABINET MISSION[1]

I. 1

G. E. B. Abell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/2

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
18 March 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

His Excellency the Viceroy desires me on his own behalf and on behalf of the Cabinet Delegation to invite you and such other representative or representatives, if any, as the Muslim League may desire to appoint, to be present for an interview beginning at 10 a.m. on the 4th April at the Viceroy's House. Would you be good enough to let me know[2] if you will attend and the name or names of any others who may be selected to accompany you?

2. Should the Muslim League prefer that you should have a separate interview[3] and that some other representative or representatives of the League should see His Excellency and the Delegation afterwards, perhaps you would let me know.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. ABELL

[1]The British Cabinet Mission comprised the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Stafford Cripps, and the First Lord of the Admiralty, A. V. Alexander.

[2]Jinnah's Private Secretary replied on 31 March that the League President might meet the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation alone. See F. 13/1, *QAP.* Not printed.

[3]See Annex.

Annex to Appendix I. 1

Record of Interview between Cabinet Delegation, Archibald Wavell and M. A. Jinnah[1]

SECRET *4 April 1946*

The Delegation invited Mr. Jinnah in the first place to give them his reasons why he thought it better for the future of India that India should have a Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah said that throughout her history from the days of Chandra Gupta,[2] there had never been any Government of India in

the sense of a single government. The Muslim Moghul Empire had the largest control but even in those days the Mahrattas and the Rajputs were not under Muslim rule. When the British came they gradually established their rule in a large part of India but, even then, India was only one-third united. The big States and sovereign States are constitutionally and legally already Pakistans [*sic*]. The only limitation of this is the Paramount Power of the Crown. The effect of Paramountcy is that the Paramount Power in the last resort maintains internal order in the States but as a counterpart of this has a duty to prevent gross maladministration.

Nowadays we talk of British India and say that India is one. Mr. Jinnah considered that that could not stand examination for a moment. India is really many and is held by the British as one.

Now we have strong Hindu-Muslim tension. This began to develop at the first transfer of a small amount of power about 1906. The British Government to meet it gave separate electorates. The same troubles arose at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and the British Government gave a constitution[3] which they thought best suited to India. In the discussions of 1930-35, no agreement could be reached on the communal question and the British Government gave a decision.[4] No doubt the present constitution was an advance and gave more contact with power than ever before, but it showed that the grave apprehensions of the Muslims had come true. In the 1935 discussions the Muslims insisted that Sind should be separated and the Frontier made a full province so that there would be at least four Muslim majority provinces. All this was decided by the British Government.

Now we have come to the stage when the British Government say they will give complete independence to India inside or outside the Empire. To whom is the government of this sub-continent, with its fundamental differences, to be transferred? It is no use saying "transfer power and we will settle who exercises it afterwards." The question is how to transfer power?

The differences in India are far greater than between European countries and, compared to those, are of a vital and fundamental character. Even Ireland provides no parallel.

The Muslims have a different conception of life from the Hindus. They admire different qualities in their heroes; they have a different culture based on Arabic and Persian instead of on Sanskrit origins. Their social customs are entirely different. A Hindu will wash his hands after shaking hands with a Muslim. No Hindu will let Mr. Jinnah have a room in his building. Hindu society and philosophy are the

most exclusive in the world. Muslims and Hindus have been side by side in India for a thousand years but if you go into any Indian city you will see separate Hindu and Muslim quarters. They have different names and use a different calendar. The Hindus worship the cow and even today in certain States a 10-year sentence is imposed for killing a cow. This means nothing to the Muslims. You cannot make a nation unless there are essential uniting factors.

How are you to put 100 millions of Muslims together with 250 millions whose way of life is so different. No government can ever work on such a basis and if this is forced upon India it must lead us to disaster. No government can survive unless there is a dominant element which can provide a "steel frame". At present this frame is provided by the British who have always retained the key posts. It is true that this is beginning to cease but already the consequences are apparent. Only one Indian has been a Chief Justice, Sir Shadi Lal in the Punjab. The post of Chief Presidency Magistrate in Bombay has always been held by a British officer because the situation there is so delicate that an un-impartial officer can cause great trouble.

This present Government of India is, of course, not a parliamentary government but is a bureaucratic system under which ultimately the British are responsible. Indians can vent their feelings in the Central Legislature but it is powerless. The British could never have run the administration without their own officers in the key positions in the Civil Service, the Police and the Army. Little progress has been made in the Indianisation of these key posts. It has already become difficult because Hindu officials everywhere (of this there is unimpeachable evidence) have both sympathy and feeling for the Hindus and Muslim officials for the Muslims. Every day this is noticeable and becoming more prominent.

Therefore you must have a "steel frame" for an independent India. Mr. Jinnah could see none and had therefore definitely come to the conclusion after years of experience that there is no other solution than the division of India. Any scheme for this has obvious objections which can be raised against it. But there must be division so that in each of the two parts there will be a dominant community which can provide the "steel frame". Where you have three Muslims and one Hindu your "steel frame" is there. Sir S. Cripps asked whether 51 per cent Muslims to 49 per cent of others would provide a "steel frame". Mr. Jinnah said that there would then be no "steel frame". You must choose the area with a clear and dominant majority. It need not necessarily be as high as three to one. If there were no "steel frame", the Civil Service, the Police and the Army would not stand loyally to the

Cabinet and the Legislature and the State could not survive. Fortunately, in India the Muslims have their homelands and so let us divide India.

Sir S. Cripps asked whether Mr. Jinnah thought the difference between the Hindu and the Muslim in Bengal was greater than the difference between the Pathan and the Muslim in Sind. Mr. Jinnah said that the fundamentals were common to Muslims all over India. He had travelled everywhere and he knew. The Muslims believed in one God. They believed in equality of men and in human brotherhood. The Hindus believe in none of these principles. Wherever a Muslim goes in India he would not say that everyone understood him but a very large body of Musalmans do. Even in the remote rural areas of Bengal the Muslims understood him.

Mr. Alexander asked whether the difference was essentially racial or religious. Mr. Jinnah said that he readily admitted that 70 per cent of Muslims were converts from Hindus. A large body were converted before any Muslim conqueror arrived. Muslim missionaries came from Arabia and converted large numbers of Hindus, not singly but by whole sub-castes together, 10 to 20 thousand people at a time. These Muslim converts were made out-casts by the Hindus. They were thrown out of every department of social life. Therefore you find millions who have stood for centuries under the umbrella of a totally different civilisation to their own. There are in India two different civilisations with deep roots side by side. They are totally different. The only solution is to have two "steel frames", one in Hindustan and one in Pakistan.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he thought that Mr. Jinnah had once agreed with him that from the point of view of practical economic considerations one India would be desirable if that were possible. Mr. Jinnah said that if he had said that it was only in the sense that it was an ideal but an impracticable ideal like a world federation. Sir S. Cripps said that a federation of Europeans for example was quite different. That was bringing together separate sovereign States but India already had common governmental institutions. Mr. Jinnah said that this unity was not a unity of the people. It was imposed by the British Government. He agreed that common railways, customs and so forth were convenient but the question was by what Government would those services be controlled. If we have Pakistan and Hindustan it does not follow that they will be in isolation. He certainly contemplated treaties and agreements governing such matters. As soon as the fundamentals of Pakistan are agreed to these things can be settled.

The Secretary of State said that up to a point he accepted the view that India was united at present by British control and by the British Army, Navy and Air Force. But he would not go so far as to say that it was solely so united. He thought that Hindus and Muslims had not only acquiesced in but had co-operated in supporting that unity. The Cabinet Mission had come to decide the ways and means by which the domination of the British authority in India was to come to an end. Therefore they had to decide in whose keeping the repository of force is to be given. What they wanted to know was whether there was any agreement as to the repository to which this power should be transferred. In pursuance of that we ask Congress, the Muslim League and the Princes whether they themselves can work out an agreed solution. The Congress say "unite India" as the solution, but do also say that they cannot compel any large section. The Rulers say they might join an all-India federation. Mr. Jinnah, however, says there must be two Indias with nothing more than treaties and agreements between them. The British Government consider that if they are to withdraw their forces and their Government from India they are entitled to know what the situation in India is. Will they find themselves faced with a major head-on collision between the two main communities? If we can find no answer except that situation we shall have to consider what we shall do, but it should be understood that the British would not stay here to pull chestnuts out of the fire. The Cabinet Mission also came as the representatives of one of the world's great powers. They had to look at the position in India as part of the world situation and they had a vital interest in the preservation of peace in this large area of the world. They were entitled to ask whether India would be able to stand up for itself in the world. It would not be able to stand up at all at sea and as a land power only to some extent. Therefore the British Government presume that they will be invited to assist in India's defence since the logic of events will make this necessary. We shall then have to consider the conditions on which we should be prepared to do this and we might expect some return, for example, India's help in the defence of adjacent territories, such as Malaya, Burma and Ceylon. But also there must be a solution of India's affairs which makes effective provisions for India's own defence against external aggression, and the British Government are entitled to know whether the new set-up in India will be of a kind with which we can in practice co-operate.

The Cabinet Mission are not here to dispute as to whether there should be one or two Indias. They ask the Muslims and the Hindus to consider these matters but, before they do withdraw, the British

wish to find out how far the Hindus and Muslims are agreed. If they were to withdraw before an agreement and when India was still in its present state, the consequences would be disastrous. He therefore thought that before the British withdrew the greatest possible efforts should be made by Indians to reach agreement amongst themselves. Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League started on the basis that there was going to be Hindustan and Pakistan, [? each] one of them a completely sovereign State. As regard defence, he contemplated, of course, that some arrangement should be made between the two but this could only be on the basis of two sovereign States with treaty relations. The same sort of relations subsisted between the United Kingdom and the Dominions. His Excellency the Viceroy pointed out that the Indian case was different in that the defence of the North-East Frontier required defence in depth which must be organised in both States. Mr. Jinnah said that that only made it the more inevitable that there should be suitable treaty relations between the two. The Viceroy said that no two foreign States had ever made successful mutual arrangements in peace time for their defence, and Sir S. Cripps pointed out that in the case of the Dominions there were Prime Ministers, conferences and a common foreign policy, all of which operated under the nexus of allegiance to the Crown. Mr. Jinnah said that they must assume that they would be handing over power to responsible people. The Muslims had not decided that they would have nothing to do with the British Commonwealth. It might be in the mutual interests of Pakistan and Great Britain for them to remain within it. It was an accepted basis that Hindustan and Pakistan must have common defence arrangements, but he could not agree to any machinery which would derogate [from] the sovereignty of Pakistan. Sir S. Cripps said that a treaty derogated from sovereignty, but Mr. Jinnah contended that a treaty was a voluntary exercise of sovereignty which remains unimpaired since the treaty could be terminated. It was pointed out that the United Nations Organisation involved the permanent surrender of sovereignty. The Secretary of State asked Mr. Jinnah why he objected to work in with some all-India machinery for defence. Mr. Jinnah asked what sort of machinery was envisaged. Sir S. Cripps said some common organisation with a secretariat, Chiefs of Staff, and which had a machinery by which policy and administration could be concerted. There could be a joint secretariat, joint Chiefs of Staff, with equal representation, which would concert measures for common defence. It would be an advisory body except in so far as there were agreement. The United Nations Organisation had executive authority but only where there is agreement on the Security Council. Mr. Jinnah said

that he saw no reason why Pakistan and Hindustan should not join the United Nations and use its machinery. The Secretary of State said that the Mission was here to explore the position. They were exploring the possibility of Pakistan and its viability both in peace and war. If Mr. Jinnah could not convince the Delegation of the defensibility of Pakistan he was rather driving the Mission into the solution of hand ing over authority to a United India. Mr. Jinnah said that if he had not convinced the Delegation he could not do so. He could not agree to anything which would derogate from the sovereignty of Pakistan. He was not there to persuade the Cabinet Mission or as a plaintiff. India was neither united nor divided—it was a British possession. Great Britain proposed to transfer power; he had been asked to say how he thought this could be done. The only way in his opinion it could be done with safety was by division. On certain matters he could say that he would make agreements. Sir S. Cripps said, could Mr. Jinnah not suggest the content of a treaty? For example, would Mr. Jinnah agree that there should be provision for mutual defence? Mr. Jinnah said that he would agree to defensive alliance. Sir S. Cripps said, would he agree to mutual consultation in regard to foreign policy? Mr. Jinnah said that would naturally be covered. Sir Stafford asked what the position was about inter-running communications of all kinds? Mr. Jinnah said that could be arranged. He was not able to express any view about sea customs. Sir S. Cripps said that if we were to try to persuade the Congress to meet Mr. Jinnah's views it would be important to be specific on these matters, but Mr. Jinnah said that he could not consider anything more unless a proposal was made to him. The Government and the Congress had powerful secretariats which could do that kind of work better than the Muslim League.

His Excellency the Viceroy asked Mr. Jinnah what were the boundaries of Pakistan as he (Mr. Jinnah) conceived it. Mr. Jinnah said that he wanted a viable Pakistan which would not be carved up or mutilated. He drew the line on the five provinces, but said he was quite willing to consider mutual adjustments. But Pakistan must be a live State economically. He was not insisting on including a large number of Hindus in Pakistan but if it were said to him that only the number of heads could be considered, he could not agree to that. Sir S. Cripps said that on any principle of self-determination the counting of heads must be a primary factor. The Secretary of State pointed out that the inclusion of any considerable area in which there was majority of non-Muslims might very well not strengthen but weaken the viability of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah said that he was not opposing the view but

said that suppose it were suggested that Calcutta should be added to Bihar he would say that was an impossibility. He contemplated that there would be necessary territorial adjustments, but he could not agree that Calcutta could be taken away merely because it was a Hindu-majority city. Much of the Hindu population of Calcutta was not indigenous but brought there from outside. Sir S. Cripps said that the Hindus might say it was impossible for them to live without Calcutta but Mr. Jinnah replied that they had Bombay and Madras and could have a new port in Orissa. Pakistan without Calcutta would be like asking a man to live without his heart. He did not want to keep Hindus in Pakistan against their will and they could migrate but he could not reduce the area of Pakistan below the point on which the State could live. Sir S. Cripps pointed to the danger that if there were large Hindu elements they would form a dominant political element making for instability because the Muslims would be divided amongst themselves on social and economic question and the Hindu might secure the balance. Areas like Burdwan might develop a secessionist movement. Mr. Jinnah said that he agreed that areas like Burdwan, if they were not essential to the economic life, could go into Pakistan [?Hindustan]. In reply to a suggestion that Calcutta should be a free port through which goods would enter both countries free of duty and administered by a condominium, Mr. Jinnah asked what examples of this there were in the world? The cases of Danzig, Shanghai and Fiume were mentioned but Mr. Jinnah pointed out that all these had been imposed by force and maintained by force. What he wanted was a nucleus Muslim territory surrounded by sufficient additional territory to make it economically viable.

[1]No. 48, *TP*, VII, 118-24.
[2]Chandragupta Maurya, one of the greatest Indian kings, reigned from 323 BC to 299 BC.
[3]Government of India Act, 1919.
[4]Communal Award of 1932.

I. 2

F. F. Turnbull to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/6

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
11 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am desired by the Cabinet Delegation to say that they would be glad of an opportunity of a further discussion[1] with you next week.

Their programme is fairly full but a time which would be convenient to them would be 11 a.m. on Tuesday, 16th April, at the office of the Delegation.[2] Would you kindly let me know whether you will be able to come at that time?

If you should wish to bring any one with you that would be entirely acceptable to the Cabinet Delegation.

Yours sincerely,
F. F. TURNBULL
Private Secretary to the Secretary of State

[1]Jinnah's Private Secretary wrote on 11 April to say that the suggested venue, date and time would be suitable. See F. 13/5, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See Annex.

Annex to Appendix I. 2
Record[1] of Interview between Cabinet Delegation[2] and M. A. Jinnah

SECRET *16 April 1946*

The Secretary of State said that the Delegation had now heard all points of view, that they recognised the importance of the case which Mr. Jinnah had put to them and of the claims of his community. They felt it was essential to reach an agreement between the parties. If this could be done on the main issue, other matters would fall into place. If there was no agreement, the prospects for the people of India, for Great Britain and for the world would be gravely affected. A breakdown of the administration in India might result. In particular there would be a breakdown of the food administration.

Therefore the Delegation were anxious that the gap between Congress and the Muslim League should be closed by both parties moving towards each other, and they were approaching Mr. Jinnah on the one hand and the Congress on the other to that end. He felt sure that Mr. Jinnah would help provided it was clear that we were not asking for all the concessions to be made from his side.

After considering with the greatest care the case which Mr. Jinnah had put forward, the Delegation had come to the conclusion that the full and complete demand for Pakistan in the form in which Mr. Jinnah had put it forward had little chance of acceptance and they thought that Mr. Jinnah could not reasonably hope to receive both the whole of the territory, much of it inhabited by non-Muslims, which he claimed and the full measure of sovereignty which he said was essential. If the full territories were insisted upon then some element of sovereignty must be relinquished if there were to be a reasonable prospect of agreement. If, on the other hand, full sovereignty is desired, then the

claims to the [non-][3] Muslim territories could not be conceded.

The Delegation believed that progress might be possible in one of two ways. First, agreement might perhaps be reached on a separate State of Pakistan consisting of, say, Sind, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, the Muslim-majority districts of the Punjab, except perhaps Gurdaspur, [Eastern Bengal?] and the Sylhet district of Assam. Whether there would be any chance of Calcutta being a free port seemed doubtful. Its inclusion in Pakistan could not be justified on any principle of self-determination. It seemed to the Delegation that Pakistan on this basis would clearly need to contract a defensive alliance with Hindustan and enter into special Treaty relations with it. Under this scheme the Indian States would be at liberty to join Hindustan or Pakistan or to remain outside. No doubt there would be points in this scheme which would not appeal to Mr. Jinnah but the Delegation did not think that they, for their part, could press Congress to go further than this to meet Mr. Jinnah's point of view.

The Secretary of State here emphasised that this proposal was not a scheme which the Cabinet Delegation put forward as one which they considered the best or even as desirable, but as a possible hopeful line on which agreement might be achieved.

The second and alternative suggestion was that the Congress and the Muslim League should sit down together to try to evolve an agreed scheme for an Indian Union. Opinions would no doubt differ about the details of such a plan which must be matters for negotiation. If, however, the League accepted the principle of a Union Centre for the essential subjects, say, defence, foreign affairs and communications, it might then be possible to include in one Federation the whole of the Provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab and Bengal, plus perhaps the Sylhet District of Assam. In such a Union the two parts might have equal representation. Whether the States would come into the Union as a separate Federation would be a matter for negotiation. There might be provision that any party to it could secede after a certain period, say 15 years. A set-up of this kind would secure a very strong Muslim Federation and it was possible that it might be acceptable to the Congress.

The Delegation had asked Mr. Jinnah to come to see them in order to get his view as to which of these two alternative possible avenues of approach to an agreement would be best from his point of view.

Mr. Jinnah asked how Pakistan came in under the proposed all-India Union. The Secretary of State said that briefly there were two propositions—a small Pakistan with sovereign rights and a treaty relation, and a larger Pakistan including broadly the present Provinces

except Assam and subject perhaps to some frontier adjustment. The latter would come together with Hindustan on terms of equality within an all-India Union for the essential purposes of defence and foreign affairs. Sir S. Cripps said that under the second alternative two Federations would be created linked by a Union Centre. The States would come in either at the Union or at the Federation level and there would be equal representation of Hindustan and Pakistan at the Union level. The communal balance would be retained at the Centre by some means even if the States came in there. Mr. Jinnah asked how the Union Executive would be formed. Sir S. Cripps said that the Federations would choose the members of the Union Executive. Mr. Jinnah asked how, if there were equal representation, decisions were to be reached and Sir S. Cripps said that there would be no Union Parliament. The responsibility would go back to the two Federations if agreement could not be reached and differences could only be decided by inter-Governmental agreement. Mr. Jinnah expressed doubts as to whether this arrangement would work in practice. Matters would have to be decided everyday in regard to defence. From what had been said he had not been able to get anything which would enable him to say that the Union idea was worth considering. The Secretary of State emphasised that the essence of the Union scheme was the equality of the two component parts which made it entirely different from a Centre in which the Hindus had a majority. In so far as the Muslim League's claim as to the territory of Pakistan would be conceded the Muslims would have control by majority of large areas in all except the essential Union subjects and there they would meet the Hindus on a level where it was the States which counted and not the number of individuals in them. Of course the Secretary of State did not know whether Congress would agree to this principle of equality but it was the essence of the proposal. Mr. Jinnah said that no amount of equality provided on paper was going to work. Equality could not exist between the majority and a minority within the same governmental system. Would there, for example, be equality of each community in the Service? A Treaty of mutual defence between two separate States was quite different. It operated in certain contingencies such as external attack, but at other times and in other matters the States were separate. He did not think that the domination of the Muslims by the Hindus could be prevented in any scheme in which they were kept together. It is only when the Muslims are the majority in Pakistan and the Hindus in Hindustan that you have sufficient united force running through the State from the top to the bottom to provide a "steel frame" which can hold it together.

The Secretary of State said that Mr. Jinnah seemed to be turning to the other alternative and asked Mr. Jinnah's views on that. Mr. Jinnah said that once the principle of Pakistan was conceded the question of the territory of Pakistan could be discussed. His claim was for the six Provinces but he was willing to discuss the area. The first question was whether the principle was accepted. He claimed that the six Provinces was a reasonable demand but he could not possibly accept that Calcutta should go out merely for the sake of 5 or 6 lakhs of Hindus (largely Depressed Classes who would prefer Pakistan) most of whom were imported labour. What was the reason why Calcutta could not be given to Pakistan? The Secretary of State said that what the Delegation were doing was seeking for a basis of agreement. They did not think that agreement could be reached on the basis that Calcutta was included in Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah said he could not in any event accept the exclusion of Calcutta.

The Secretary of State said he wished to emphasise that the Delegation did not consider that either of these two alternatives would be readily acceptable to the Congress. Both of them were some way beyond what the Congress would like. Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress were in a very strong position. Even if the whole of Mr. Jinnah's claims were granted, they got three-quarters of India. At the worst they would lose Calcutta, some part of Western Bengal (Burdwan) and the Ambala Division. The Secretary of State said the Congress would lose much more than this. They would lose the unity of India which alone would make India a strong entity in the outside world. Further, if Pakistan were conceded the difficulty of getting the States into a united India would be greatly increased. Mr. Jinnah said that he thought with respect that the Congress stood to lose nothing. The unity of India was a myth. All that Congress would lose was that their minority in Pakistan would cease to have its present protected position under which it enjoys at the present time a dominating position in those areas. As regards the States, if Paramountcy went, the States would be bound to come into Hindu India. They could not stand out and they knew it. Sir S. Cripps said that Paramountcy would cease to be, and Mr. Jinnah said he was glad to hear that that was so.

The Secretary of State said that if Mr. Jinnah got his two steel frames set up by agreement he could see the force of the case which he put forward. If, however, Mr. Jinnah did obtain otherwise than by agreement more than the Muslim-majority districts he would find himself in a very vulnerable position subsequently. He would have a large internal element of Hindu population and also external opposition

from a hostile Hindustan. Pakistan would be in two parts divided by a power which would be hostile to both of them. That seemed to him to be an exceedingly difficult and dangerous position to be in. Mr. Jinnah said that he thought this was an exaggerated statement of the position. All the non-Muslims could not be counted as Hindus. He thought that the Congress had nothing to lose and had no need of an agreement. They would get three-quarters of India anyway, whether the British Government had to make an award or not. If the Congress drove the British Government to make an award, very likely they would, in order to appease the Congress, give some part of the six Provinces of Pakistan to Hindustan. The Secretary of State said that the consequences of no agreement were much worse than that. A settlement without agreement would lead to chaos and starvation, and the whole prospect of the future for the Indian people would be blighted. Mr. Jinnah said that those arguments should in his view be put before the Congress. If he made a concession he would have lost it before the negotiations began. It was Congress who should make a proposal. The Secretary of State said that the Delegation was not asking Mr. Jinnah to commit himself to anything but merely to say whether he would prefer the matter to be considered on the basis of sovereignty and the small area or a Union and a larger area. Mr. Jinnah said that so far as the Union was concerned he could not accept the principle. On the other hand, he claimed the six Provinces and if Congress considered that that was too much they should say what they considered he ought to have. He was not prepared to say what he was willing to give up. Sir S. Cripps said that Mr. Jinnah was merely saying that he would not negotiate. If he could make no advance at all it made negotiation impossible. Mr. Alexander said that what the Delegation were putting to Mr. Jinnah was the maximum which they thought Congress could be brought to agree to. They were asking Mr. Jinnah whether, if the Congress could be persuaded to come that far, he would be prepared to discuss on that basis. Mr. Jinnah said he understood from the Delegation that there was a chance of a settlement on the basis of the first alternative. If Congress would say that on that basis they wanted certain defined areas taken from Pakistan he was willing to discuss whether what they proposed was reasonable, fair and workable. He would try his very best to reach agreement with the Congress on that basis but if what was proposed struck at the heart of Pakistan it was impossible, and if the principle of Pakistan was not accepted it was no use pursuing the matter. Ultimately, if Congress and the Muslims could not agree the Delegation would have to do what they thought right and they were in a position to do

it. The Secretary of State said that if the Delegation gave an award in the Muslim League's favour and then Great Britain withdrew her troops, the Muslims would be exposed to grave dangers. Mr. Jinnah said that he was 100% in favour of agreement but what if there were no agreement? The situation was unprecedented. The British Government was asking the Indian people to take self-government and the Indians were unable to do so. Sir S. Cripps suggested that Mr. Jinnah should make some alternative suggestion as to what he would like the Delegation to get Congress to agree to. Mr. Jinnah again said that it was Congress who should say what it wanted. The Congress President had today issued a statement sticking to every point.[4] He (Mr. Jinnah) had never said he would not discuss the situation but the Congress President two days before he came to see the Delegation said that he would never agree to sovereignty for Pakistan. Mr. Alexander asked whether he rightly understood Mr. Jinnah to say that if Congress would make a proposition on the basis of the first of the two alternatives he would be prepared to discuss it. Mr. Jinnah said he was ready to do anything which did not prevent Pakistan from being, in the Delegation's own word, a "viable" State economically, strategically and politically but on that he must insist. The Lahore Resolution contemplated a transitional period. He must tell the Delegation that the only way in which there could be a peaceful transference of power was that defence should remain in the interim period under British control. It did not mean that Britain must retain it for ever but for a period of years. Sir S. Cripps indicated that this was not a possibility.

The Secretary of State suggested that Mr. Jinnah should think the matter over further and see whether he could not revise his attitude to the second alternative, though he gathered that it was not acceptable. After the Delegation's return from Kashmir perhaps Mr. Jinnah would let them know his position. In the meantime, had Mr. Jinnah any view to express on whether these two alternatives should be put by the Delegation to the Congress on the following day. Mr. Jinnah said that the more the Congress were encouraged to lop off parts of the Pakistan which he claimed or to reduce its sovereignty, the less

possibility there would be of an agreed settlement.

[1]No. 116, *TP*, VII, 280-5.

[2]From *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal*, p.246, it is apparent that Wavell also attended the meeting between the Cabinet Mission and Jinnah.

[3]'non' is inserted in pencil on the copy of this document on the Cabinet Mission file, L/P&J/10/40:f.139.

[4]In a statement made on 15 April 1946, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, outlined his party's position on the constitutional question as it had emerged after four days' discussion by the Working Committee in Delhi. The basics of the Congress stance were stated to be (i) complete independence; (ii) a united India; (iii) a single Federation composed of fully autonomous units with residuary powers; (iv) two lists of Central subjects, one compulsory and the other optional. Azad felt that the Congress formula should meet all legitimate Muslim concerns and, at the same time, steer clear of the flaws of the Pakistan scheme. See also No. 121, *TP*, VII, 294-300.

I. 3

Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/13-4

PERSONAL

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
27 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy have carefully reviewed the opinions expressed to them by the various representatives they have interviewed and have come to the conclusion that they should make one further attempt to obtain agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress.

They realise that it would be useless to ask the two parties to meet unless they were able to place before them a basis of negotiation which could lead to such an agreement.

I am therefore asked to invite the Muslim League to send four negotiators to meet the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy together with a similar number from the Congress Working Committee with a view to discussing the possibility of agreement upon a scheme based upon the following fundamental principles:

The future constitutional structure of British India to be as follows:

A Union Government dealing with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups

desire to be dealt with in common. The provincial governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign rights.

It is contemplated that the Indian States will take their appropriate place in this structure on terms to be negotiated with them.

I would point out that we do not think it either necessary or desirable further to elaborate these principles as all other matters could be dealt with in the course of the negotiations.

If the Muslim League are prepared to enter into negotiations on this basis, you will perhaps be so good as to let me know the names of the four people appointed to negotiate on their behalf. As soon as I receive these I will let you know the locus of the negotiations which will in all probability be in Simla, where the climate will be more temperate.

I am sending a similar letter[1] to the President of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

[1]See No. 149, *TP*, VII, 352.

I. 4

M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 13/11

29 April 1946

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

I thank you for your letter of the 27th April,[1] which I placed before my Working Committee yesterday morning.

My colleagues and I fully appreciate the further attempt that the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy are making to bring about an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress by proposing a meeting of the representatives of the two organisations for the purpose of negotiating an agreement. They, however, desire me to invite your attention to the position taken up by the Muslim League since the passing of the Lahore Resolution in 1940[2] and, thereafter, successively endorsed by the All India Muslim League sessions and again by the Convention of the Muslim League Legislators, as recently as the 9th of April 1946, as per copy enclosed.

The Working Committee desire to point out that many important matters, both of principle and detail, in your brief letter, require elucidation and clarification, which, in their opinion, can be achieved

at the meeting proposed by you.

Therefore, without prejudice or commitment, the Working Committee, in their anxiety to assist in finding an agreed solution of the Indian constitutional problem, have authorised me to nominate three representatives on behalf of the Muslim League to participate in the negotiations.

The following are the four names:

1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah
2. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan
3. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and
4. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 3.
[2]Resolution I adopted by AIML at its 27th Session on 23 March 1940. See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 340-1.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 4

F. 13/12

RESOLUTION BY THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE TO BE PLACED BEFORE THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE LEGISLATORS' CONVENTION

9 April 1946

Whereas in this vast subcontinent of India a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social, economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu *dharma* and Philosophy which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and superimposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically;

Whereas the Hindu caste system is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for;

Whereas different historical backgrounds, traditions, cultures and social and economic orders of the Hindus and Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common

aspirations and ideals and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations;

Whereas soon after the introduction by the British of the policy of setting up political institutions in India on the lines of Western democracies based on majority rule which meant that the majority of one nation or society could impose its will on the majority of the other nation or society in spite of their opposition as was amply demonstrated during the two and a half years regime of Congress Government in the Hindu majority provinces under the Government of India Act 1935 when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and oppression as a result of which they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so-called safeguards provided in the Constitution and in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors and were driven to the irresistible conclusion that in a united Indian Federation, if established, the Muslims even in majority provinces would meet with no better fate and their rights and interests could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the centre;

Whereas the Muslims are convinced that with a view to save Muslim India from the domination of the Hindus and in order to afford them full scope to develop themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent State comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East zone and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West zone;

This Convention of the Muslim League Legislators of India, Central and Provincial, after careful consideration hereby declares that the Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for a United India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set up for the purpose, and that any formula devised by the British Government for transferring power from the British to the peoples of India, which does not conform to the following just and equitable principles calculated to maintain internal peace and tranquillity in the country, will not contribute to the solution of the Indian problem:

1. That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India, namely Pakistan zones, where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay;
2. That two separate constitution-making bodies be set up by peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing

their respective constitutions;

3. That the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the All India Muslim League Resolution passed on the 23rd March 1940, at Lahore;
4. That the acceptance of the Muslim League demand of Pakistan and its implementation without delay are the *sine qua non* for the Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre.

This Convention further emphatically declares that any attempt to impose a constitution on a united India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the Muslim League demand will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence.

I. 5

Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/15

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
29 April 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th April.[1] The Cabinet Delegation are very glad to know that the Muslim League agree to enter the joint discussion with the representatives of the Congress and ourselves. I am glad to say I have received a letter[2] from the President of the Congress to say that they are also willing to participate in the proposed discussions and have nominated Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as their representatives.

We have taken note of the resolution[3] of the Muslim League to which you draw our attention. We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it.

We propose that these discussions should be held at Simla and

intend to move there ourselves on Wednesday next. We hope that you will be able to arrange for the Muslim League representatives to be in Simla in time to open the discussions on the morning of Thurs day, May 2nd.

Mr. T. L. Crosthwait of the Delegation Staff, whose telephone number is 2461, will be glad to give any assistance that he can to the representatives of the Muslim League in regard to accommodation and travel arrangements and he is getting in touch with your Secre tary on these matters.

Yours sincerely,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

[1]Appendix I. 4.
[2]Annex.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 4.

Annex to Appendix I. 5
Abul Kalam Azad to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 13/9-10

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
29 April 1946

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

I thank you for your letter of April 27.[1] I have consulted my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee in regard to the suggestion made by you, and they desire me to inform you that they have always been willing to discuss fully any matters concerning the future of India with representatives of the Muslim League or any other organisation. I must point out, however, that the "fundamental principles"[2] which you mention require amplification and elucidation in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

As you are aware, we have envisaged a Federal Union of autono mous units. Such a Federal Union must of necessity deal with certain essential subjects of which defence and its allied subjects are the most important. It must be organic and must have both an executive and legislative machinery as well as the finance relating to these subjects and the power to raise revenues for these purposes in its own right. Without these functions and powers it would be weak and disjointed and defence and progress in general would suffer. Thus among the common subjects in addition to Foreign Affairs,

Defence and Communications, there should be Currency, Customs, Tariffs and such other subjects as may be found on closer scrutiny to be intimately allied to them.

Your reference to two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, is not clear. The only predominantly Muslim provinces are the North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan. Bengal and Punjab have a bare Muslim majority. We consider it wrong to form groups of provinces under the Federal Union and more so on religious or communal basis. It also appears that you leave no choice to a province in the matter of joining or not joining a group. It is by no means certain that a province as constituted would like to join any particular group. In any event it would be wholly wrong to compel a province to function against its own wish. While we agree to the provinces having full powers in regard to all remaining subjects as well as the residuary powers, we have also stated that it should be open to any province to exercise its option to have more common subjects with the Federal Union. Any sub-federation within the Federal Union would weaken the Federal Centre and would be otherwise wrong. We do not, therefore, favour any such development.

Regarding the Indian States we should like to make it clear that we consider it essential that they should be part of the Federal Union in regard to the common subjects mentioned above. The manner of their coming into the Union can be considered fully later.

You have referred to certain 'fundamental principles' but there is no mention of the basic issue before us, that is Indian independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India. It is only on this basis that we can discuss the future of India, or any interim arrangement.

While we are ready to carry on negotiations with any party as to the future of India, we must state our convictions that reality will be absent from any negotiations whilst an outside ruling power still exists in India.

I have asked three of my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee, namely Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, to accompany me in any negotiations that may take place as a result of your suggestion.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. AZAD

[1&2]See note 1, Appendix I. 3.

I. 6

M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 13/15

30 April 1946

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

I am in receipt of your letter of 29th April[1] and have noted the contents thereof.

As regards my going to Simla, it will not be possible for me to arrange for our representatives to be in Simla in time for discussions on the morning of Thursday, May 2nd. The earliest probable date that I can leave will be Saturday, May 4th reaching there on Sunday the 5th. I would therefore suggest that Monday, May 6th, 10-30 a.m.[2] should be fixed for discussions.[3]

Yes, Mr. T. L. Crosthwait has already got in touch with me last night and we have discussed with him arrangements regarding our accommodation and travel.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 5.

[2]Jinnah was informed by Pethick-Lawrence's Private Secretary on 3 May that the first meeting of the Cabinet Delegation with Party representatives was to be held on 5 May. See F. 13/17, *QAP*. Not printed.

[3]For record of the meetings, see Annexes, I, III-V.

Annex I to Appendix I. 6
Record of First Meeting of Second Simla Conference[1]

SECRET

5 May 1946

No. S.C. (D)-I.

The Secretary of State after welcoming the Party representatives said that the purpose of the Conference was to make a final attempt to reach agreement between the Parties. The basis of discussion was the form of solution given in his letter of invitation[2] and the object was to clothe these bare bones with flesh and to see whether the result could be made acceptable. In the light of the discussions the Delegation had with all Parties this seemed to them the most hopeful approach.

The Delegation considered that there must be some form of Central Union for India to deal with certain compulsory subjects, but they thought that some system of grouping of Provinces provided the

best hope of solving the communal problem. They had examined the alternative put forward by the Congress of one Federal Centre with compulsory and optional subjects, but it seemed to them impracticable. He thought that it might be taken for granted that everyone present was fully acquainted with one another's views and with the difference between them. If the Parties were not satisfied as to the sincerity of the Delegation's purpose no words would now convince them and the importance of reaching an agreement was so self-evident that there was no need to enlarge upon it. He proposed that the discussions should centre round the basis put forward in his letter of invitation and that the Conference should work as far as possible to a time-table and upon a definite agenda which would be laid before the meeting.

It was agreed that the Conference should meet from 11-30 to 1-30 and from 4-6 daily. It was also agreed that Sir S. Cripps, Sardar Patel and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan should meet each evening to agree on a short statement for the Press.

The Agenda[3] S.C. (46)-I was handed round. It was agreed to take the second item, the Union, first.

Maulana Azad said that before the matters on the agenda were discussed the basic position of the Congress must be made clear, which was that they were proceeding on the basis of complete independence for India. The Secretary of State said that the Delegation were here to set up constitution-making machinery to create a constitution under which India would be independent if that was the wish of the Indian people. The Viceroy added that the issue of independence would be for decision by the Constituent Assembly. Maulana Azad said that the Congress were proceeding on the basis of complete independence which would involve the removal of British Forces from India at an early date though the physical withdrawal would naturally take time.

Maulana Azad referred to the position of the Congress as stated in the letter[4]replying to the invitation. At Mr. Jinnah's request this letter and his own reply[5] were read by the Secretary of State and copies were supplied to the Muslim League and Congress respectively.

Discussion then took place on the Union subjects. The Viceroy explained that it was proposed that these should be Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications as a minimum. The Congress representatives said that in their view certain ancillary subjects must necessarily go with these and that the Centre must be self-sufficient in its own right in regard to finance and have under its control the ancillary subjects essential for this purpose. It would require close analysis to work out which of the existing subjects this would cover, but there might

be subjects in the present list which were not necessary. They thought that direct sources of revenue were essential and that it would not be satisfactory for the Centre to be financed by contributions from the units.

The Muslim League said that the Congress President's letter accepting the invitation to the Conference contemplated not a Union but a Federal Government and it specified that Customs, Currency, Tariffs and other ancillary matters should be central subjects. On the assumption that there were going to be two groups which would be Federations there should be a levy on the two Federations. The Union should submit to the Federations what amount it considered should be spent and the Federations must have a voice in the decision. The Union Government would be a sort of agency for the Federations. Sir S. Cripps pointed out that there would be a third party to the Union, namely the Indian States, and the Secretary of State said that the Union Government would be dependent on and formed by the Groups unless there was direct election to the Union Legislature. If it was indirectly based in this way it did not seem to be necessary to give the Federations the power which Mr. Jinnah thought they should have. Mr. Jinnah said that his conception was that a minimum defence budget would be fixed by agreement between the Groups after a review of defence expenditure for a past period of years. If more was required the Union would prepare a budget of the additional amount and would have to request the Groups for additional contributions. It was pointed out that this would mean that there would be discussion of Defence and Foreign Affairs in the Group Legislature[s] and that, in effect, the Union subjects would not have been delegated to the Centre at all. If the Union were composed of Group representatives, this seemed unnecessary and also undesirable. The object of the Centre was to enable decisions to be taken on these all-India subjects. If matters relating to them were referred back to two Federal Legislatures, different decisions might be reached by those two bodies. Mr. Jinnah said that the League considered that there should be no independent power of levying direct finance vested in the Union and that the Central Authority should not have power to levy unlimited amounts from the units by contribution. The Groups must have a check on any additional expenditure over an agreed sum. Pandit Nehru said that the discussion seemed to him to be proceeding on the basis of mistaken assumptions. Was there only to be an Executive at the Union level? If so, who was going to discuss Defence or Foreign Affairs. If the Groups could discuss and decide these matters they were not Central subjects.

The Secretary of State said that all the topics on the agenda were inevitably interlocked and it seemed now desirable to turn to the question of the Union constitution. This raised very large issues, there was room for difference of opinion as to whether there should be a Legislature and how it should be chosen. Sir S. Cripps said that it seemed desirable to discuss this on the basis of how the Executive of the Union was to be made responsible to the people of India in respect of expenditure. There could be a legislative body formed by indirect election from the units either by Groups or by Provinces or, alternatively, there could be direct election. The groups could be represented equally in the Legislature and although theoretically there could be a deadlock through a fifty-fifty vote, this was unlikely after full discussion. If we were proceeding on the assumption that there was to be a common policy for the whole of India in these minium Central subjects, then there must be a common forum for the discussion and agreement of the policy.

Mr. Jinnah said that the forum for discussion should be the two Group Legislatures. If the representatives of the two Groups were agreed in the Executive that they wanted more finance, there was no reason to think that the Group Legislatures would be unreasonable about it. The Secretary of State pointed out that in each of the three subjects contemplated for the Union, policy questions would arise continuously from day to day. These matters would have to be discussed and they would have to be decided. There was bound to be more than one opinion about them. If they were discussed in two or three separate Legislatures there would be an unending source of disagreement. It was surely reasonable that the two Legislatures should appoint persons to meet and discuss these matters to whom the Executive would be responsible.

Pandit Nehru said that the Congress considered that there was obvious difficulty in having a vague and airy Centre with no effective powers. Suppose that there were war or threat of war, it was inconceivable that there should be two or three separate forums for deciding what should be done. It was essential there should be a legislative forum at the Centre and the necessary financial apparatus. It was true there must be checks all round but if it was all checks there would be no motive power. The Centre must be strong and efficient though it might be limited. There was otherwise a danger that foreign powers might intrigue with the Groups. Naturally, if the Centre adopted policies which offended the Groups there would be trouble and that would be contrary to the interest of the Centre. Pandit Nehru's personal view was that there should be a directly

elected Central Legislature but to meet the anxieties of certain people there might be a second Chamber indirectly elected. This would provide the check to which Mr. Jinnah and Sir S. Cripps had referred. The Viceroy said that the Executive would presumably be small. It might be reasonable for it to be appointed for a term of years as in the Swiss system and not responsible from day to day. Pandit Nehru said that India was accustomed to the parliamentary system but a permanent executive of this sort might be considered. He thought there was danger of it being inactive as a result of internal disagreement. The Central Executive might not be so small as was expected. The Secretary of State pointed out that if there were direct election there would be enormous constituencies unless the Legislature were very large. The subject-matter of the Centre would not be appropriate for electioneering and indirect election from the Groups would seem a more manageable arrangement. Pandit Nehru said that the Congress had not reached any definite conclusion about this. There might be indirect election at some lower stage, e.g. in the village.

The Secretary of State said that it seemed to him that a Foreign Minister for India must be required to justify his policy. He would belong to an Executive composed from the Groups and would come from one or the other. If there were no Central Legislature his foreign policy would have to be accepted by two or three Group Legislatures. He would like to know whether the Muslim League contemplated that this minister would go to all the Legislatures and justify his policy and, if so, whether they do not think it likely that in one or other of them he would be turned down. Mr. Jinnah pointed to the analogy of the foreign policy of the British Commonwealth and the Secretary of State said there was no common foreign policy. The United Kingdom conducted its policy in consultation with the Dominions who could associate themselves with it or take an independent line. Sir S. Cripps pointed out the essential necessity of a public forum for the discussion of foreign affairs, and Mr. Alexander emphasised the necessity for some form of popular control. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said that joint sessions of the Group Legislatures might provide a suitable forum.

The meeting adjourned until 4 p.m.[6]

[1]No. 194, *TP*, VII, 425-8.
[2]See Appendix I. 3.
[3]Annex II.
[4]Annex to Appendix I. 5.
[5]Appendix I. 4.
[6]See Annex III.

Annex II to Appendix I. 6

F. 13/72

No. SC (46)-I [*4 May 1946*]

AGENDA

1. GROUPS OF PROVINCES

a. Composition
b. Method of deciding Group Subjects
c. Character of Group Organisation

2. UNION

a. Union Subjects
b. Character of Union Constitution
c. Finance

3. CONSTITUTION-MAKING MACHINERY

a. Composition
b. Functions in respect of Union, Groups, Provinces

Annex III to Appendix I. 6

Record of Second Meeting of Second Simla Conference[1]

TOP SECRET *5 May 1946*

The Secretary of State said the discussion might be resumed on the point about the relationship between the Groups and the Union in the absence of a Union Legislature.

Mr. Jinnah said that a joint session of the Group Legislatures would take place in order to provide a forum. No decisions would be taken at such a joint session.

The Secretary of State and Sir Stafford Cripps pointed out the practical difficulties.

Mr. Jinnah said that the foreign policy of the Union should be decided by consultation as between the members of the Commonwealth.

Cripps said that there was no common foreign policy of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Jinnah thought that no closer association between the Groups for foreign policy than exists between members of the Commonwealth was necessary. The responsibility of the Foreign Minister should be to the two Groups. Otherwise one would get back to a single Federal Government.

The Secretary of State said that the Centre would be functioning in a very limited field, but in the case, for instance, of Defence, there must be someone responsible for the common army and he must

have a popular mandate. How could he be responsible to two different Legislatures that might have different policies?

Mr. Jinnah said the executive could settle all these matters and he was definitely against a Union Legislature.

COMPOSITION OF CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad said that this was a matter for the constitution-making body. If any abnormal provisions were required, they should be suggested by those who wanted them. The Centre must be capable of functioning.

The Secretary of State suggested that as Mr. Jinnah was against the Legislature, the composition of the Union Executive might be considered in the first place.

Sir Stafford Cripps said it might be composed by taking a representative from each of the Provinces or by election from the Groups, or of course if there was a Legislature, by election by the Legislature. In any case the members of the Executive would be responsible to those who nominated them.

Mr. Jinnah agreed with the Secretary of State that the best arrangement would be that equal numbers should be elected by each of the Group Legislatures, but he asked how the Legislature was to be completed? How would the States be represented?

Sir Stafford Cripps said that their representatives would probably be elected.

After some discussion, Mr. Jinnah agreed that if there was to be a Legislature, the most reasonable arrangement would be for the members to be elected in equal numbers by the Group Legislatures. But this was subject to the picture being completed by fitting in the States.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Congress did not want the States to be a separate group. They should be dealt with like the Provinces. A large State might come straight into the Union; others might form their own groups and join the Union as such. Others would be absorbed in larger States or in Provinces. In any case there must inevitably be States representatives in the Union. The Congress did not want a Rajasthan because the States units must be associated together in groups on administrative grounds and not simply on political grounds. The problem of the States was really that of the dozen or score of big States.

Mr. Jinnah said that the representation of the States would upset the balance in the Central Legislature.

The Secretary of State thought that communal issues might not be very conspicuous in the limited field of the Union.

Mr. Jinnah said he could not agree. Communal issues would obtrude in many administrative matters and in the Legislature, if any.

Mr. Jinnah admitted that the States could not be left out from the Union.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the proportions in which the Groups were represented would need careful consideration. Everyone should be treated alike.

His Excellency pointed out, however, that some allowance must be made of the abnormal features of the Indian position.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Congress hoped that the States would approximate internally as well as externally to the character of the Provinces.

His Excellency pointed out that this would take time.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru agreed and said that if it took too long, there might be a lot of trouble.

UNION COURT

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru agreed with the Viceroy that a Union Court would be necessary. It would deal with disputes between the units, and might also deal with the fundamental rights as included in the Constitution.

Mr. Jinnah said that on the assumption which seemed to be made that there would be no communal trouble once the Union was set up, there was no need of a Court.

Sir Stafford Cripps said that since the Constitution would be a written one, there must be a tribunal to decide, for instance, disputes about the jurisdiction of the Centre and the Groups.

[1]No. 195, *TP*, VII, 429-31.

Annex IV to Appendix I. 6

Record of Third Meeting of Second Simla Conference[1]

TOP SECRET *6 May 1946*

On the Secretary of State's suggestion it was agreed that the point raised by Mr. Jinnah about the option to change the Constitution after a period of years should be left over for discussion later.

THE GROUPS

In reply to Sir Stafford Cripps, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that there was a clear distinction between the Congress Plan of optional subjects and the proposal for the grouping of Provinces. As soon as the executive machinery for the Groups was set up, an unnecessary intermediate body was placed between the Centre and the Provincial

governments. The grouping scheme would not be efficient from the administrative point of view.

His Excellency said that the scheme was designed to get over a psychological difficultly. It was not claimed to be ideal from the administrative point of view.

The Secretary of State pointed out that there were certain difficulties in the Congress scheme of optional subjects. Part of the Central organization would deal with subjects for the whole of India: another part would deal with subjects entrusted to the Centre by certain Provinces only. Part of the Legislature would have loyalty to the whole of India: another part would be thinking only of certain Provinces. The Government might be supported by the Legislature on the compulsory subjects, but not on the optional subjects. The confusion in procedure would be so great that on practical grounds it seemed necessary for optional subjects to be dealt with elsewhere than in the Union Legislature.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Provinces tended to hold on to power. One could not be sure that they would cede any authority to the Groups until they had been consulted. Possibly an arrangement like that by which Scottish Bills in the British Parliament are referred to the Scottish Members might be introduced. Industrialisation and progress were only possible on an all-India basis.

His Excellency said that one must face the fact that the main reason for the Groups was to get over the communal difficulty and make it possible to call together a Constitution-making Body.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that in the view of the Congress the first thing was to dispose in practice of the problem of the Indo-British relationship. The communal problem could be dealt with afterwards. The Constitution-making Body would not bring compulsion on any unit.

In reply to Sir Stafford Cripps, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that though most points in the Constitution-making Body must be settled by the normal procedure, certain fundamental matters would not be decided by a majority. The Congress would not only exercise no compulsion on units to stay in the All-India Federation. They would in addition see that the minorities were suitably safeguarded in the Constitution. The Congress did not wish to encourage any tendencies towards splitting up India. The Union of India, even if the list of subjects was short, must be strong and organic. Provinces would not be prevented from co-operating among themselves over such subjects as education and health; but they would not need a Group Executive. He appealed to the League to come into the Constitution-making

Body on the assurance that there would be no compulsion.

Mr. Jinnah replied that he could not accept that invitation. But if the Congress and the Muslim League agreed that the Muslim Provinces should group together and have their own Legislature and Executive, he had no doubt that there would be no difficultly at all. If the Congress would accept the Groups, the Muslim League would accept the Union subject to argument about the machinery of it.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out that Mr. Jinnah had accepted no feature of the Union. The Union without a Legislature would be futile and entirely unacceptable. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that his position came near to that of Mr. Jinnah, but it was difficult for him to accept grouping because the decision must be made by the Provinces.

Mr. Jinnah said that he would be very glad to sit together with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for whom he had a great regard. He had no desire to ask the British to stay in India.

[1]No. 201, *TP*, VII, 436-8.

Annex V to Appendix I. 6

Record of Fourth Meeting of Second Simla Conference[1]

TOP SECRET *6 May 1946*

The meeting considered item 3 on the Agenda,[2] the Constitution-making Body.

Pandit Nehru said that the Congress recognised that their original proposal for a Constitution-making Body based on adult suffrage would cause delay and that therefore existing machinery must in some way be the basis. The Congress were not able to commit themselves definitely on the details but they envisaged some form of election by Provincial Legislatures. The States must come in on the same basis as British India, i.e. they must be represented by elected representatives of the people. The Congress could not assent to their being represented by nominees of the Rulers. In the majority of States there was electoral machinery already in operation which could be utilised. On this assumption the States' representatives could participate on equal terms with those from British India and could sit even when Provincial constitutions were being considered.

As regards functions, the Congress contemplated that the All-India Constitution-making Body would decide the Union constitution and would also decide the main lines of Provincial constitutions. They would prefer the maximum possible uniformity in Provincial constitutions

but details would have to be filled in by some Provincial authority. They thought that Provincial Legislatures as at present constituted might undertake this. For example, the Congress as a matter of principle were opposed to two Chambers and desired joint electorates. But these matters should be decided by the Constitution-making Body which might leave a latitude to Provinces in regard to them where uniformity was not possible. It was not contemplated that the All-India Constitution-making Body should frame constitutions for the States.

Sir S. Cripps asked whether the Congress contemplated the representatives of a group of Provinces in the All-India Constitution-making Body meeting separately for group purposes. Pandit Nehru said that the question of grouping would arise after the constitution had been formed. The first question to decide was the character of the Union. After that Provinces might exercise their autonomy subject to the Union constitution and Provincial representatives might bring up in the All-India Constitution-making Body proposals for grouping. It was not possible to say how the All-India Constitution-making Body would decide these matters. New forces would be operating when India received its independence and even the old political parties could not guarantee what action it would take. Sir S. Cripps said that the only way to secure that there was a grouping arrangement if that were desired, would be to allow Provinces to meet as a section of the Constitution-making Body and form a group. They might decide to do so either by vote of the Provincial Legislature or by vote of their representatives in the Constitution-making Body. Pandit Nehru said that while the Congress contemplated autonomy for the Provinces that meant internal autonomy, it was quite another thing for autonomy to be used to create the new piece of constitutional machinery going beyond the boundaries of the Province. Some Provinces might wish to group themselves and others might not. Others might be divided almost equally on the subject. But Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab who were a large minority might be adverse to the Punjab being grouped with the North-Western Provinces. The Viceroy said that it looked as if a Constitution-making Body with all Parties co-operating in it would be impossible unless there were agreement beforehand that Provinces should be accorded the right to group themselves. It was a choice of difficulties and unless grouping were agreed to there might be no constitution-making machinery based on agreement and the consequences would be grave. Pandit Nehru said that if any Province declined to come into the Constitution-making Body, the Constitution-making Body should proceed without it. He thought this was unlikely to happen but

Provinces and States which did stay out would be under great pressure to come in. The same applied to the States who would have to come in subject to considerable internal changes.

The Viceroy pointed out that if provinces stayed out, the Union of India would be lost. Pandit Nehru said that the Congress would pay a big price to avoid that happening but there were limits. They believed that if the British Government decided to quit India not merely at some future date but now, a Constituent Assembly could be formed and would meet in a realistic situation in which the Parties would come to terms. They would then have to face the consequences of their actions.

The Viceroy said that the psychologies of the situation were realities and it seemed the path of prudence to make some compromise in advance of the Constitution-making Body which would avoid the risk of a disastrous conflict. Maulana Azad said that there could be no guarantee that the recommendations of Congress would be accepted by the Constitution-making Body, but Pandit Nehru accepted the suggestion of Sir S. Cripps that an agreement between the two main parties to use their influence to procure certain decisions by the Constitution-making Body would be of real value.

Mr. Jinnah said that it was more than mere psychology or a vague feeling of sentiment that was in question. He was proceeding on the basis of the formula of invitation. The only way to prevent complete partition was that Provinces should group themselves together by choice. They should set up constitution-making machinery which *de facto* would be sovereign though not *de jure*. These group constitution-making bodies would deal with all matters including the Provincial constitutions and excepting only the three subjects given to the Union. These bodies might be formed by election by the Provincial Legislatures of a proportion of their number. Those eligible for election would not be confined to the members of the Provincial Legislatures. The States should set up their own constitution-making machinery in their own way on a proportionate basis. The two Group Constitution-making Bodies and the States representatives would meet together to decide the constitution of the Union in respect of the three subjects. All other matters would be decided in the Group Constitution-making Body; both matters of common concern to the Group and other matters not of common concern. There could at the outset be a joint meeting of the three bodies to decide the agenda and procedure but thereafter they would meet separately except for the determination of the Union constitution. Mr. Jinnah rejected the suggestion that there should be one Constitution-making Body in which decisions on major questions

could not be reached without the majority vote of both Groups and with freedom to withdraw from it.

The Viceroy said that he would like to know whether the Party representatives agreed that if there were a Constitution-making Body, Delhi would be the best venue. It was agreed that this would be so.

Sir S. Cripps said that there seemed to be no reason why this Conference should not have as great a sense of reality as the Constitution-making Body when it met. The fate of India was being decided at the Conference. If there was no agreement someone would have to lay down the course along which events should proceed. To stand still was impossible. This Conference had as much power to avoid or create difficulties as the Constitution-making Body would have when it met. By the decisions of this Conference India might be put into a state of chaos or civil war and no one could foresee the consequences. Alternatively, India might start upon a smooth path to complete independence.

The Secretary of State asked Mr. Jinnah whether he would like to deal now with the question of a right of secession. Mr. Jinnah said that his view was that the Union should not be for moræa than period of five years in the first instance. The First Lord of the Admiralty said that this was too short. 15 years would be more appropriate. Sardar Patel said that this suggestion clearly indicated the reality behind the grouping proposal. The Secretary of State said that the constitution could not be incapable of revision but that such a provision could not apply only in one particular. Mr. Jinnah said he was not in any way for breaking down the Union but thought there should be a constitutional means of bringing it to an end if it proved impossible in the light of experience. Sir S. Cripps pointed out that a similar provision would be required in regard to the Groups.

It was agreed to adjourn until Wednesday afternoon, 8th May at 3 p.m.[3]

[1]No. 203, *TP*, VII, 440-42.
[2]Annex II to Appendix I. 6.
[3]See Appendix I. 8.

I. 7

Minutes of the Consultation Meeting held by the Muslim League Delegation to the Second Simla Conference

F. 20/1

THE YARROWS,
SIMLA,
7 May 1946

Present

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (in the chair)
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan
Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Prof. Mohammad Hasan
A.B.A. Haleem

After discussion, the following decisions were arrived at:

i. The following provinces shall be grouped together:
The Punjab, NWF Province, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam.

ii. There shall be a separate constitution-making body for this group elected by the Provinces in such manner as may be decided upon and reflecting the population of the various communities in due proportion.

Note. a.Figures showing the representation of various communities on the basis of 10 per cent as well as on the basis of 20 per cent of the existing provincial legislative assemblies should be worked out.

b. Any alternative to election by the members of the Legislative Assemblies may be suggested.

iii. The Constituent Assembly shall be empowered to draw up a constitution for the Federal Pakistan State as well as for its constituent units.

iv. All these subjects which are at present administered by the Central Government shall be administered by the Central Government of the Pakistan Federation and the rest shall be administered by the governments of the autonomous constituent units.

Note. Lists of subjects to be administered by the Central Government and the Provincial Governments of the Pakistan Federation should be prepared.

A.B.A. HALEEM
Secretary

I. 8

Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/19

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
[SIMLA,]
8 May 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My colleagues and I have been thinking over the best method of laying before the Conference what in our judgment seems the most likely basis of agreement as shown by the deliberations so far.

We have come to the conclusion that it will be for the convenience of the parties if we commit this to writing and send them confidential copies before the Conference meets again.

We hope to be in a position to let you have this in the course of the morning. But as this will give you too short a time to study it adequately before the proposed resumption of the Conference at 3 o'clock this afternoon, I feel sure that you will agree that the meeting be postponed until the same hour (3 o'clock) tomorrow afternoon, Thursday, 9th May, and I hope that you will concur in this change of time which we are convinced is in the interests of all parties.

Yours sincerely,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

I. 9

F. F. Turnbull to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/22

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
SIMLA,
8 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to the Secretary of State's letter[1] to you this morning, the Cabinet Delegation wish me to send to you the enclosed document which is the paper to which the Secretary of State referred. The Delegation propose that this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to

be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. if that is agreeable to the Muslim League delegation.

Yours sincerely,
F. F. TURNBULL
Private Secretary to the Secretary of State

[1]Appendix I. 8.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 9

F. 13/23-4

TOP SECRET

Suggested points for Agreement between the representatives of Congress and the Muslim League

1. There shall be an All-India Union Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, fundamental rights and having the necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances it requires for these subjects.

2. All the remaining powers shall vest in the Provinces.

3. Groups of Provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the Provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

4. The Groups may set up their own Executives and Legislatures.

5. The Legislature of the Union shall be composed of equal proportions from the Muslim-majority Provinces and from the Hindu-majority Provinces whether or not these or any of them have formed themselves into groups together with representatives of the States.

6. The Government of the Union shall be constituted in the same proportion as the Legislature.

7. The constitutions of the Union and the groups (if any) shall contain a provision whereby any Province can, by a majority vote of its legislative assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

For the purpose of such reconsideration a body shall be constituted on the same basis as the original constituent assembly and with the same provisions as to voting and shall have power to amend the constitution in any way decided upon.

8. The constitution-making machinery to arrive at a constitution on the above basis shall be as follows:

a. Representatives shall be elected from each Provincial Assembly in proportion to the strengths of the various parties in that assembly on the basis of 1/10th of their numbers.

b. Representatives shall be invited from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India.
c. The Constituent Assembly so formed shall meet at the earliest date possible in New Delhi.
d. After its preliminary meeting at which the general order of business will be settled it will divide into three sections, one section representing the Hindu majority Provinces, one section representing the Muslims majority Provinces and one representing the States.
e. The first two sections will then meet separately to decide the Provincial constitutions for their group and, if they wish, a group constitution.
f. When these have been settled it will be open to any province to decide to opt out of its original group and into the other group or to remain outside any group.
g. Thereafter the three bodies will meet together to settle the constitution for the Union on the lines agreed in paragraphs 1-7 above.
h. No major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Assembly unless a majority of the representatives of the Hindu majority Provinces and of the Muslim majority Provinces present and voting are separately in its favour.

9. The Viceroy will request the provincial legislative assemblies to elect their representatives to the Constituent Assembly not later than 8th June, 1946.

I. 10

M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 13/20-1

SIMLA,
8 May 1946

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

I have now received the letter of your Private Secretary, dated 8th May 1946[1] and the enclosed document to which you had referred in your earlier letter of 8th May 1946.[2] It is proposed by you that this "paper" be discussed at the next meeting of the Conference to be

held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. if this is agreeable to the Muslim League Delegation.

Your proposal embodied in your letter of 27th April 1946[3] runs as follows:

> A Union Government dealing with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of Provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu Provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim Provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the Provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The provincial governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all residuary sovereign rights.

This matter was to be discussed at Simla and we agreed to attend the Conference on Sunday, 5th May 1946, on the terms of my letter dated 26th [29th] April 1946.[4]

You were good enough to explain your formula and then after hours of discussion on the 5th and 6th of May,[5] the Congress finally and definitely turned down the proposed Union confined only to three subjects even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union.

Next, your formula clearly envisaged an agreement precedent between the Congress and the Muslim League with regard to the grouping of Muslim and Hindu provinces and the formation of two federations of the grouped provinces and it followed that there must be two constitution-making machineries. It was on that basis that some kind of Union was suggested in your formula confined only to three subjects and our approval was sought in order to put into this skeleton blood and flesh. This proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress and the meeting had to be adjourned for the Mission to consider the matter further as to what steps they may take in the matter.

And now the new enclosed document has been sent to us with a view that "this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m." The heading of the paper is "Suggested Points for Agreement Between the Representatives of Congress and the Muslim League." By whom are they suggested, it is not made clear.

We are of the opinion that the new suggested points for agreement are a fundamental departure from the original formula embodied in your letter of 27th April, which was rejected by the Congress.

To mention some of the important points we are now asked to agree that there should be one All-India Union Government in terms

of paragraphs 1-7 of this paper, which adds one more subject to be vested in the Union Government, i.e. "Fundamental Rights", and it is not made clear whether the Union Government and Legislature will have power or not to obtain for itself the finances by means of taxation.

In the new "suggestions" the question of grouping of provinces is left exactly as the Congress spokesmen desired in the course of discussions that have taken place hitherto, and is totally different from your original formula.

That there should be a single constitution-making body, we can never agree to; nor can we agree to the method of formation of constitution-making machineries suggested in the paper.

There are many other objectionable features contained in the suggestions which we have not dealt with as we are only dealing with the main points arising out of this paper. In these circumstances, we think, no useful purpose will be served to discuss this paper, as it is a complete departure from your original formula, unless after what we have said above you still desire us to discuss it in the Conference itself tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 9.
[2]Appendix I. 8
[3]Appendix I. 3.
[4]Appendix I. 4.
[5]See Appendix I. 6, Annexes I, III-V.

I. 11

Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/25-6

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
[SIMLA,]
9 May 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have to acknowledge your letter[1] of yesterday which I have shown to my colleagues. In it you raise a number of issues to which I propose to reply in order.

1. You claim that Congress "finally and definitely turned down the proposed Union confined only to three subjects even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union." This statement is not in

accord with my recollection of what took place in the Conference room. It is true that the Congress representatives expressed their view that the limitation was too narrow and argued further that even so limited it necessarily included certain ancillary matters. Up to a point you recognised that there was some force in the argument because you agreed, as I understood, that some power to obtain the necessary finance must be given. There was no final decision on this matter (or of course on any other).

2. Next you claim, if I understand you aright, that our reference to the formation of groups is at variance with the formula in our invitation. I am afraid I cannot accept this view. It is of course a slightly amplified form because it specifies the manner in which the provinces can decide as to joining any particular group. This amplified form is put forward by us as a reasonable compromise between the views of the Muslim League and those originally expressed by Congress against grouping at all.

3. You further take exception to the machinery that we suggest should be set up for making the constitution. I would point out to you however that you yourself in explaining how your two constitution-making bodies would work agreed on Tuesday last in the Conference that they would have to join together in the end to decide the constitution of the Union and you took no exception to their having a preliminary session in common to decide procedure. What we are proposing is in fact precisely the same thing expressed in different words. I am therefore quite at a loss to understand what you have in mind when you use the words "this proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress."

4. In your next succeeding paragraph you ask who it is that makes the suggestions that are contained in the document I sent you. The answer is the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy who make them in our endeavour to bridge the gap between the viewpoints of the Congress and the Muslim League.

5. You next take exception to our departing from the original formula in my invitation. I would remind you that in accepting my original invitation neither the Muslim League nor the Congress bound itself to accept in full the original formula, and in my reply of April 29th[2] I wrote these words:

"We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree

to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

Indeed this is the only sensible attitude because the object of all our discussions is to explore every conceivable possibility of reaching agreement.

6. "Fundamental Rights" were included by us in our suggestions for addition to the list of Union subjects because it seemed to us that it would be of benefit both to the large communities and to the small minorities for them to be put in and accordingly to be worthy of consideration in our conference. As to finance it will of course be quite open to discuss in the Conference the precise significance of the inclusion of this word in its context.

7. Your two following paragraphs are mainly a recapitulation of your previous arguments and have been already dealt with above.

From your last paragraph I understand that though you do not consider in the circumstances that any good purpose would be served by the attendance of the Muslim League delegation at the Conference fixed for this afternoon, you are willing to come if we express a desire that you should do so. My colleagues and I wish to obtain the views of both parties on the document submitted and therefore would be glad to see you at the conference.[3]

Yours sincerely,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

[1]Appendix I. 10.
[2]Appendix I. 5.
[3]See Annex.

Annex to Appendix I. 11
Record of Fifth Meeting of Second Simla Conference[1]

TOP SECRET *9 May 1946*

No. S.C. (D)-5

The Secretary of State said that the document circulated[2] had been intended to focus the result of the previous conversations in Simla. As a result of the reactions in the conference and informal contacts, the Delegation understood that there were the following points of agreement. The Delegation fully appreciated, however, that such agreement was provisional and that the picture as a whole, when it had been completed, must be acceptable.

In regard to the Union it was agreed—

(i) that there should be a Union and that it should deal with the subjects of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications;

(ii) that it must have an Executive and a Legislature;
(iii) that it must have powers to obtain finance;
(iv) that the provisions for the composition and voting of the Central Legislature must be such that neither of the principal communities can force through an important measure without the consent of the majority of the other community.

As regards the Groups, it was agreed—
(a) that it was open to Provinces to form themselves into Groups with their own Executive and Legislature;
(b) that no Province should be compelled to remain in a Group against its will.

As regards the Provinces, it was agreed—
(a) that the residuary powers should vest in the Provinces;
(b) that the Constitution of the Provinces should be settled by that part of the Constituent Assembly representing the Group to which the Province belongs;
(c) that the Provinces have a right at some stage to decide to what Groups they should belong.

As regards the Constitution-making machinery, it was agreed that it should be called into being at once, that the representatives should sit in Delhi, that the Constitution should be made in stages, that the body or bodies forming the Constituent Assembly should sit in sections to form the Group Constitutions and the Constitutions of the Provinces, and that the British India representatives should be elected by the Provincial Assemblies.

Other points that were agreed were that there should be some provision for reconsideration of the Constitution after a period of years, and that the States should form a part of the Union and be represented in the Constituent Assembly.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that the Congress had not definitely agreed that there should be Executives and Legislatures in the Groups. This was a point that had only been discussed, not agreed.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that all of those present desired an agreement as soon as possible. He suggested that the League and the Congress might sit together and try to find a way out: but as that might not yield results, there should be an agreed umpire. Perhaps one representative on each side might sit with an umpire, and in case of disagreement, the umpire's decision would be accepted as final. The umpire would of course have to be a person accepted by both parties.

After some discussion Mr. Jinnah said that he would be very glad to sit with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and consider whether this proposal

could be accepted, and if so, who the umpire should be.

There was then a short interval for discussion between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

After the interval the conference reassembled. Mr. Jinnah said that, as was inevitable, a decision could not be reached immediately. He and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggested that there should be an adjournment till Saturday afternoon at 3 p.m. when he and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would report progress.

[1]No. 234, *TP*, VII, 489-90.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 9.

I. 12

Jawaharlal Nehru to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/31-2

THE RETREAT,
SIMLA,
10 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In accordance with our decision yesterday at the Conference,[1] my colleagues have given a good deal of thought to the choice of a suitable umpire. We have felt that it would probably be desirable to exclude Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The field is thus limited. Nevertheless we have drawn up a considerable list from which a choice can be made. I presume that you have also, in consultation with your executive, prepared a list of possible umpires. Would you like these two lists to be considered by us, that is by you and me? If so, we can fix up a meeting for the purpose. After we have met, our recommendation can be considered by the eight of us, that is the four representatives of the Congress and the four representatives of the Muslim League, and a final choice can be made, which we can place before the Conference when it meets tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]Annex to Appendix I. 11.

I. 13

M. A. Jinnah to Jawaharlal Nehru

F. 13/30

SIMLA,
10 May 1946

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I received your letter of 10th May[1] at 6 p.m.

At yesterday's meeting between you and me at the Viceregal Lodge, we discussed several points besides the fixing of an umpire. After a short discussion, we came to the conclusion that we will further examine your proposal made by you at the Conference yesterday, with all its implications after your and my consulting our respective colleagues.

I shall be glad to meet you to consider the various aspects of your proposal any time that may suit you tomorrow morning after 10 o'clock.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1] Appendix I. 12.

I. 14

Jawaharlal Nehru to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/29

THE RETREAT,
SIMLA,
11 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of May 10th[1] reached me at ten last night.

During the talk we had at Viceregal Lodge you referred to various matters besides the choice of an umpire and I gave you my reactions in regard to them. But I was under the impression that the proposal to have an umpire had been agreed to and our next business was to suggest names. Indeed it was when some such agreement was reached in the Conference that we had our talk. My colleagues have proceeded

on this basis and prepared a list of suitable names. The Conference will expect us to tell them this afternoon the name of the umpire we fix upon, or at any rate to place before them suggestions in this behalf.

The chief implication in having an umpire is to agree to accept his final decision. We agree to this. We suggest that we might start with this and report accordingly to the Conference.

As suggested by you I shall come over to your place of residence at about 10:30 this morning.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]Appendix I. 13.

I. 15

M. A. Jinnah to Jawaharlal Nehru

F. 13/26

SIMLA,
11 May 1946

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I am in receipt of your letter of 11th May.[1]

During the talk we had at the Viceregal Lodge which lasted for about fifteen or twenty minutes, I pointed out various aspects and implications of your proposal and we had a discussion for a little while, but no agreement was arrived at between you and me on any point except that at your suggestion that you will consult your colleagues and I should do likewise we adjourned to meet again the next day to further discuss the matter.

I shall be glad to meet you at 10.30 this morning for a further talk.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 14.

I. 16

R. Stafford Cripps to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/35

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
[SIMLA,]
11 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose two copies of the note which my Secretary has prepared of what you said at the meeting[1] of the Conference this evening when you made a statement of the minimum requirement of the Muslim League.

This note is not of course based on a verbatim shorthand report but I hope you will find that it accurately represents what you said.

In any event what we desire to have for the next meeting is a precise written statement of the Muslim League position and it is of course open to you to amend it for that purpose.

Yours sincerely,
R. STAFFORD CRIPPS
for Secretary of State

[1]Enclosure. Also see Annex.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 16

F. 13/36

11 May 1946

STATEMENT BY MR. M. A. JINNAH OF THE MINIMUM CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE MUSLIM LEAGUE WOULD BE PREPARED TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT MADE AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE CABINET DELEGATION AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE ON SATURDAY, 11TH MAY 1946

1. The Muslim majority Provinces must be grouped together as one Group.

2. As such they must appoint their own Constitution-making Body which will deal with all matters, except Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, which may be decided upon to be dealt with by the Constitution-making Bodies of the two Groups of Provinces sitting together.

3. Provincial Governments will deal with all other matters and

will have all residuary sovereign rights.

4. There will be a separate Constitution-making Body for the Hindu Group of Provinces.

5. The Constitution-making bodies for the Muslim Group and the Hindu Group of Provinces will each separately frame the constitutions for the Group and for the Provinces within it.

6. Each Province will have the power to opt out of the Group after the constitution for the Group has been framed.

7. The method of representation in the Constitution-making Body for the Group would be such as to secure proper representation for each community in each Province within the Group.

8. The Union will be limited to the three subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. The method of providing it with finance would be left for decision by the joint meeting of the two Constitution-making bodies.

9. There should be parity of representation of the two Groups of Provinces in the Union Executive and Legislature, if any. It must be open to discussion in the joint Constitution-making Body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not.

10. No major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed in the Constitution-making Body unless a majority of the representatives of the Hindu majority Provinces and of the Muslim majority Provinces present and voting are separately in its favour.

These are the final minimum requirements of the Muslim League on the basis of which they would be prepared to come to an agreement.

Annex to Appendix I. 16

Record of Sixth Meeting of Second Simla Conference[1]

SECRET *11 May 1946*

No. S.C. (D)-6.

The Secretary of State said that the Delegation had understood that the Congress and the Muslim League had agreed in principle to the proposition that outstanding points of difference should be settled by an umpire and that they were going to meet privately to discuss the matter. They hoped that agreement had been reached on this basis.

Mr. Jinnah said that it was not the case that there had been any agreement. He had said that he would consider this proposal. He had met Pandit Nehru and had consulted his colleagues. The result of his examination of the proposal was that if there was to be

arbitration, there must be terms of reference. The first question which would arise was the question of the partition of India. The Muslim League regarded this as settled by the verdict of the Muslims at the election. It was inconceivable that a matter of this sort should ever be the subject of arbitration. If there were a decision against partition, the arbitrator would decide the Union Constitution. There would be no means of enforcing the arbitrator's decisions and difficulties would arise over the selection of a single person to arbitrate. The Secretary of State said that at the last meeting he had read out a list of points which he understood to be agreed subject to agreement on the whole picture when it was complete. Mr. Jinnah said that he had agreed to nothing—no single point had been agreed upon. All he had said was that if the Congress would agree to Groups of Provinces as desired by the Muslim League he would seriously consider a Union. He had not dissented to what the Secretary of State had said because before he had been asked to speak Pandit Nehru had made his proposal. He was sorry if this had led to misunderstanding.

Pandit Nehru said that his suggestion was that there should be discussion between representatives of each side who would agree beforehand on an arbitrator who would decide points of difference which could not be resolved by discussion. The Congress considered that the arbitrator should not be an Englishman, a Hindu, a Muslim or a Sikh. They had drawn up a list of impartial persons, some of them judges and some of them from the international field. There were many ways of arranging arbitration but in view of Mr. Jinnah's attitude the question did not arise. Mr. Jinnah said that if anything at all were agreed there might be some question of arbitration.[2] Until the Muslim League knew that there would be Groups of Provinces and what Provinces would be in them, they could not consider arbitration. The Secretary of State said that he understood it to be complementarily agreed on the one hand that there should be Groups and on the other that there should be a Union. Mr. Jinnah said that he could not agree to an arbitrator deciding on the question of the sovereignty of Pakistan. Subject to the whole picture, he was willing to agree to the sovereignty of Pakistan being delegated to a Union for the three subjects providing a Sovereign Pakistan was recognised in the form of a Group. He was prepared to consider arbitration on other points when he knew what they were. Pandit Nehru said that this meant coming to an agreement on fundamentals. Congress and the Muslim League were completely opposed on the question of partition or otherwise. For Mr. Jinnah the Groups were the essence of the proposal. Congress thought that a strong centre was essential

and that it should have subjects additional to the three, including currency, customs and planning. They had not agreed to the imposition of Groups or to their having Legislatures or Executives. They were prepared to have arbitration on these issues. Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League conception was that there would be two Groups of Provinces. These would be Federations which would confederate. If there were no Executives or Legislatures in the Groups the Union would be formed of Provinces and of States and the whole conception was destroyed. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said that the Muslim proposal was that some Provinces, which would be named, would have their own Constitution-making Body which would make a constitution for the Group and for the Provinces within it. Afterwards any Province which did not like the constitution could opt out. This was fundamental and must be outside arbitration. Mr. Jinnah said that on other matters the Muslim League could not agree to arbitration outright, but would do their best to agree to it if possible. Pandit Nehru said that the least the Congress could agree to was a Union Centre with the three subjects and having the right to raise its own revenue by direct taxation. Currency and planning must also be central although the latter was in a large sense advisory. Congress were agreeable to Provinces exercising their autonomy to form Groups with the right to opt out of a Group. Mr. Jinnah said that he could not agree to more than three subjects at the centre and the method of financing the Union must be left open to the Constituent Assembly. The character of the Groups could not go to arbitration. The arbitrator might decide that there would be no Executives or Legislatures and in effect there would then be no Groups. Pandit Nehru said that the real point was whether the Group should function as a Government with an Executive or as a more informal association. Congress considered that three layers of Governments would not be a workable arrangement but they could not prevent Provinces having the right to come together. Sir Stafford Cripps suggested that named Provinces might form a Constitution-making Body for the Group, subject to option out after the constitution had been framed. Mr. Jinnah agreed that there could be option out. The two Group Constitution-making bodies would then, on his proposal, meet together for the purpose of framing a Union constitution. If there were difficulties between the two Constitution-making bodies a stage would have been reached at which arbitration might be possible. Pandit Nehru said that a Constitution-making Body could not be bound to decisions by arbitration. If it was a large enough body it was likely to reach a decision. He asked whether arbitration had been ruled out by Mr. Jinnah at the present stage.

Mr. Jinnah said that the first thing was that the Provinces must be grouped. This was not to be the subject of arbitration. The two Group Constitution-making Bodies would then meet, of course, on the basis of parity. They would not decide as one body. The provision in paragraph (H) of the suggested points for agreement was too vague. A communal issue will cover almost anything or nothing according as how it was defined. Pandit Nehru said on Mr. Jinnah's proposal no constitution for the Union would ever be framed. He wished to make it clear that the Congress would not accept the States being represented in the Constitution-making Body or in the Legislature by the Princes' nominees, nor would they accept the States as a third Group. The Congress did not agree to parity in the Central Legislature. Provision could be made to safeguard the rights of a community without parity which would give rise to trouble. If the constitution did not reflect realities of the situation it would be unstable and produce a state of bitterness and frustration. The Congress were entirely opposed to the Groups being sovereign bodies. They were prepared however for the question of Legislatures and Executives for the Groups to be put to arbitration. They would agree to safeguards on the lines of Clause (H) in the Union Constitution. The Muslim League representatives said that they would require parity of representation in the Union constitution. There were many important issues besides communal issues and there were precedents for equal representation of unequal parts in a federation. The Secretary of State said that parity had grave disadvantages. Clause (H) would give real protection. He thought that Mr. Jinnah would agree that on communal issue one-third of the population could not expect to be able to vote down the other two-thirds. In doubtful cases there must be some arbitral machinery.

The Conference then discussed whether there was anything further that could be done in the hope of securing agreement. It was agreed that Mr. Jinnah would put down in writing the precise conditions on which the Muslim League would be prepared to negotiate further. The Congress representatives agreed to prepare proposals of their own in an endeavour to find common ground. A further meeting would be held on Sunday evening at 6 p.m. to consider whether these two statements of the positions of the Parties provided a basis for further discussion or not.

[1]No. 253, *TP*, VII, 508-11.
[2]"This is where the Conference should have ended." This comment is, evidently, Wavell's.

I. 17

M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 13/43

SIMLA,
12 May 1946

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

As desired[1] by you I am herewith enclosing now a memorandum embodying our minimum demands by way of an offer.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 16.
[2]Copy to Jawaharlal Nehru. See F. 13/46, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 17

F. 13/44-5

PRINCIPLES TO BE AGREED TO AS OUR OFFER

1. The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for Defence, which may be dealt with by the Constitution-making bodies of the two groups of Provinces—Muslim Provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu Province—sitting together.

2. There shall be a separate Constitution-making body for the six Muslim Provinces named above, which will frame Constitutions for the Group and the Provinces in the Group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the Provinces.

3. The method of election of the representatives to the Constitution-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each Province of the Pakistan Group.

4. After the Constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the Provinces are finally framed by the Constitution-making body, it will be open to any Province of the Group to decide to opt out of its Group, provided the wishes of the people of that Province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

5. It must be open to discussion in the joint Constitution-making body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance should also be left for decision of the joint meeting of the two Constitution-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

6. There should be parity of representation between the two Groups of Provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

7. No major point in the Union Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed in the joint Constitution-making body, unless the majority of the members of the Constitution-making body of the Hindu Provinces and the majority of the members of the Constitution-making body of the Pakistan Group, present and voting, are separately in its favour.

8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature, except by a majority of three-fourths.

9. In Group and Provincial Constitutions fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

10. The Constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution, and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety and all matters mentioned herein are interdependent.

I. 18

J. B. Kripalani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/38

CHADWICK,
SIMLA,
12 May 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At the desire of the Congress President, I am sending you here with two notes[1] on behalf of the Congress. One note deals with our constructive approach in order to obtain an agreement. The other is a consideration

of the points raised in your note,[2] which you were good enough to send us this morning.[3]

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIPALANI

[1]Enclosures 1&2.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 17.
[3]See Annex I for record of the meeting, and Annex II for a note by the Viceroy.

Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 18

F. 13/39-40

CONFIDENTIAL

SIMLA,
12 May 1946

POINTS SUGGESTED ON BEHALF OF THE CONGRESS AS A BASIS FOR AGREEMENT

1. The Constituent Assembly to be formed as follows:
   i. Representatives shall be elected by each Provincial Assembly by proportional representation (single transferable vote). The number so elected should be one-fifth of the number of members of the Assembly and they may be members of the Assembly or others.
   ii. Representatives from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

2. The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental Rights, Currency, Customs and Planning, as well as such other subjects as, on closer scrutiny, may be found to be intimately allied to them. The Federal Union will have necessary power to obtain for itself the finances it requires for these subjects and the power to raise revenues in its own right. The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies.

3. All the remaining powers shall vest in the Provinces or Units.

4. Groups of provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

5. After the Constituent Assembly has decided the constitution for the All-India Federal Union as laid down in paragraph 2 above, the

representatives of the provinces may form groups to decide the provincial constitutions for their group and, if they wish, a group constitution.

6. No major point in the All-India Federal Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present in the Assembly and voting are separately in its favour. Provided that in case there is no agreement on any such issue, it will be referred to arbitration. In case of doubt as to whether any point is a major communal issue, the Speaker will decide, or, if so desired, it may be referred to the Federal Court.

7. In the event of a dispute arising in the process of constitution-making, the specific issue shall be referred to arbitration.

8. The constitution should provide machinery for its revision at any time subject to such checks as may be devised. If so desired, it may be specifically stated that this whole constitution may be reconsidered after ten years.

Enclosure 2 to Appendix I. 18

F. 13/41-2

CONFIDENTIAL

SIMLA,
12 May 1946

NOTE ON THE PRINCIPLES TO BE AGREED UPON AS SUGGESTED ON BEHALF OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The approach of the Muslim League is so different from that of the Congress in regard to these matters that it is a little difficult to deal with each point separately without reference to the rest. The picture as envisaged by the Congress is briefly given in a separate note. From consideration of this note and the Muslim League's proposals,[1] the difficulties and the possible agreement will become obvious.

The Muslim League's proposals are dealt with below briefly:

1. We suggest that the proper procedure is for one constitution-making body or Constituent Assembly to meet for the whole of India and later for groups to be formed if so desired by the Provinces concerned. The matter should be left to the Provinces and if they wish to function as a group they are at liberty to do so and to frame their own constitution for the purpose.

In any event Assam has obviously no place in the group mentioned, and the North West Frontier Province, as the elections show, is not in favour of this proposal.

2. We have agreed to residuary powers, apart from the Central subjects, vesting in the Provinces. They can make such use of them as they like and, as has been stated above, function as a group. What the ultimate nature of such a group may be, cannot be determined at this stage and should be left to the representatives of the provinces concerned.

3. We have suggested that the most suitable method of election would be by single transferable vote. This would give proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their present representation in the legislatures. If the population proportion is taken, we have no particular objection, but this would lead to difficulties in all the provinces where there is weightage in favour of certain communities. The principle approved of, would necessarily apply to all the provinces.

4. There is no necessity for opting out of a province from its group as the previous consent of the province is necessary for joining the group.

5. We consider it essential that the Federal Union should have a legislature. We also consider it essential that the Union should have power to raise its own revenue.

6 & 7. We are entirely opposed to parity of representation as between groups of provinces in the Union executive or legislature. We think that the provision to the effect that no major communal issue in the Union constitution shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the numbers of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Constituent Assembly are separately in its favour, is a sufficient and ample safeguard of all minorities. We have suggested something wider and including all communities than has been proposed elsewhere. This may give rise to some difficulties in regard to small communities, but all such difficulties can be got over by reference to arbitration. We are prepared to consider the method of giving effect to this principle so as to make it more feasible.

8. This proposal is so sweeping in its nature that no government or legislature can function at all. Once we have safeguarded major communal issues, other matters, whether controversial or not, require no safeguard. This will simply mean safeguarding vested interests of all kinds and preventing progress, or indeed any movement in any direction. We, therefore, entirely disapprove of it.

9. We are entirely agreeable to the inclusion of fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and like matters in the constitution. We suggest that the proper place for this is the All India

Federal Union constitution. There should be uniformity in regard to these fundamental rights all over India.

10. The constitution of the Union will inevitably contain provisions for its revision. It may also contain a provision for its full reconsideration at the end of ten years. The matter will be open then for a complete reconsideration. Though it is implied, we would avoid reference to cession as we do not wish to encourage this idea.

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 17.

Annex I to Appendix I. 18

Record of Seventh Meeting of Second Simla Conference[1]

TOP SECRET *12 May 1946*

No. S.C.(D)-5 [?7]

The Secretary of State said [that] the Delegation had received copies of the correspondence which had passed between the parties. They noted the points where the parties approached each other and the other points where there was disagreement. The question was whether the parties thought that by continuing this conference or in any other way there was any chance of reaching agreement.

Mr. Jinnah said that the two parties were fundamentally opposed to each other.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that during the discussions in Simla the whole ground had been covered. The Congress in their last communication had tried to go as far as they could. They had also offered arbitration by an umpire. He did not see what more they could do about it.

Mr. Jinnah said [that] he would like to make it clear that the Muslim League had gone a long way in accepting the idea of a Union confined to three subjects.

The Secretary of State said he thought both parties had made concessions; but if they were convinced that the talks would not lead them nearer together, there was no more to be said. The only course therefore was to close this conference.

A long discussion followed on the question whether the documents that had passed between the parties and the Delegation should be published. The Congress were prepared to treat them as confidential, at any rate for the time being, but Mr. Jinnah wanted to publish at any rate his latest letter[2] and the Congress reply.[3] He claimed that documents of this sort were no longer confidential when the Conference broke up.

The Secretary of State explained that the Delegation proposed to

put out a statement of their own before the end of the week and he thought that no document should be published till after that. Ultimately it was agreed that the press communique to be put out by the Delegation should include mention of the fact that neither party was to blame for the breakdown.[4] This was accepted and it was agreed that until the Delegation's own statement was put out, the proceedings of the Conference should be treated as confidential. It was also agreed that a committee consisting of Sir Stafford Cripps, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Jinnah should prepare a list of documents for publication in due course.

The President of the Congress, on behalf of the Congress, thanked the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy for the trouble they had taken in trying to remove the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League. He said "You have tried your best and we thank you".

Mr. Jinnah said that he and his colleagues fully appreciated the strenuous efforts made to secure an agreement. It was the misfortune of the parties that they had not agreed. The Delegation and the Viceroy had done their best, and he and his colleagues were grateful.

The Secretary of State said that the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy had wholeheartedly tried to help. They appreciated that the delegations from the Congress and the Muslim League spoke for very many people and had heavy responsibilities. He realized their difficulties. The Delegation thanked both parties for the efforts they had made, and were sorry it had not been possible to agree.

[1]No. 264, *TP*, VII, 525-6.
[2]Appendix I. 17.
[3]See No. 260, *TP*, VII, 518.
[4]See No. 265, *TP*, VII, 526.

Annex II to Appendix I. 18
Note by Archibald Wavell[1]

[SIMLA]
13 May 1946

NOTE OF H.E.'S INTERVIEW WITH MR. JINNAH ON 13TH MAY 1946

1. Mr. Jinnah looked tired and ill, and said he was badly in need of a rest; he proposed to remain in Simla, if possible for three weeks' rest. I told him what the movements of the Delegation were, and that we wished to hand a copy of the Statement we were going to issue to the principal parties a few hours before it was given to the public. I asked who would represent him in Delhi; he said Liaquat Ali Khan. I offered to try and arrange that he should also get a personal copy

handed to him in Simla at the same time. He said that he would come down to Delhi whenever I summoned him, but otherwise wished to remain in Simla to recuperate.

2. He then said that he did not know, of course, what was in our Statement, but that "the whole guts" of the problem lay in the grouping of the Muslim Provinces, if this was once agreed, we might be able to get on.

3. I then went on to sound him about the Interim Government. I told him that I should have to get on with its formation as soon as possible, and that I had already sounded Congress. I then put to him the same points as I had put to Azad and Nehru a few days ago, i.e. that the new Council would be entirely Indian except for the Viceroy; that I had in mind a Council of twelve to begin with, excluding the Governor-General; I told him the proposed portfolios, and the proposed composition of the Executive Council (5 from the Muslim League, 5 from Congress, including a Scheduled Caste representative, one Sikh, and one other). I told him that I had no idea whether Congress would accept this, but that if they did, I thought the Muslim League would be well advised to accept so favourable a proportion. I realized that there would be difficulties to be overcome, for instance the inclusion of a nationalist Muslim; I knew Mr. Jinnah's views about that, but as there was a Congress Ministry of Muslims in the N.W.F.P., it would be difficult to resist the Congress on this point, so I hoped that he would reflect carefully before refusing entirely to sit with a Congress Muslim.

Jinnah listened carefully but made little comment. He seemed inclined to agree with me that the Defence Member should, if possible, be neither a Hindu nor a Muslim; he thought that in getting a distribution of the portfolios between Congress and the League, the Home portfolio might be balanced with Finance; External Affairs with Communications; Commerce with Planning and Development; and Agriculture and Food with Education and Health. He said that whether or not the Muslim League came into the Interim Government, would depend on whether our Statement seemed likely to offer a solution of the long term issue. His fear was that the Congress plan was to get control of the Central Government, to shelve the fundamental long term issue, and concentrate on getting control in the provinces. He could not come into the Government unless it was on a basis of a long term settlement satisfactory to him being in view.

4. I think that this is the nearest I have ever got Mr. Jinnah towards accepting the possibility of entering an Interim Government. He did not commit himself in any way, but he did not adopt an entirely

unreasonable and *non possumus* attitude as has so often been his practice in the past.

[WAVELL]

[1]No. 271, *TP*, VII, 540-1.

I. 19

Note by Abdur Rab Nishtar

F. 20/2-3

16 May 1946

Discussion between Secretary of State and Sir Stafford Cripps on one side and Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar on behalf of Muslim League.[1]

Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib asked at what stage and how Groups can be formed.[2] Secretary of State and Sir Stafford Cripps explained that the sections of constitution-making body would meet to decide the character of the provincial constitution within the Group and the Group constitution. The decision would be taken by majority vote of the representatives of the province within the section.

Nawabzada Sahib asked what if a province, for example N.W.F.P., refused to come to the meeting of the Section of the Constituent Assembly of which it was a part? Sir Stafford Cripps said that the Section would presumably proceed without those representatives. The Secretary of State said that under the table in Paragraph 19, N.W.F.P. had three representatives and their legislature would be asked to elect three by proportional representation. Those who were willing to elect would be supposed to elect their proportion and they would be entitled to attend even if the residue declined. Nishtar asked whether he correctly understood that each constitution-making body would be entitled to frame the constitution for provinces within its group irrespective of whether they attend or not and also to determine whether there should be group and what the group subjects should be, subject only to the right of the province to opt out after the constitution had been framed. Sir S. Cripps said that this was in accordance with the document. The option would be exercisable after the whole picture including the Union Constitution had been completed.

Nishtar asked whether it was open to the representatives of two Groups to decide to sit together and act in common?

Sir Stafford said there was no provision for Groups to sit together but that unless the Union Constitution contained any provision which

would prevent it, there was nothing to prevent two Groups coming together at a later stage by agreement.

Nawabzada asked whether a province which opted out of a Group could join another Group? Secretary of State said that he saw no reason why a province should not be able to opt into another Group but this was a matter outside the present document. Since a province could not opt out until the constitution-making body completed its work, option from one group to another would therefore only take place by negotiation after the constitution had been completed.

Nishtar asked whether recommendation (i) in Para 15 which mentioned Communications as a Central subject meant all communication? Sir Stafford said this was not confined to strategic communication. It included Railways, Telegraphs and Roads. He thought that this would mean main roads but not District roads. It did not in his view include all roads.

Nawab Ismail Khan asked whether Nizam State Railway would come under the Union Authority and was told if Hyderabad joined the Union then presumably it would be so.

Nishtar asked whether the mention of Finance in Para 15 (i) meant that there would be direct taxation by the Union. Sir Stafford said that this was left entirely for constitution-making body to decide. The Secretary of State pointed out that if proposals in regard to financing the Union were [*sic*] brought up in constitution-making body were unfair to Muslim community, the Muslims would have the protection of the provision in Para 19 (vii) by which any resolution raising any major common issue required a majority of the representatives present and voting of each two major communities.

Nishtar asked what will be the position as regards the Advisory Committee on minorities? Would its recommendations have to be included in all constitutions? Sir Stafford said it would be an Advisory Body and that it could itself recommend whether provision should be made in all the constitutions. The Delegation thought that the constitution-making body would be unlikely to disregard the recommendations of a strong and representative committee.

Nishtar asked whether the Union Constitution-making Body would decide what would be fundamental rights on the basis of the advice of the committee, and whether it would be subject to the communal issue provision in Para 19 (vii). He was told that this was not specifically decided in the document but presumably the Union Constitution-making Body would decide on fundamental rights and that in that case the decision would, if it raised communal issue, [be] subject to para 19 (vii).

Nishtar pointed to the provision of para 15 (vi) and 19 (viii) and asked whether the right of provinces to opt out of a Group carried the implications that provinces could at either stage secede from the Union. He pointed out that in para 10 of the note on principles put in by the Congress at the Simla Conference on the 12th May admitted that while it was undesirable to say in terms, full reconsideration at the end of ten years implied the right of secession from the Union. The Secretary of State and Sir Stafford said that there would not be an automatic right of a province to secede but a province could raise the question of revision of constitution and the question of secession could be raised for consideration by revising machinery.

Nawabzada asked whether it was the Governor-General in Council or the Viceroy who would convene the constitution-making body and whether after it had been set up it would be within the authority of any member of Govt. of India to decide matters in regard to it. The Secretary of State and Sir Stafford said that the Viceroy was the convening authority and that the constitution-making body would not in their opinion be within the authority of Govt. of India or any member of it.

Sir Stafford Cripps said that the Delegation would like it to be understood that this statement was not to be subject of negotiation and that it was intended to go ahead with the convening of Constituent Assembly on the basis of it. The only alteration which could be considered would be those agreed upon by the two main parties.

Nishtar asked what was contemplated as regards States. Sir Stafford explained that States could be represented at the opening formal meeting of the constitution-making body by a negotiating committee. While the Group and provincial constitutions were being settled, the actual method of representation of the States could be decided by negotiation.

Nawab Ismail Khan asked who would interpret the statement. Sir Stafford said that if any question arose he presumed that the Viceroy would be the deciding authority. He would act in consultation with His Majesty's Govt. when necessary.

The Muslim League representatives asked whether they could have the copy of the note of explanation which had been given. The Secretary of State said that the document was intended [to be] self-explanatory and he thought that when it had been studied it would be found that questions raised were all covered. He would not like it to be thought that he and Sir Stafford had been enlarging upon it. They were familiar with the document and were able to point in it to answer various questions that might be raised. It was agreed that Nishtar

might see the note and take notes[3] from it but these would not have the status of official regard [*sic* for record].

[A. R. NISHTAR]

[1]The meeting had been convened by the Cabinet Delegation to elucidate any points which the Muslim League representatives were not clear about. See No. 301, *TP*, VII, 577-80.
[2]Pethick-Lawrence's Private Secretary had sent Jinnah three copies of the Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy (Appendix I. 20) a day ahead of its release to the press at 8.00 p.m. on 16 May. See F. 13/50, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]The above note was prepared by Nishtar. For the official record, see note 1 above.

I. 20

Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy

F. 13/76-81

NEW DELHI,
16 May 1946

1. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:

> "My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision."[1]
>
> * * *
>
> "I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so."[2]
>
> * * *
>
> "But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible."[3]

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we

succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the North-West consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the North-East consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was

based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures show:

North-Western Area	*Muslim*	*Non-Muslim*
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
North-West Frontier Province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
British Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
Total	22,653,294	13,840,231
[Percentage]	62.07%	37.93%
North-Eastern Area		
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
Total	36,117,913	34,063,345
[Percentage]	51.69%	48.31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign state of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We therefore considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6% of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of

the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs, leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign state of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation, postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a United India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan state are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign states.

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element. To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme, provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre, optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some ministers, who dealt with compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to those provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

14. Before putting forward our recommendation, we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new government. This fact has been fully recognized by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States.[4] We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for all-India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an executive and a legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any questions raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.
(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces.
(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.
(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.
(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any assembly to decide a new constitutional structure, the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the provincial legislative assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 million has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an

Assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only forty-eight per cent of the total, although they form 55% of the provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

a. to allot to each province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.
b. to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each province in proportion to their population.
c. to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognize only three main communities in India: General, Muslim, and Sikh, the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the provincial legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We therefore, propose that there shall be elected by each provincial legislative assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote:

Table of Representation

SECTION A

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

SECTION B

Province	General	Muslim	Sikh	Total
Punjab	8	16	4	28
NWFP	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

SECTION C

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India	...	...	292
Maximum for Indian States	...	...	93
Total	...	...	385

Note. In order to represent the Chief Commissioners' Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representative Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council.

To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

ii. It is the intention that the States should be given in the final constituent assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

iii. The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

iv. A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

v. These sections shall proceed and settle the provincial constitution for the provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for

those Provinces and if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

vi. the representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

vii. In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issues shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.
The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

viii. As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the provinces after the first general election under the new constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union Constitu tion.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the provincial legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities, of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance there fore to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period

that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders, having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognizing the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its task of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognize with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many million of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen and the world as a whole.

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit

of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be, we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

[1,2 & 3]See statement by Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons, F. 12/6, *QAP*. Not printed.

[4]See Cabinet Mission Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy. Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

I.21

Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/52-8

SIMLA,
22 May 1946

I have now before me the statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated 16th of May 1946[1] issued at Delhi. Before I deal with it I should like to give a background of the discussions that took place at Simla from the 5th of May onward till the Conference was declared concluded[2] and its breakdown[3] announced in the official communique dated 12 May 1946.

We met in the Conference on the 5th of May to consider the formula embodied in the letter of the Secretary of State for India, dated 27th April 1946,[4] inviting the League representative.

The formula was as follows:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.3, para 4*]

The Muslim League position was that:

Firstly, the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India constituted Pakistan zones and should be constituted as a sovereign independent States and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay;

Secondly, that separate constitution-making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions;

Thirdly, that minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the Lahore Resolution;

Fourthly, that the acceptance of the League demand and its implementation without delay were a *sine qua non* for the League co-operation and participation in the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre;

Fifthly, it gave a warning to the British Government against any attempt to impose a Federal constitution on a United India basis, or forcing any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the League demand and that Muslim India would resist if any attempt to impose it were made. Besides, such an attempt would be the grossest breach of faith of the declaration of His Majesty's Government made in August 1940[5] with the approval of the British Parliament and subsequent pronouncements by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible British statesmen from time to time, reaffirming the August Declaration.

We accepted the invitation to attend the Conference without prejudice and without any commitment and without accepting the fundamental principles underlying this short formula of the Mission, on the assurance given by the Secretary of State for India in his letter dated 29th April 1946,[6] wherein he said.

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.5, para 2*]

The Congress position in reply to the invitation was stated in their letter of April 28th[7] that a strong Federal Government at the Centre with present provinces as federating units be established and they laid down that Foreign Affairs, Defence, Currency, Customs, Tariffs and such other subjects as may be found on closer scrutiny to be intimately allied to them should vest in the Central Federal Government. They negatived the idea of grouping of provinces. However, they also agreed to participate in the Conference to discuss the formula of the Cabinet Delegation.

After days of discussion no appreciable progress was made and, finally, I was asked to give our minimum terms in writing. Consequently we embodied certain fundamental principles of our terms in writing as an offer to the Congress, in the earnest desire for a peaceful and amicable settlement and for the speedy attainment of freedom and independence of the peoples of India. It was communicated to the Congress on the 12th of May[8] and a copy of it was sent to the Cabinet Delegation at the same time.

The following were the terms of the offer made by the Muslim League Delegation.

[*Omitted. See Enclosure to Appendix I.17*]

The crux of our offer, as it will appear from its text, was, *inter alia*, that the six Muslim provinces should be grouped together as Pakistan Group and the remaining as Hindustan Group and on the basis of two Federations we were willing to consider the Union or Confederation strictly confined to three subjects only, i.e. Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for Defence, which the two sovereign Federations would voluntarily delegate to the Confederation. All the remaining subjects and the residue were to remain vested in the two Federations and the provinces respectively. This was intended to provide for a transitional period as after an initial period of ten years we were free to secede from the Union. But, unfortunately, this most conciliatory and reasonable offer was in all its fundamentals not accepted by the Congress, as will appear from their reply[9] to our offer. On the contrary, their final suggestions were the same as regards the subjects to be vested with the Centre, as they had been before the Congress entered the Conference, and they made one more drastic suggestion for our acceptance that the Centre must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies. This was stated in their reply dated 12th May 1946[10], which was communicated to us.

At this stage the Conference broke down and we were informed that the British Cabinet Delegation would issue their statement which is now before the public.

To begin with, the statement is cryptic with several lacunas and the operative part of it is comprised of a few short paragraphs to which I shall refer later.

I regret that the Mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete sovereign State of Pakistan, which we still hold is the only solution of the constitutional problem of India and which alone can secure stable governments and lead to the happiness and welfare, not only of the two major communities, but of all the peoples of this sub-continent. It is all the more regrettable that the Mission should have thought fit to advance commonplace and exploded arguments against Pakistan and resorted to special pleadings, couched in a deplorable language, which is calculated to hurt the feelings of Muslim India. It seems that this was done by the Mission simply to appease and placate the Congress, because when they come to face the realities, they themselves have made the following

pronouncement embodied in the paragraph 5 of the statement which says.

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.20, para 5*]

And again in paragraph 12;

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.20, para 12*]

And now what recommendations have they made to effectively secure the object in view and in the light of the very clear and emphatic conclusion they arrived at in paragraph 12 of the statement.

I shall now deal with some of the important points in the operative part of the statement:

1. They have divided Pakistan into two, what they call Section B (for the North-Western Zone) and Section C (for the North-Eastern Zone)
2. Instead of two constitution-making bodies only one Constitution-making body is devised with three sections A, B, and C.
3. They lay down that:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.20, para 15(i)*]

There is no indication at all that the Communications would be restricted to what is necessary for Defence nor is there any indication as to how this Union will be empowered to raise finance required for these three subjects, while our view was that finances should be raised only by contribution and not by taxation.

4. It is laid down that

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.20, para 15 (ii)*]

a. That there should be no Legislature for the Union, but the question should be left to the Constituent Assembly to decide;
b. that there should be parity of representation between Pakistan Group and the Hindustan Group in the Union Executive and Legislature, if any; and
c. that no decision, legislative, executive or administrative should be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of a controversial nature, except by a majority of three-fourths; all the three terms of our offer have been omitted from the statement.

No doubt, there is one safeguard for the conduct of business in the Union Legislature that:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.20, para 15 (ii)*]

Even this is vague and ineffective. To begin with, who will decide

and how as to what is a major communal issue and what is a minor communal issue and what is a purely non-communal issue?

5. Our proposal that Pakistan Group should have a right to secede from the Union after an initial period of ten years, although the Congress had no serious objection to it, has been omitted and now we are only limited to a reconsideration of the terms of the Union Constitution after an initial period of ten years.

6. Coming to the constitution-making machinery, here again a representative of British Baluchistan is included in section B, but how he will be elected is not indicated.

7. With regard to the constitution-making body for the purpose of forming the proposed Union Constitution, it will have an overwhelming Hindu majority, as in a House of 292 for British India, the Muslim strength will be 79 and if the number allotted to Indian states, 93, is taken into account, it is quite obvious that the Muslim proportion will be further reduced as the bulk of the States representatives would be Hindus. This Assembly, so constituted, will elect the Chairman and other officers and, it seems, also the members of the Advisory Committee, referred to in paragraph 20 of the statement, by a majority and the same rule will apply also to other normal business. But, I note, that there is only one saving clause which runs an follows:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.20, para 19 (vii)*]

It follows, therefore, that it will be the Chairman alone who will decide. He will not be bound by the opinion of the Federal Court, nor need anybody know what that opinion was, as the Chairman is merely directed to consult the Federal Court.

8. With regard to the provinces opting out of their Group, it is left to the new legislature of the province after the first general election under the new constitution to decide, instead of a referendum of the people as was suggested by us.

9. As for paragraph 20 which runs as follows:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I.20, para 20*]

This raises a very serious question indeed, for, if it is left to the Union Constituent Assembly to decide these matters by a majority vote, and whether any of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee should be incorporated in the Union Constitution, then it will open a door to more subjects being vested in the Union Government. This will destroy the very basic principle that the Union is to be strictly confined to three subjects.

These are some of the main points which I have tried to put before the public after studying this important document. I do not wish to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League, which are going to meet shortly at Delhi. They will finally take such decisions as they may think proper after a careful consideration of the pros and cons and a thorough and dispassionate examination of the statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy.

[1]Appendix I.20.
[2]See Annex I to Appendix I.18.
[3]See No. 265, *TP*, VII, 526.
[4]Appendix I.3.
[5]See Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 724-6.
[6]Appendix I.5.
[7]Annex to Appendix I.5.
[8]Enclosure to Appendix I. 17.
[9]Enclosure 2 to Appendix I.18.
[10]Enclosure 1 to Appendix I.18.

I.22

Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy

F. 13/82-5

[NEW DELHI,]
25 May 1946

The Delegation have considered the statement of the President of the Muslim League dated 22nd May[1] and the Resolution dated 24th May[2] of the Working Committee of the Congress.

2. The position is that since the Indian leaders, after prolonged discussion, failed to arrive at an agreement, the Delegation put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of cooperation.

3. The Delegation wish also to refer briefly to a few points that have been raised in the statement and resolution.

4. The authority and the functions of the Constituent Assembly, and the procedure which it is intended to follow, are clear from the Cabinet Delegation's statement. Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and working on this basis, there is no intention of interfering with its discretion or questioning its decisions. When the Constituent

Assembly has completed its labour, His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two matters which are mentioned in the statement and which we believe are not controversial, namely adequate provision for the protection of the minorities (paragraph 20 of the Statement) and willingness to conclude a treaty with His Majesty's Government to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power (paragraph 22 of the Statement).

5. It is a consequence of the system of election that a few Europeans can be elected to the Constituent Assembly. Whether the right so given will be exercised is a matter for them to decide.

6. The representative of Baluchistan will be elected in a joint meeting of the *Shahi Jirga* and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality.

7. In Coorg the whole Legislative Council will have the right to vote, but the official members will receive instructions not to take part in the elections.

8. The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the Statement to the effect that the provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed does not accord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for the grouping of the provinces are well known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties.

The right to opt out of the Groups after the constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the first election under the new provincial constitution this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue and all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision.

9. The question of how the State representatives should be appointed to the Constituent Assembly is clearly one which must be discussed with the States. It is not a matter for decision by the Delegation.

10. It is agreed that the Interim Government will have a new basis. That basis is that all portfolios, including that of the War Member, will be held by Indians; and that the Members will be selected in consultation with the Indian political parties. These are very significant changes in the Government of India, and a long step towards independence. H.M.G. will recognize the effect of these changes, will attach the fullest weight to them, and will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of India.

11. As the Congress statement recognizes, the present Constitution must continue during the interim period; and the Interim Government cannot therefore be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature. There is, however, nothing to prevent the Members of the Government, individually or by common consent, from resigning, if they fail to pass an important measure through the Legislature, or if a vote of no-confidence is passed against them.

12. There is of course no intention of retaining British troops in India against the wish of an independent India under the new Constitution; but during the interim period, which it is hoped will be short, the British Parliament has, under the present constitution, the ultimate responsibility for the security of India and it is necessary therefore that British troops should remain.

[1]Appendix I.21.
[2]See F. 20/179-80, *QAP.* Not printed.

I. 23

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/61

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
4 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You asked me yesterday[1] to give you an assurance about the action that would be taken if one party accepted the scheme in the Cabinet Delegation's Statement of the 16th May,[2] and the other refused.

2. I can give you on behalf of the Cabinet Delegation my personal assurance that we do not propose to make any discrimination in the treatment of either party; and that we shall go ahead with the plan laid down in the Statement so far as circumstances permit if either party accepts; but we hope that both will accept.

3. I should be grateful if you would see that the existence of this assurance does not become public. If it is necessary for you to tell your Working Committee that you have an assurance, I should be

grateful if you would explain to them this condition.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]See No. 439, *TP*, VII, 784-5.
[2]Appendix I. 20.

I. 24

G. E. B. Abell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/62

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI,
4 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

H. E. asks me to reply to two questions you put to him yesterday.

2. There is no objection to members of the Interim Government being also members of the Constituent Assembly.

3. With regard to Baluchistan, it is intended that the *Shahi Jirga* which will sit with the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality for the election of a representative will not include members from Kalat State.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. ABELL
Secretary to the Governor-General

I. 25

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 605/25

7 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am enclosing herewith, as promised, a copy of the decision of the Council of the All India Muslim League regarding the Statement of the Mission embodying their proposals. I regret that I was not able to do so earlier, as the decision was taken very late last night.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Enclosure to Appendix I. 25

F. 13/70-1

[NEW DELHI,
6 June 1946]

Resolution by All India Muslim League Council

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, after having carefully considered the Statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy on the 16th May 1946,[1] and other relevant statements and documents officially issued in connection therewith; and after having examined the proposals set forth in the said Statement in all their bearings and implications, places on record the following views for the guidance of the nation and direction of the Working Committee.

2. That the reference made and the conclusions recorded in paragraphs 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Statement concerning the Muslim demand for the establishment of full sovereign Pakistan as the only solution of the Indian constitutional problem, are unwarranted, unjustified and unconvincing, and should not therefore have found place in a State Document issued on behalf and with the authority of the British Government. These paragraphs are couched in such a language and contain such mutilation of established facts that the Cabinet Mission have clearly been prompted to include them in their Statement solely with the object of appeasing the Hindus in utter disregard of Muslim sentiments. Furthermore, the contents of the aforesaid paragraphs are in conflict and inconsistent with the admissions made by the Mission themselves in paragraphs 5 and 12 of their Statement, which are to the following effect:

> First, the Mission "were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to perpetual Hindu majority rule";
>
> Second, "this feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards";
>
> Third, "if there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, economic or other interests";
>
> Fourth, very real Muslim apprehensions exist that "their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a

purely unitary India in which Hindus, with their greatly superior numbers, must be a dominating element".

In order that there may be no manner of doubt in any quarter the Council of the All India Muslim League reiterates that the attainment of the goal of complete sovereign Pakistan still remains the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India, for the achievement of which they will, if necessary, employ every means in their power and consider no sacrifice or suffering too great.

3. That, notwithstanding the affront offered to Muslim sentiments by the choice of injudicious words in the preamble of the Statement of the Cabinet Mission, the Muslim League, having regard to the grave issues involved, and prompted by its earnest desire for a peaceful solution, if possible, of the Indian constitutional problem, and inasmuch as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan are inherent in the Mission's Plan, by virtue of the compulsory grouping of the six Muslim provinces in Sections B & C, is willing to co-operate with the constitution-making machinery proposed in the scheme outlined by the Mission, in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of complete sovereign Pakistan and in the consummation of the goal of independence for the major nations, Muslims and Hindus, and all the other people inhabiting the vast sub-continent.

It is for these reasons that the Muslim League is accepting the scheme and will join the Constitution-making body, and it will keep in view the opportunity and the right of secession of provinces or groups from the Union which have been provided in the Mission's Plan, by implication. The ultimate attitude of the Muslim League will depend on the final outcome of the labours of the Constitution-making body, and on the final shape of the constitutions which may emerge from the deliberations of that body jointly and separately in its three sections. The Muslim League also reserves the right to modify and revise the policy and attitude set forth in this resolution, at any time during the progress of deliberations of the Constitution-making body, or the Constituent Assembly, or thereafter, if the course of events so require, bearing in mind the fundamental principles and ideals hereinbefore adumbrated to which the Muslim League is irrevocably committed.

4. That, with regard to arrangements for the proposed Interim Government at the Centre, this Council authorises its President to negotiate with His Excellency the Viceroy and to take such decisions and actions as he deems fit and proper.

[1]Appendix I. 20.

I. 26

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 13/67

NEW DELHI,
8 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

During the course of our discussions regarding the Interim Government at Simla and thereafter at Delhi on the 3rd of June,[1] after my arrival and before the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee took place, you were good enough to give me the assurance that there will be only twelve portfolios, five on behalf of the League,[2] five Congress, one Sikh and one Christian or Anglo-Indian; and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in the distribution thereof, further details being left open for discussion.

With your previous permission I informed the Working Committee of this assurance and this was one of the most important considerations which weighed with them together with the Statement[3] of the Cabinet Mission. These two together formed one whole and, as such, the Council of the All India Muslim League has given its final decision[4] on the 6th of June. I may further inform you that similarly I had to repeat the assurance to the Council before they finally gave their approval. As you know, the meeting of the All India Muslim League Council was held in camera and, there again, the House showed great opposition to the scheme in the beginning. During the course of discussions at a very early stage a large body of opposition was satisfied when I made the statement in answer to the very pressing question as to what our position will be with regard to the Interim Government. But for this assurance we would not have got the approval of the Council to the scheme. As requested by you I took as much care as possible to see that it did not become public.

I am writing this letter to you as I find that a very sinister agitation has been set on foot by the Congress press against your formula stated above, which was the turning point in our having secured the decision of the Council.

Any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to very serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League.

You know further that the Congress may adopt an offensive attitude by including a Muslim in their quota, which will be strongly resented by the Muslim League and which will be another very great hurdle before us.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 439, *TP*, VII, 784-5.
[2]See Annex.
[3]Appendix I. 20.
[4]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.

Annex to Appendix I. 26

Note by Archibald Wavell[1]

7 June 1946

INTERVIEW WITH MR. M.A. JINNAH

Mr. Jinnah said that he must insist on the 5:5:2 ratio in the Interim Government and that he would not come in on any other basis. As regards portfolios he said the League were particularly interested in Defence, External Affairs, and Planning and Development, with the last of these Commerce should go.

2. As regards himself he asked what would happen to his seat in the Assembly if he became a member of the Interim Government. Would he have to resign his elected seat and take a nominated one?

3. He said the only portfolio he would consider was that of Defence.

4. He said he hoped there was no objection to his remaining President of the Muslim League if he came into the Interim Government.

W[AVELL]

[1]No. 471, *TP*, VII, 839.

I. 27

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/68

No. 592/47

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
9 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,
Thank you for your letter of yesterday.[1]

You speak of an assurance about the 5:5:2 ratio. There was no assurance on this point, but I told you, as I told the Congress, that this was what I had in mind. It would be wrong for me to leave you under the impression that there was any assurance, although I hope that we may reach agreement on that basis.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 26.

I. 28

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 13/69

No. 592/74

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
11 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You asked me when we last met[1] what would happen about your seat in the Assembly if you became a Member of the Interim Government. I have had the matter examined and am advised that in the absence of parliamentary legislation it would be impossible to avoid your vacating your elected seat on becoming a Member of Government. You would of course have a nominated seat as a Member of Government.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]See Annex to Appendix I. 26.

I. 29

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/4

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
12 June 1946

No. 592/47

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am anxious to have an opportunity of consulting you together

with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as to how best I can fill the various posts in the Interim Government? Could you come to see me for this purpose at 5 p.m. today?

It is not my intention to discuss any question of principle such as "parity" or otherwise, but to concentrate upon what I know to be our common objective, that is to get the best possible Interim Government drawn from the two major parties and some of the minorities, and to approach this decision by a consideration of what the portfolios should be and how each one can best be filled.

I am sending a similar letter to Pandit Nehru.[1]

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]See No. 498, *TP*, VII, 877.

I. 30

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/1

NEW DELHI,
12 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of 12th June.[1]

I have already informed you by my letter dated 8th June 46,[2] that our decision accepting the scheme embodied in the Statement[3] of the Cabinet Delegation was based on your formula of parity, as one of the most important considerations which weighed with the Working Committee and the Council of the Muslim League in finally arriving at their decision.[4]

I understand that the Congress have not yet given their decision and, it seems to me, that until they decide it is not advisable to discuss how best either the personnel or the portfolios should be adjusted. I agree with you that the important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties and we should get best possible men suited for those portfolios. But I am of the opinion that no use or purpose would be served until the Congress have given their decision with regard to the scheme embodied in the Statement of the Mission of the 16th May 1946.

If you wish to discuss anything further I shall be glad to see you alone.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 29.
[2]Appendix I. 26.
[3]Appendix I. 20.
[4]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.

I. 31

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/5

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
15 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to inform you that after discussions with the Congress representatives I have failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of an Interim Government on the basis which I suggested to you. The Cabinet Delegation and myself have therefore decided to issue tomorrow a Statement on the action we propose to take; and we will let you have a copy of this before publication.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

I. 32

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/11

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
16 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,[1]

I send herewith a copy of the Statement which, as indicated in the letter[2] I sent you yesterday, will be released at 4 p.m. this evening.

As the Statement shows, the Cabinet Ministers and I are fully aware of the difficulties that have prevented an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government. We are unwilling to abandon our hope of a working partnership between the two major parties and representatives of the minorities. We have therefore done our best to arrive at a practicable arrangement taking into consideration the various conflicting claims, and the need for obtaining a Government of capable and representative administrators. We hope that the parties will now take their share in the administration of the country on the basis set out in our new Statement. We are sure we can rely on you and your Working Committee to look to the wider issues and to the urgent needs of the country as a whole, and to consider this proposal in a spirit of accommodation.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]A similar letter was sent to Abul Kalam Azad. See No. 547, *TP*, VII, 952.
[2]Appendix I. 31.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 32

F. 14/8-10

STATEMENT BY CABINET DELEGATION AND HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

[NEW DELHI,]
16 June 1946

1. His Excellency the Viceroy, in consultation with the members of the Cabinet Mission, has for some time been exploring the possibilities of forming a coalition Government drawn from the two major parties and certain of the minorities. The discussions have revealed the difficulties which exist for the two major parties in arriving at any agreed basis for the formation of such a Government.

2. The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission appreciate these difficulties and the efforts which the two parties have made to meet them. They consider however that no useful purpose can be served by further prolonging these discussions. It is indeed urgently necessary that a strong and representative Interim Government should be set up to conduct the very heavy and important business that has to be carried through.

3. The Viceroy is therefore issuing invitations to the following to serve as members of the Interim Government on the basis that the

constitution-making will proceed in accordance with the Statement of May 16th:

Sardar Baldev Singh	Dr. John Matthai
Sir N.P. Engineer	Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan
Mr. Jagjivan Ram	Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan	Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Mr. H. K. Mahtab	Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

If any of those invited is unable for personal reasons to accept, the Viceroy will, after consultation, invite some other person in his place.

4. The Viceroy will arrange the distribution of portfolios in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties.

5. The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available coalition Government.

6. The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission believe that Indians of all communities desire to arrive at a speedy settlement of this matter so that the process of constitution-making can go forward and that the Government of India may be carried on as efficiently as possible in the meantime.

7. They therefore hope that all parties especially the two major parties will accept this proposal so as to overcome the present obstacles, and will co-operate for the successful carrying on of the Interim Government. Should this proposal be accepted the Viceroy will aim at inaugurating the new Government about 26th June.

8. In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16th.[1]

9. The Viceroy is also directing the Governors of the Provinces to summon the provincial legislative assemblies forthwith to proceed with the elections necessary for the setting up of the constitution-making machinery as put forward in the Statement of May 16th.

[1] Appendix I. 20.

I. 33

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/7

No. 592/47

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
16 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a copy of a Statement[1] which will be issued on behalf of the Cabinet Mission and myself this evening.

I very much hope you will agree to become a Member of the Interim Government[2] on the basis of this Statement and to help in the administration of India while the constitution-making proceeds.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[2]See Annexes I & II.

Annex I to Appendix I. 33

NOTE OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN MR. JINNAH, LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE AND MR. ALEXANDER[1]

17 June 1946

Mr. Jinnah arrived at 7 p.m. and said that he would like to mention in passing the question of the Europeans voting in Section C. He had heard, but he did not believe, that very strong pressure had been brought to bear upon the Europeans not to cast their votes. He did not comment further on this but said he had reason to think that the figures in Assam had not been worked out correctly according to population. If they had been done so he claimed that the Muslims would be at least one seat better off in Section C.

He then gave a long description of the question of parity in the Interim Government going back to the Simla talks of 1945. Coming to the Simla discussions of 1946 he pointed out that while the Congress took exception in writing to a large number of matters they had never questioned the matter of parity in the Interim Government. I pointed out to him that the matters which they had dealt with in writing were confined to the long-term issue and that the negotiations regarding the Interim Government had been conducted verbally by

the Viceroy, and that I knew for a fact that the Congress from the start had disagreed with the idea of parity.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that though the Viceroy had not given him any specific assurance that an Interim Government on the lines of parity would be created, he had conducted the discussion on the basis of parity and that it was on this basis Mr. Jinnah had agreed to come in. I said I quite understood his position and it was true that the Viceroy was endeavouring to construct an Interim Government on the basis of parity, but he had not found it possible to do so. Accordingly, if Mr. Jinnah had given a promise on this basis to take part in the Government he was released from this promise when the basis was changed.

Mr. Jinnah then referred in detail to the various concessions that he had made and in particular to the one regarding a member of the Scheduled Castes. He seemed to suggest, though I do not think he said so specifically, that the member of the Scheduled Castes would not be a Congress member. In any case he felt he was being pushed all the time and that the Mission had yielded to the importunity of Congress and were driving Mr. Jinnah further and further. I interjected that the Mission had rejected most of the demands of the Congress and that the Congress held that we had yielded too much to Mr. Jinnah.

I gathered, however, that Mr. Jinnah was prepared to accept all these points provided he could get assurances on two major matters.

In the first place he wanted to be clear as to the stage at which the discussion of portfolios would come in. If he decided to accept he did not want Congress to qualify its acceptance by unreasonable demands relating to the allocation of portfolios. He thought, therefore, that either the negotiation of portfolios should proceed in advance of acceptance on both sides or both parties ought to accept and the portfolios be settled afterwards. Of these two he favoured the second course and he hoped that the Viceroy would give him an assurance to that effect. I told him that I would endeavour to arrange an interview between him and the Viceroy at which this point could be taken up.

On this question of portfolios Mr. Jinnah made a further point. He said that in view of his position as President of the Muslim League and as he would probably want to serve on the Constitution-making Body, he was not absolutely certain that he would have time to enter the Interim Government. He had asked the Viceroy for the portfolio of Defence because he thought that this would be suitable from every point of view. Could he be assured that if he himself did not come into the Government this portfolio could be given to one of his party? I said that this was of course a matter for the Viceroy but it did not

seem to me a reasonable demand because the Viceroy would naturally want to allocate the portfolios according to the actual ministers who were willing to take them.

The second point on which Mr. Jinnah wanted assurance was regarding the promise that he was given to understand the Congress President had given that inside the Interim Government any question involving a major communal issue (on which the Viceroy would decide) could not be carried unless both of the major parties concurred. I said that I thought that without any such specific promise the position was bound to be more or less what Mr. Jinnah wanted because it was of the essence of a coalition but that this matter also could be raised in Mr. Jinnah's interview with the Viceroy who might be able to get from Congress a written acknowledgment that this undertaking would apply to the set-up in the scheme propounded by the Mission on June 16th.

Mr. Jinnah seemed to think that he would not need to summon the whole body of the League and that it was quite likely he might be in a position to give an answer on the following day when the Working Committee of the League were meeting in the evening. Mr. Jinnah was very friendly throughout the interview and I gathered that provided he could get the assurances on the two points he was going to recommend acceptance to his Working Committee.

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]No. 556, *TP*, VII, 960-1.

Annex II to Appendix I. 33

Note by Archibald Wavell[1]

SECRET *18 June 1946*

NOTE ON INTERVIEW WITH MR. JINNAH

I had a rather difficult one and a half hours with Mr. Jinnah who was in a somewhat un-accommodating mood.

I began by telling him about my interview with Azad and Nehru this morning. He accepted the substitution of Bose for Mahtab without comment; but when I told him that they might propose [Dr] Zakir Hussain instead of a Congress Hindu, he said that this was absolutely and entirely unacceptable. He returned to this at intervals throughout the discussion, characterising Z. H. as a quisling, and saying that if he accepted this he would be unable to show his face anywhere.

He then went on to say that I had put him into an extremely difficult position with the Nizam by including Nazimuddin in the Government, whom he was intending to propose to the Nizam as Premier. We had a long discussion about this, and he finally agreed that he would leave Nazimuddin in the Government for the moment, but said that he wanted to go to Hyderabad at the first opportunity and see whether the Nizam would accept Nazimuddin as Premier; if so would it be possible to substitute someone else for him in the Government? I said that I thought this could be arranged, but that I should be sorry to lose Nazimuddin.

He wanted a guarantee about major communal issues not being decided against a vote of the majority of Muslims, and also some understanding about portfolios. I said I thought that there would be in practice no difficulty about the major communal issues; he agreed that the Viceroy would have to be the judge [of] what was a major communal issue.

He did not really seem to know his own mind about portfolios; at one time he said that they could be settled after both sides had accepted, and at another time he said that Congress would make all sorts of difficulties after acceptance, and that the portfolios must be settled before he came in. As he had not decided whether he would come in himself or not, I told him that it might be rather difficult to try to decide the distribution of portfolios without knowing the names of those who had accepted.

We then considered the question of names; the only new feature was that Ispahani, who was one of his original nominees, had now said that he did not wish to be considered. Jinnah said that he thought his nominees were superior in ability to any of those of the Congress except Rajagopalachari.

He said that the Working Committee were meeting tonight and would write to me; but indicated that he thought we were being very weak with Congress and giving way to them on every point, and that he himself was being "ground down" beyond endurance.

I am afraid it was not a very successful interview; Mr. Jinnah gave me the impression of being rather depressed and tired, and of feeling that he had been rather let down.

W[AVELL]

[1]No. 562, *TP*, VII, 971-2.

I. 34

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/13

NEW DELHI,
18 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

In the course of my interview[1] with you this evening, you informed me that the Congress proposed to substitute Dr. Zakir Hussain for one of the Caste Hindus invited by you to join the Interim Government although you expressed the hope that they would not do so. I told you that the reaction of Muslim India would be deadly against such a substitution and the Muslim League would never accept the nomination of any Muslim by you other than a Muslim Leaguer.

I placed the matter before my Working Committee and it has unanimously endorsed this view and considers it vital and fundamental.

[1] Annex II to Appendix I. 33.

I. 35

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/14-7

19 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th June 1946,[1] together with an advance copy of the statement[2] by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself of the same date.

In my interview[3] with you at Simla prior to the announcement of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals, you had informed me that you were going to form the Interim Government consisting of twelve members on the basis of five Muslim League, five Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. As regards the portfolios, you had indicated that the important ones would be equally divided between the Muslim League and the Congress but details of actual allotment were to be left open for discussion. After the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated the 16th of May 1946,[4] you again on the 3rd of June at New Delhi gave me to understand[5]

that the formula for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed to me at Simla would be followed. On both the occasions I sought your permission to communicate this information to my Working Committee which you kindly gave. Accordingly I gave a full account of the talks I had with you and the decision[6] of the Working Committee in regard to the acceptance of the long term proposals was largely influenced by the faith which they reposed in the scheme for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed by you to me on the two occasions. Further, as I have already pointed out in my letter to you of 8th June 1946,[7] I made the statement before the Council of the All India Muslim League that that was the formula, which, I was assured by you, would be the basis on which you would proceed to form your Interim Government, and, therefore, this formed an integral part of the plan embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation. This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with the Council of the All India Muslim League also in arriving at their decision, although even then there was a section that was opposed to the Plan being accepted.

When the Congress press started a sinister agitation against Congress-League parity, with a view to inform you of the Muslim League stand, I wrote to you on the 8th June that "any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League."

Subsequently, in my interview with you on the 13th June[8] you informed me that you wanted to alter the basis and proceed on the formula of five Congress, five Muslim League and three others, namely, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste and the Indian Christian.

I told you then that if any change was proposed to be made I would have to place the matter before the Working Committee and may have to call another meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League. I also informed you that when the Congress finally agreed to your new formula I would then place it before my Working Committee for them to take such action as they deem necessary.

After discussion with the Congress representatives you wrote to me on the 15th June[9] informing me that you had failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government on the basis of 5:5:3 and that the Cabinet Delegation and yourself would issue a statement on the 16th of June on the action that you proposed to take and that you would let me have a copy of it before publication.

Accordingly you sent me a copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued on the 16th June with a covering

letter of the same date, which I placed before my Working Committee and who after careful consideration of the matter have authorised me to state as follows:

A. That the Working Committee are surprised that invitations have been issued to five Muslim Leaguers to join the Interim Government without calling for a list from the leader of the Muslim League.

B. That your latest proposal on the basis of which you now desire to form your Interim Government shows that you have abandoned parity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the two major parties, and have substituted parity between the Muslim League and Caste Hindus, and have added a fourth representative of the minorities, namely, a Parsi. One of the minority representatives nominated by you, i.e. Mr. Jagjivan Ram, is a Congressman and has been selected, it appears, not to give real representaton to the Scheduled Castes, but to give an additional seat to the Congress in the Interim Government.

C. That the modifications which have been made in the original formula for the Interim Government have adversely affected the proportion of the Muslims in the Interim Government as a whole and as against the Congress as a single group.

D. That in view of the serious changes which have, from time to time, been made to satisfy the Congress, it is not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of the formation of the Interim Government so long as the Congress does not finally convey its decision on the proposals to you.

E. That the question of distribution of portfolios should also be finally decided so that there may be no further hitch created by the Congress in this regard and the Working Committee may have a complete picture before them when they meet to consider the proposals.

Further, I shall be grateful if you will please make the following points clear with reference to your letter and statement of the 16th June:

i. Whether the proposals contained in the statement for the setting up of an Interim Government are now final or whether they are still open to any further change or modification at the instance of any of the parties or persons concerned;

ii. Whether the total number of fourteen members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period;

iii. If any person or persons invited as representatives of the four minorities, viz. the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, is, or are, unable to accept the invitation to join the Interim Government for personal or other reasons, how will the vacancy or vacancies thus created be filled by the Viceroy; and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained;

iv. a. Whether during the interim period for which the coalition Government is being set up, the proportion of members of the Government, community-wise, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained;

b. Whether the present representation given to four minorities, viz. the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, will be adhered to without any change or modification;

v. In view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original 12, and the change made in the original formula, whether there will be a provision, in order to safeguard Muslim interests, that the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it.

I trust that you will kindly favour me with your reply as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 32.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[3]Annex II to Appendix I. 18.
[4]Appendix I. 20.
[5]See No. 439, item I, *TP*, VII, 784-5.
[6]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.
[7]Appendix I. 26.
[8]Not traceable. However, see No. 517, note 1, *TP*, VII, 913.
[9]Appendix I. 31.

I. 36

M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 14/29

20 June 1946

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

I am enclosing herewith a memorandum on the representation of

Assam to the Constituent Assembly in continuation of my talk with you on the 17th June 1946.[1]

This Memorandum has been prepared by three of the members of my Working Committee, namely Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, President, Provincial Muslim League, Bombay; Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhary, ex-Minister, Assam; and Mr. Hossain Imam, President, Provincial Muslim League, Bihar, and Member, Council of State.

I do hope that it will receive your earnest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See Annex I to Appendix I. 33, para 1.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 36

MEMORANDUM ON THE REPRESENTATION OF ASSAM TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

F. 14/30-2

NEW DELHI,
19 June 1946

We are submitting the following Memorandum drawing your attention to the unfair advantage that accrued to the Hindus, including the Scheduled Castes, in Assam under the Table of representation provided for Section C in the Constituent Assembly, according to the Cabinet Mission's Statement dated the 16th May 1946.[1] While the representation of the Muslims has been fixed strictly on their population basis, excessive representation has been given to the Hindus by giving them the right to represent the Excluded Areas and placing them in a position under which they can get representation to which the tribals are entitled.

The number of Muslim representatives in Section C of the Constituent Assembly is 36 and the number of non-Muslim representatives in the same Section is 34. There is thus a very narrow margin between the number of the Muslim and the non-Muslim representatives in Section C. It is, therefore, very essential that the distribution of seats in this Section should be strictly in accordance with certain equitable principles.

The non-Muslims in Assam have been given an extra seat to which they are not entitled. The Muslim population of Assam is 3,442,479 and they are given the right of choosing 3 representatives for Section C of the Constituent Assembly. They are given no representation for the extra population of 442,479 on the principle that for a population

of less than five lakh no extra representation is given.

The non-Muslim population of Assam is 6,762,254 as given in paragraph 6 of the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation dated the 16th May 1946, and they have been allotted 7 seats. The figure for non-Muslim population appears to have been taken from the Census Report of 1941, but one very important point, which seems to have escaped the notice of the Cabinet Mission, is that this total population of the non-Muslims includes a population of 446,418 of the Excluded Areas distributed as follows:

Naga Hills District	189, 641
Lushai Hills District	152, 786
Sadya Frontier Tract	60, 118
Balipara Frontier Tract	6, 512
North Cachar Hills	7, 361
Total	446, 418

The inhabitants of these Excluded Areas have no right to elect any representatives to the Assam Legislative Assembly under the Government of India Act of 1935. The non-Muslim members of the Assam Legislative Assembly, therefore, do not represent them, and cannot be entitled to any representation on their behalf in Section C of the Constituent Assembly. If this population of 4,46,418 is excluded from the non-Muslim population of Assam, as it must be for the purpose of determining the right of electing representatives to the Constituent Assembly, the non-Muslim population of Assam entitled to representation in Section C of the Constituent Assembly will be reduced to 6,315,836. They should have, therefore, the right of electing 6 representatives to Section C of the Constituent Assembly and not 7, as mentioned in paragraph 19 (1) of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation dated the 16th May 1946.

The representation given to the non-Muslims in Section C of the Constituent Assembly from Assam, must, therefore, be reduced from 7 to 6, on the basis of population adopted by the Cabinet Mission. Considering the narrow margin in the number of representatives of the Muslims and the non-Muslims in Section C of the Constituent Assembly, it is essential in the interest of justice and fair play that the above representation given to the non-Muslims must be rectified.

The second point which we desire to urge before you is that the total population of the Hindus in Assam including the Scheduled Castes is 4, 213, 223. The Hindus of Assam are, therefore, entitled to elect only 4 representatives to the Constituent Assembly. There are about 2 million tribals belonging to the non-Excluded Areas

in Assam. These Tribals are entitled to 2 seats out of the non-Muslim seats. The number of members belonging to the tribal areas in the Assam Legislative Assembly is so small that by the method of proportional representation, it is difficult for them to return even one representative to the Constituent Assembly. The voting for the elections of the non-Muslim representatives of Assam to Section C of the Constituent Assembly should, therefore, be so arranged as to ensure the return of two non-Hindus to the Constituent Assembly.

I. I. CHUNDRIGAR
ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY
S. HOSSAIN IMAM

[1]Appendix I. 20.

I. 37

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/33-4

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
20 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th June[1] which I have shown to the Cabinet Mission.

2. I do not think it is necessary for me to comment on the first part of your letter. I am sure you will appreciate that negotiation designed to secure acceptance by two parties with conflicting interests may not always end on the same basis as that on which they began; and, as you know, I never gave you any guarantee that they would necessarily be concluded on any particular basis.

3. I note the views of the Muslim League set out in paragraphs A to E of your letter.

4. The intention in the Statement of June 16[2] was that the discussion of portfolios with leaders of the two main parties should follow the acceptance by both parties of the scheme. This intention still holds, since until the names are known, it is difficult to decide on the distribution of portfolios.

5. On the points which you desire to be made clear in connection with the Government to be formed under our Statement of June 16, I give you the following reply after consultation with the Delegation:

i. Until I have received acceptances from those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the Statement cannot be regarded as final. But no change in principle will be made in the Statement without the consent of the two major parties.
ii. No change in the number of 14 members of the Interim Government will be made without the agreement of the two major parties.
iii. If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it.
iv. (a) and (b). The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties.
v. No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point.

6. If you agree, I will send copies of the questions in your letter and of paragraphs 4 and 5 of this letter to the President of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 35.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.

I. 38

Liaquat Ali Khan to G. E. B. Abell

F. 14/34

GUL-I-RAANA,
HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
21 June 1946

Dear Mr. Abell,

I am in receipt of your D.O. No. 592/47 dated the 21st of June 1946.[1] I note that the Viceroy with the concurrence of the Mission has asked the Congress to reply by Sunday [23 June] next.

I have, under the instructions of Mr. Jinnah, already summoned a meeting of the Working Committee on Monday the 24th of June at 10

a.m. and we will communicate our decision, if the Congress by that time has given its final decision to the Viceroy, as soon as possible through our Leader, Mr. Jinnah. Beyond that I have no further instructions from Mr. Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See F. 14/35, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 39

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/36

21 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I thank you for your letter of the 20th June 1946.[1]

With regard to paragraph 2 of your letter, I regret I am unable to agree with the view that you take.

As regards your request whether you should send copies of the questions 4(A) and 4(B) in my letter, and paragraphs 4 and 5 of your letter under reply, to President of the Congress, I have no objection, if you think it proper to do so.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 37.

I. 40

Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/37

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
24 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of 20th June[1] enclosing a memorandum by three members of the Muslim League Working Committee on the representation of Assam in the Constituent Assembly under the Statement of May 16th.[2]

I have shown the memorandum to my colleagues and to His Excellency the Viceroy and we have given it consideration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that in view of the composition of the existing Legislatures it was not possible to devise any scheme which would ensure the representation in the Constituent Assembly of every element of the population in exact proportion to its numbers. Nevertheless we believe that the scheme is substantially fair, for though it is possible that there may be some minor individual anomalies, they tend to cancel one another out. I am afraid, therefore, that it would be quite impossible for us to consider altering the statement in such a way as would involve revising the figures in paragraph 19.

Yours sincerely,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

[1]Appendix I. 36
[2]Appendix I. 20.

I. 41

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/42

NEW DELHI,
25 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League this evening.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Acknowledged by Abell on 26 June. See F. 14/47, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 41

F. 14/43

Resolution by AIML Working Committee

[NEW DELHI,]
25 June 1946

The President of the All India Muslim League placed before the

Working Committee a copy furnished to him by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation in the course of their interview[1] with him this evening, of the letter[2] of the Congress President addressed to the Viceroy, conveying the decision of the Congress with regard to the proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contained in their statements of the 16th of May[3] and the 16th of June 1946.[4]

1. According to the understanding that the Muslim League Working Committee will give their decision after the Congress has decided, and, as desired by the Viceroy by the letter of his Private Secretary dated 21st of June[5] addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, that the decision of the Muslim League be communicated immediately after the reply of the Congress, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League hereby resolve to agree to join the Interim Government on the basis of the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated 16th June 1946 and the clarifications and assurances given by the Viceroy after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation in his letter dated 20th of June 1946,[6] addressed to the President of the Muslim League.

2. The Working Committee cannot accept the contention of the Congress contained in the aforesaid letter that the Congress is entitled to adhere to its interpretation of some of the provisions in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated 16th May 1946, which is opposed to the interpretation and explanation embodied in the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on the 25th of May 1946.[7]

3. With regard to the rest of the letter of the Congress President, the Working Committee reserve their observations for the present.

[1]Annex 1.
[2]Annex II.
[3]Appendix I. 20.
[4]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[5]See F. 14/35, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]Appendix I. 37.
[7]Appendix I. 22.

Annex I to Appendix I. 41

RECORD OF MEETING OF CABINET DELEGATION AND ARCHIBALD WAVELL WITH MR. JINNAH[1]

SECRET *25 June 1946*

Prior to the meeting Mr. Jinnah was given a copy of the Congress President's reply, dated 25th June.[2]

The Secretary of State said that Mr. Jinnah would observe that the Congress reply gave grounds why the Congress could not accept the Statement of June 16th but that in the last paragraph they accepted the Statement of May 16th. Mr. Jinnah pointed out that the acceptance was subject to a particular interpretation of the provisions of the Statement of May 16th in regard to the Constituent Assembly meeting together in Sections.

The Secretary of State said that the Delegation were satisfied that the Congress letter constituted an acceptance. It was not in any way a provisional acceptance. The Muslim League in accepting the Statement had also adhered to their own point of view and had made statements about maintaining their goal of complete sovereign Pakistan and others which went quite as far as any reservations made by the Congress. Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League had reiterated that sovereign Pakistan was their goal but they had accepted the Delegation's plan and put no interpretation on its provisions. The Secretary of State said that the Muslim League resolution referred to a right of secession being implied in the Delegation's Statement. This was definitely an interpretation. Mr. Jinnah said he could not agree. In the first place the Muslim League did not dispute that a Union Constitution should be framed on the basis laid down in the Statement. They did not dispute that constitution should continue for 10 years. They maintained that the revision of the constitution provided for after 10 years implied a right of secession. At Simla the Congress had admitted as much and raised no fundamental objection. The Secretary of State said that the Muslim League were quite entitled to try and get a right of secession accepted by the Constitution-making Body. The Congress also were entitled to try and get their point of view accepted. Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress reservation was different in kind. They said that the first question for the Constitution-making Body to decide was whether Provinces should not be able to opt out of the Group at the outset. Obviously they would get a large majority for a decision in that sense. Sir S. Cripps pointed out that the resolution would require a majority of both communities as being a major communal issue. Mr. Jinnah said he did not think that it would be held to be a major communal issue. There would be a Hindu Chairman and it seemed to him by no means evident that such a decision need necessarily be taken. Mr. Jinnah said he hoped the Delegation would make it publicly clear that they considered that a majority of both parties would be required for such a decision. The Viceroy pointed out that the Delegation had said in their Statement of May 25th that they did not accept the Congress interpretation. The Secretary of State said that the Delegation considered that the Congress letter was definitely

an acceptance of the long-term plan. Mr. Jinnah said he thought the reservations made by Congress were most vital and broke the whole thing. The Secretary of State said that the Muslim League reservations were quite as fundamental. They held themselves free to withdraw at any stage or reject the ultimate result of the Constituent Assembly if they did not like it. The First Lord [of the Admiralty] said that he thought that the provision in the Delegation's Statement about the revision of the constitution did not mean that there was a right of secession. It meant that any party to the constitution could after 10 years have an amendment moved to it. That amendment had got to be agreed to before it had effect. He would say that the Congress letter was an acceptance even more than the Muslim League resolution.[3] The Congress, like the Muslim League, said that while adhering to their own views they accepted the proposals.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Sections and Groups were an essential feature of the Scheme which the Congress wanted to smash. These were the one thing for which the Muslim League had made one concession after another. It had never been contemplated in the Statement that Provinces would be able to opt out of Sections. He begged the Delegation to make it clear that they did not accept the Congress interpretation. He had with great difficulty made substantial concessions in these negotiations because he felt that if we succeeded in making a settlement we should be blessed by 400 million people. But he found that the other side had made no gesture or move towards him. Day after day at prayer meetings Mr. Gandhi had poured out attacks upon the Muslim League. He hoped that the Delegation would appreciate that he had refrained from replying in kind. The Secretary of State said that Mr. Jinnah's personal restraint had been appreciated but the worst trouble in India was mutual suspicion and both *Dawn* and the Hindu papers made the task of negotiators much more difficult. In the last few days the Delegation had been trying to persuade the Congress to accept the Muslim point of view even on one or two matters on which they felt that it was not really justified. They had nearly succeeded but at the critical moment letters which had passed between the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah and an account of one of Mr. Jinnah's interviews with the Viceroy had appeared in the press with devastating effect. Mr. Jinnah said he had been compelled to disclose this correspondence firstly by the constant suggestions in the Hindu press that the Muslim League case was going by default and, secondly, by the fact that His Excellency had told him that the Congress were pressing for the inclusion of a non-League Muslim. Congress had refused Hindu-Muslim parity which they had agreed to at Simla and

in that position Mr. Jinnah maintained that the Muslim League was the only party entitled by its achievements at the elections to nominate a Muslim member of the Central Government. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy said that they could not accept that position and the Viceroy emphasised that he had repeatedly made this clear to Mr. Jinnah. The First Lord said that politically some principle must be accepted in such negotiations. The Delegation had told the Congress that they could not interfere with the Muslim League nominations and they certainly could not maintain that the Congress could not nominate whom they wished from among their own members for their own places in the Government.

The Viceroy said that the point now reached was that the Delegation proposed to go ahead with the Constituent Assembly and constitution-making treating both parties as having accepted the Statement of May 16th with reservation. As the Congress had refused the proposals about the Interim Government the Statement of June 16th fell to the ground. In accordance with paragraph 8 of that Statement he would make an attempt to get a representative Coalition Government of those who had accepted the May Statement. He thought Mr. Jinnah would agree that it was no use making a further attempt immediately and he proposed that there should now be an interval during which a Caretaker Government would be appointed for the time being. After a short interval he would try again to get a Coalition Government which he believed was the right solution. The Cabinet Mission had decided that they would return to England. In the meantime he hoped that Mr. Jinnah would use his position to prevent feelings between the two parties becoming inflamed.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League had accepted the proposals of May 16th. Did he understand that the Delegation did not now wish to form an Interim Government? He had understood that if one party rejected the offer of June 16th we should go ahead with the other. A very unfortunate situation seemed now to have arisen. The Muslim League had accepted the Statement of May 16th on the basis of the formula for the Interim Government which the Viceroy had told Mr. Jinnah that he was working for. The Viceroy said he had told Mr. Jinnah repeatedly that he could let his Working Committee know what basis he was working on the clear understanding that he made it plain that there was no guarantee that the 5:5:2 proportions would be finally achieved.

Mr. Jinnah said he disliked the suggestion for a postponement of the question of the Interim Government. He thought it was bad for the prestige of the Delegation and also for his own prestige. It would

destroy both but the Delegation could, of course, do as they pleased. His view was that they should proceed now to form an Interim Government on the basis of the Statement of June 16th with those who were prepared to accept it. Sir S. Cripps said that it was clear from paragraph 8 of the Statement of the 16th June that the fresh negotiations for an Interim Government must be on a new basis. Mr. Jinnah said that the point was, the Congress having rejected the Statement of June 16th, the Delegation felt they could not adhere to it. In his opinion it would be wrong and misguided to depart from that Statement. The Secretary of State said that the Delegation were not asking for Mr. Jinnah's opinion of their conduct. The First Lord said that at last the Delegation had got both parties to accept the Statement of May 16th. He accepted 100 per cent what Mr. Jinnah had said as to the sacrifices he had made to help India's problem. It was possible to proceed right away with the attempt to get a representative Government of both parties but it would be much more convenient if the Mission could go home and the Viceroy could have a short interval. He thought that the chances of success would be greater in that way. He begged Mr. Jinnah to use his influence with his Working Committee to come into the Government on this basis.

The Viceroy said that if the two parties agreed to discuss this question of the Interim Government together he would be glad if they could make any suggestion which would enable an Interim Government to be formed forthwith. But he was not prepared at present to enter into another long negotiation. Mr. Jinnah said that he appreciated the efforts which the Delegation had made but he must say with respect that he considered that the Delegation had not been able to enter into the skin of this problem. If they now said that they postponed the whole thing and would consider *de novo,* there was a very poor chance of a coalition. The Viceroy asked whether Mr. Jinnah was prepared to make any concessions to facilitate an immediate settlement. Would he, for example, accept the inclusion of a Congress Muslim. Mr. Jinnah said that he was not prepared to do that. That would be starting from the beginning again. The Viceroy said that the Delegation had fought hard on this issue but had failed. Mr. Jinnah said that he was glad to hear this but in his view every move the Delegation had made had been at his cost.

Mr. Jinnah said that he would like to have a statement in writing from the Delegation of the points they had put to him in order that he could put it to his Working Committee.

[1]No. 609, *TP,* VII, 1044-8.
[2]Annex II.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.

Annex II to Appendix I. 41
Abul Kalam Azad to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/38-41

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
25 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

Ever since the receipt of your Statement of June 16th,[1] my Committee have been considering it from day to day and have given long and anxious thought to your proposals and to the invitations you have issued to individuals to form the Provisional National Government. Because of our desire to find some way out of the present most unsatisfactory situation, we have tried our utmost to appreciate your approach and view-point. In the course of our conversations we have already pointed out to you our difficulties. Unfortunately these difficulties have been increased by the recent correspondence.

The Congress, as you are aware, is a national organisation including in its fold the members of all religions and communities in India. For more than half a century it has laboured for the freedom of India and for equal rights for all Indians. The link that has brought all these various groups and communities together within the fold of the Congress is the passionate desire for national independence, economic advance and social equality. It is from this point of view that we have to judge every proposal. We hoped that a Provisional National Government would be formed which would give effect in practice to this independence. Appreciating some of your difficulties, we did not press for any statutory change introducing independence immediately, but we did expect a *de facto* change in the character of the Government making for independence in action. The status and powers of the Provisional Government were thus important. In our view this was going to be something entirely different from the Viceroy's Executive Council. It was to represent a new outlook, new methods of work and a new psychological approach by India to both domestic and external problems. Your letter dated 30th May 1946[2] gave us certain assurances about the status and powers of the Provisional Government. These did not go far enough, according to our thinking, but we appreciated the friendly tone of that.letter and decided to accept the assurances and not to press this particular matter any further.

The important question of the composition of the Provisional Government remained. In this connection we emphasised that we

could not accept anything in the nature of "parity" even as a temporary expedient and pointed out that the Provisional Government should consist of fifteen members to enable the administration of the country to be carried on efficiently and the smaller minorities to be represented in it. Some mention of names was made and on our part suggestions were put before you informally, including the name of a non-League Muslim.

In your Statement of June 16th[3] some of the names suggested came as a surprise to us. Several changes had been made from the provisional list prepared by the Congress. The manner of preparing your list and presenting it as an accomplished fact seemed to us to indicate a wrong approach to the problem. One of the names included had not been previously mentioned at all and was that of a person holding an official position and not known to be associated with any public activity. We have no personal objection to him, but we think that the inclusion of such a name particularly without any previous reference or consultation, was undesirable and indicated a wrong approach to the problem.

Then again a name from our list was excluded and in his place another of our colleagues was put in, but as you have said that this can be rectified, I need not say more about it.

One outstanding feature of this list was the non-inclusion of any nationalist Muslim. We felt that this was a grave omission. We wanted to suggest the name of a Muslim to take the place of one of the Congress names on the list. We felt that no one could possibly object to our changing the name of one of our own men. Indeed when I had drawn your attention to the fact that among the Muslim League nominees was included the name of a person who had actually lost in the recent elections in the Frontier Province and whose name we felt had been placed there for political reasons, you wrote to me as follows: "I am afraid that I cannot accept the right of the Congress to object to names put forward by the Muslim League, any more than I would accept similar objections from the other side. The test must be that of ability." But before we could make our suggestion I received your letter of the 22nd June[4] which surprised us greatly. You had written this letter on the basis of some press reports. You told us that the Cabinet Mission and you were not prepared to accept a request for the inclusion of a Muslim chosen by the Congress among the representatives of the Congress in the Interim Government. This seemed to us an extraordinary decision. It was in direct opposition to your own statement quoted above. It meant that the Congress could not freely choose even its own nominees. The fact that this was

not to be taken as a precedent made hardly any difference. Even a temporary departure from such a vital principle could not be accepted by us at any time or place and in any circumstances.

In your letter of the 21st June[5] you gave certain questions framed by Mr. Jinnah in his letter dated 19th June[6] and your replies[7] to them. We have not seen Mr. Jinnah's full letter. In question 3 reference is made to "representation of the four minorities, viz. the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsees", and it is asked as to "who will fill in vacancies caused in these groups, and whether in filling up the vacancies the Leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained."

In your answer you say "if any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it." Mr. Jinnah has thus included the Scheduled Castes among the minorities and presumably you have agreed with this view. So far as we are concerned we repudiate this view and consider the Scheduled Castes as integral part of Hindu society. You also, in your letter of June 15th,[8] treated the Scheduled Castes as Hindus. You pointed out that in your proposal there was no "parity" either between Hindus and Muslims or between the Congress and the Muslim League inasmuch as there were to be six Hindus belonging to the Congress, as against five Muslims belonging to the League. One of the six Hindus belonged to the Scheduled Castes. We are in any case not agreeable to the Leader of a party, which claims to represent a community which is a minority, interfering with the selection of names from either the Scheduled Castes, whose representation you counted as falling within the Congress quota, or with the selection of representatives of the minorities mentioned.

In question 4 the Scheduled Castes are again referred to as a minority and it is asked whether the proportion of members of the Government community-wise as provided in the proposals will be maintained. Your answer is that the proportion will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties. Here again one communal group functioning admittedly as such is given a power to veto changes in other groups with which it has no concern. We may desire, if opportunity offers itself, to increase the representation of the Scheduled Castes, or to give representation, when it is possible, to another minority, for example the Anglo-Indians. All this would depend on the consent of the Muslim League. We cannot agree to this. We may add that your answers restrict the Congress representation to Caste Hindus and make it equal to that of the League.

Finally you state in answer to question 5 that "no decision of a

major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it." You further say that you had pointed this out to the Congress President and he had agreed that the Congress appreciated this point. In this connection I desire to point out that we had accepted this principle for the long-term arrangement in the Union Legislature and it could possibly be applied to the Provisional Government if it was responsible to the Legislature and was composed of representatives on the population basis of major communities. It could not be applied to the Provisional Government formed on a different basis altogether. It was pointed out by us in my letter of the 13th June 1946[9] that it would make administration impossible and deadlocks a certainty. Even in the question as framed by Mr. Jinnah it is stated that "in view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original 12" no major communal issue should be decided if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it. Thus this question arose after the substitution of 14 for 12, i.e. after your Statement of June 16th. In this Statement no mention is made of this rule. This very important change has been introduced, almost casually and certainly without our consent. This again gives the power of veto or obstruction to the Muslim League in the Provisional Government.

We have stated above our objections to your proposals of June 16th as well as to your answers to the questions framed by Mr. Jinnah. These defects are grave and would render the working of the Provisional Government difficult and deadlocks a certainty. In the circumstances your proposals cannot fulfil the immediate requirements of the situation or further the cause we hold dear.

My Committee have, therefore, reluctantly come to the conclusion that they are unable to assist you in forming a Provisional Government as proposed in your Statement of June 16th, 1946.

With regard to the proposals made in the Statement of May 16th, 1946, relating to the formation and functioning of the constitution-making body, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution on the 24th May 1946,[10] and conversations and correspondence have taken place between Your Excellency and the Cabinet Mission on the one side and myself and some of my colleagues on the other. In these we have pointed out what in our opinion were the defects in the proposals. We also gave our interpretation of some of the provisions of the Statement. While adhering to our views, we accept your proposals and are prepared to work them with a view to achieve our objective. We would add, however, that the successful working of the Constituent

Assembly will largely depend on the formation of a satisfactory Provisional Government.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. AZAD

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[2]See No. 409, *TP*, VII, 738.
[3]See note 1 above.
[4]See No. 586, *TP*, VII, 1005.
[5]See No. 582, ibid., 1000.
[6]Appendix I. 35.
[7]Appendix I. 37.
[8]See No. 541, *TP*, VII, 947.
[9]See No. 518, ibid., 914-5.
[10]See Enclosure to No. 370, ibid., 679-82.

I. 42

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/44-5

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
25 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You asked for a letter in confirmation of what the Delegation said[1] to you this evening.

We informed you that the Congress had accepted the Statement of May 16th[2] while refusing to take part in the Interim Government proposed in the Statement of June 16th.[3]

This has produced a situation in which paragraph 8 of the Statement of June 16th takes effect. This paragraph said that if either of the two major Parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in the Statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government "which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16th."

Since the Congress and the Muslim League have now both accepted the Statement of May 16th, it is the intention to form a Coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of the long negotiations which have already taken place, and since we all have other work to do, we feel that it will be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations

for the formation of an Interim Government.

This, therefore, is the course of action we propose to adopt, unless the two main parties can within the next few days agree upon a basis on which they can cooperate in a Coalition Government.

Meanwhile the election and summoning of a Constituent Assembly as laid down in the Statement of May 16th are going forward.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]See Annex I to Appendix I. 41.
[2]Appendix I. 20.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.

I. 43

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/46

NEW DELHI,
26 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I received your letter dated 25th June, 1946,[1] at midnight last night after I had sent you the Resolution of my Working Committee passed at its meeting yesterday with a covering letter of the same date,[2] agreeing to join the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated 16th June,[3] and the clarifications and assurances given by letter dated the 20th of June,[4] addressed to me.

I regret that the Congress, while accepting the statement of the 16th of May,[5] should have rejected the proposals regarding the setting up of the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of 16th June, which was the final decision of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself in this regard. May I draw your attention to paragraph 8 of the statement of 16th June, which clearly lays down that the acceptance of the statement of 16th May and rejection of the final proposals embodied in the statement of the 16th of June, cannot change the basis and principles laid down therein?

In paragraph 3 of your letter, when you say that the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government "which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement

of May 16th", the quotation qualifies them to be included in the Interim Government, but, only on the basis of, and the principles laid down in your proposals of the 16th of June. In these circumstances, as indicated in the statement of 16th June, paragraph 7, that you aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about the 28th of June, I hope you will not now delay the matter but go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of your statement of 16th June 1946.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 42.
[2]Appendix I. 41.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[4]Appendix I. 37.
[5]Appendix I. 20.

I. 44

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/48

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
27 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday.[1] I am sorry that my letter did not reach you till after the meeting of your Working Committee had ended.

2. As we explained to you during our interview[2] on Tuesday, the Cabinet Mission and I consider that in the light of paragraph 8 of the Statement of 16th June[3] I am clearly bound to make an attempt to form a Government representative of both the major parties, since both have accepted the Statement of 16th May.[4]

3. I think you will agree that it is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations, and as we informed you, it is proposed to set up a temporary caretaker Government of officials. I intend reopening negotiations after the elections to the Constituent Assembly have been

completed. Meanwhile the Cabinet Mission will return home to report.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 43.
[2]Annex I to Appendix I. 41.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[4]Appendix I. 20.

I. 45

Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/49-53

[NEW DELHI,]
27 June 1946

I have considered the letter of the Congress President addressed to Lord Wavell dated the 25th of June,[1] the resolution of Working Committee of the Congress released to the press yesterday;[2] and the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy issued in New Delhi on Wednesday the 26th June,[3] but a copy of which has not yet been furnished to me.

I think it is necessary for me to state shortly as to what occurred during the progress of the negotiations at various stages from time to time.

Prior to the Cabinet Delegation's statement of 16th May[4] and further statement of the 25th of May,[5] the Viceroy at Simla represented to me that he would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government on the basis of the formula 5: 5: 2, i.e. 5 on behalf of the Muslim League, 5 on behalf of the Congress, one Sikh, and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian, and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important of them would be equally divided between the Congress and the Muslim League, further details being left open for discussion. With the permission of the Viceroy I was authorised to state this formula to the Working Committee at Simla, on the assumption that the long-term proposals would be such as would be acceptable to us. Thereafter again, on the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, in my interview on the 3rd of June,[6] the Viceroy repeated the same formula and authorised me to communicate it to my Working Committee. This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with them together with the two

statements of the Cabinet Delegation dated the 16th May and 25th May. The long-term plan and the Interim Government formula together formed one whole and this formula regarding the Interim Government was an integral part of the whole scheme and as such the Council of the All India Muslim League gave its final decision[7] on that basis on the 6th of June.

Thereafter, the Viceroy sent for me on the 13th of June[8] and he suggested a formula of 5: 5: 3. Owing to the agitation set on foot by the Congress press and the opposition of the Congress to the original formula, I had already given a warning to the Viceroy in a letter on the 8th of June,[9] that any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, would lead to serious consequences and would not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League, and that I might have to call a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League again. At my interview with the Viceroy on the 13th I was told by him that he wanted to change the basis of the original formula and proceed on the basis of 5 Congress, 5 Muslim League and 3 others, i.e. one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste, and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. In spite of the difficulties that I had pointed out would arise, I informed the Viceroy that if the Congress were finally to agree to this new formula, I would place it before my Working Committee for their consideration. But even this second proposal of the Viceroy was turned down by the Congress and His Excellency the Viceroy informed me by his letter dated the 15th June[10] that he had failed to negotiate an agreement on the basis which he had suggested and that the Cabinet Delegation and he had decided to issue their statement on the 16th of June[11] on the action they proposed to take. Accordingly, the Statement of the 16th of June was issued to the press and an advance copy was sent to me. These were, we were categorically informed, final and not open to any modification, except that the names in the statement could not be regarded as final, until the Viceroy had received acceptances from those invited to take office in the Interim Government.

On the 19th June[12] I wrote to the Viceroy seeking certain clarifications regarding the statement of June 16, to which a reply was received from him on the 20th of June after he had consulted the Cabinet Delegation. The following extracts are from that letter of the Viceroy in reply to questions put to him.

[*Omitted. See para 5, sub-paras (1) to (5) of Appendix I. 37*]

I had by my letter of the 19th June informed the Viceroy that in view of the serious changes which had from time to time been made

to satisfy the Congress, it was not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of formation of the Interim Government, so long as the Congress did not convey their final decision on the proposals of the 16th of June to the Viceroy and until it was communicated to me.

It was finally arranged[13] that the Congress should give their decision by Sunday June 23, and the League should give its decision on the same day or immediately thereafter. The reply of the Congress was, however, not forthcoming till late in the evening on the 25th of June and I was asked to meet the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy the same evening. There I was furnished with a copy of the letter of the President of the Congress dated 25th of June.

According to the arrangement referred to above, I placed this reply before my Working Committee immediately and the same day the Muslim League Working Committee adopted the following resolution which was communicated to H.E. the Viceroy the same night:

[*Omitted. See Enclosure to Appendix I. 42*]

I regret that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy should have thought fit to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of their statement of the 16th of June as that statement clearly says that the Viceroy aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about the 26th of June. It is very difficult to see what are the mysterious reasons and causes for this sudden departure. The Muslim League emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the statement of the 16th of June and Clause 8 of the Statement, taken along with the context, is quite clear and the Delegation and the Viceroy were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government immediately with those who were willing to come into the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their statement of 16th June.

As regards the resolution of the Congress, I most emphatically repudiate their bogus claim that they represent India and their claim to "national" character. The Congress are a Hindu organisation and they do not represent any other community except the Caste Hindus. They certainly do not represent the Muslims and the mere fact that they have a handful of Muslim henchmen for the purpose of window-dressing cannot give the national character which they claim, nor the right to represent India upon which they keep on harping. This has been established beyond doubt in the recent elections the results of

which show that the Muslim League carried away 90 per cent of the total of Muslim seats in the various legislatures, and out of the remaining 10 per cent the Congress share does not amount to more than 4 per cent.

The Congress, therefore, have no right to represent or speak on behalf of the Muslims and their refusal to accept the proposals for the formation of the Interim Government is based on sinister motives. Firstly, they wanted to break the parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus. It was accepted by them at Simla last year at the Conference called by the Viceroy in connection with the Wavell Proposals, and secondly their insistence on nominating a Congress Muslim is aimed at striking at the fundamentals of the League and its Muslim national representative character and at attempting to establish a false claim that the Congress represents the Muslims and the Muslim League is not the representative organisation of Muslim India. As it is [*sic*] pointed out above, the Congress claim is not true nor based upon facts and therefore the Muslim League cannot be a party directly or indirectly to any course of action which is calculated to prop up this bogus claim.

As regards the safeguard that no decision on any major communal issue could be taken if the majority of the main parties were opposed to it, of which assurance was given by the Viceroy, this is absolutely necessary to protect the Muslim interests as the number is now increased from 12 to 14, and although there is parity between the Caste Hindus and the Muslims, the Muslims will be in a minority of little over one-third in the whole executive.

I gather from the letter of the President of the Congress that the Viceroy represented to him that in his proposal there was no parity either between Hindus and Muslims or between the Congress and the Muslim League inasmuch as there were to be 6 Hindus belonging to the Congress as against 5 Muslims belonging to the Muslim League. One of the six Hindus belonged to the Scheduled Castes. Whether this version is true or not, it is contrary to what the Viceroy said in his letter of 20th June to me which clarifies the points raised by me and in that he says: "The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties." However, I want to make it clear that if there is any departure made in the principle of parity or if the Congress is allowed to nominate a Muslim, in either case it will be impossible for the Muslim League to agree to it as that would strike at the very fundamentals of the League.

Notwithstanding the clear statement of the 16th of May and the further statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of the 25th of May, clarifying and finally giving their authoritative interpretation, the Congress, both in the letter of the President and their resolution, adhere to their wrong interpretation that any province or provinces is or are entitled to opt out initially and that they have a right at any stage to do so. This is clear indication that the Congress is not accepting the long-term proposals in a sincere and honest spirit of cooperation and peaceful settlement. If they persist in this and adopt measures to set at naught what is described by the statement of the Delegation of 25th of May to constitute the essential feature of the scheme, the whole plan will be wrecked at its very inception.

As regards the many other statements and allegations that are made in the letter of the Congress President they are merely intended for propaganda and some of them are not relevant to the immediate issues, but I have no means of dealing with them as I do not know what actually took place between the Congress President and the Viceroy or the Delegation as I have not got the correspondence that passed between them on various points to which references have been made in this letter.

In conclusion I would like to emphasise that if any attempt is made to whittle down in any way the assurances given to the Muslim League or to change or modify the basis of the statement of June 16 which has been accepted by the Muslim League, it will be regarded by Muslim India as going back on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on their pledged word in writing and as a breach of faith. The British Government will in that case forfeit the confidence of Muslim India and of those whom they expect to work, on their part, according to their pledged word.

[1]Annex II to Appendix I. 41.
[2]Annex.
[3]See No. 619, *TP*, VII, 1062-3.
[4]Appendix I. 20.
[5]Appendix I. 22.
[6]See Nos. 439 & 440, *TP*, VII, 784-5.
[7]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.
[8]See No. 514, *TP*, VII, 911.
[9]Appendix I. 26.
[10]Appendix I. 31.
[11]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[12]Appendix I. 35.
[13]See Appendix I. 38.

Annex to Appendix I. 45

RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE[1]

26 June 1946

On May 24th, the Working Committee passed a Resolution[2] on the Statement, dated May 16th, issued by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy. In this Resolution they pointed out some defects in the Statement and gave their own interpretation of certain parts of it.

Since then, the Committee have been continuously engaged in giving earnest consideration to the proposals made on behalf of the British Government in the statements of May 16th and June 16th, and have considered the correspondence in regard to them between the Congress President and members of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy. The Committee have examined both these sets of proposals from the point of view of the Congress objective of immediate independence and the opening out of avenues leading to the rapid advance of the masses economically and socially, so that their material standards may be raised and poverty, malnutrition, famine and lack of the necessaries in life may be ended, and all the people of the country may have freedom and the opportunity to grow and develop according to their genius.

These proposals fall short of these objectives. Yet the Committee has considered them earnestly in all their aspects because of their desire to find some way for the peaceful settlement of India's problem and the ending of the conflict between India and England.

The kind of independence which Congress has aimed at is the establishment of a united democratic Indian Federation with a Central authority which would command respect from the nations of the world, maximum provincial autonomy and equal rights for all men and women in the country. The limitation of the Central authority, as contained in the proposals, as well as the system of grouping of Provinces, weakened the whole structure and was unfair to some provinces, such as the North-West Frontier province, and Assam, and to some of the minorities, notably the Sikhs.

The Committee disapproved of this. They felt, however, taking the proposals as a whole, that there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central authority and for fully ensuring the right of a Province to act according to its choice in regard to grouping, and to give protection to such minorities as might otherwise be placed at a disadvantage. Certain other objections were also raised on their behalf, notably the possibility of non-nationals taking any part in the Constitution-making. It is clear that it would be a breach both of the

letter and the spirit of the statement of May 16th if any non-Indian participated in voting or standing for election to the Constituent Assembly.

In the proposals for an Interim Government contained in the Statement of June 16th, the defects related to matters of vital concern to the Congress. Some of these have been pointed out in a letter of June 25th, from the Congress President to the Viceroy. The Provisional Government must have power and authority and responsibility and should function, in fact if not in law, as *de facto* independent Government befitting to the full independence to come. The Members of such a Government can only hold themselves responsible to the people and not to any external authority. In the formation of a Provisional or other Government, Congressmen can never give up the national character of Congress or accept an artificial and unjust parity, or agree to the veto of a communal group. The Committee are unable to accept the proposals for the formation of an Interim Government as contained in the Statement of June 16th.

The Committee have, however, decided that the Congress should join the proposed Constituent Assembly with a view to framing the Constitution of a free, united, and democratic India.

While the Committee have agreed to Congress participation in the Constituent Assembly, it is, in their opinion, essential that a representative and responsible Provisional National Government be formed at the earliest possible date. A continuation of an authoritarian and unrepresentative Government can only add to the suffering of the famishing masses and increase discontent. It will also put in jeopardy the work of the Constituent Assembly, which can only function in a free environment.

The Working Committee recommend accordingly to the All India Congress Committee, and for the purpose of considering and ratifying this recommendation, they convene an emergent [?emergency] meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on July 6th and 7th.

[1]See Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 631-3.
[2]Enclosure to No. 370, *TP*, VII, 679-82.

I. 46

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/54

NEW DELHI,
28 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 27th, 1946.[1]

I had already pointed out by my letter of the 26th of June[2] in reply to yours of the 25th,[3] and also at the interview on Tuesday, 25th June,[4] with you and the Cabinet Delegations that you were in honour bound to proceed forthwith with the formation of your Interim Government in accordance with the Statement of the 16th of June,[5] which was final, and the assurances given to us.

The Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued an official statement late in the evening of 26th June,[6] and as I have already pointed out in my statement issued to the press yesterday,[7] by that pronouncement you have chosen to go back upon your pledged word by postponing the formation of the Interim Government.

Now, I have received your letter of 27th June and hereby inform you that I cannot agree with you when you say in your letter that "it is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations". I repeat that you should have proceeded in terms of the paragraph 8 of the Statement of June 16th without delay. But since you have adopted this course of action in the official Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, which is neither fair nor just, I strongly urge upon you without prejudice that the elections to the Constituent Assembly should also be postponed as you know that according to all the relevant documents and particularly the two Statements of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated 16th[8] and 25th of May,[9] the long-term plan and the formation of the Interim Government formed one whole, each constituting an integral part of the whole scheme; it is, therefore, undesirable to proceed with one part, i.e. elections to

the Constituent Assembly and to postpone the other.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 44.
[2]Appendix I. 43
[3]Appendix I. 42
[4]Annex, ibid.
[5]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[6]See No. 619, *TP*, VII, 244-5.
[7]Appendix I. 45.
[8]Appendix I. 20.
[9]Appendix I. 22.

I. 47

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/55-6

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
28 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Cabinet Mission and I feel that there are certain points in your statement released yesterday[1] which it would be wrong to leave unanswered.

You will remember that at an interview which the Cabinet Mission and I had with you on the evening of the 25th June,[2] before the meeting of your Working Committee at which you accepted the proposals in the Statement of the 16th June,[3] we explained to you that as Congress had accepted the Statement of 16th May[4] while refusing to take part in the Interim Government proposed in the Statement of the 16th June, this had produced a situation in which paragraph 8 of the Statement of the 16th June took effect. This paragraph stated that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a coalition Government on the lines laid down in that Statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which would be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of the 16th May.

We said that since the Congress and the Muslim League had now both accepted the Statement of 16th May, it was the intention to form a coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of the long negotiations which had already taken

place, and since we all had other work to do, we felt that it would be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government. Thus, whatever interpretation you may put on paragraph 8, your Working Committee can have been in no doubt as to the course we proposed to adopt.

I confirmed in writing the same evening what we had told you.

2. Secondly, the assurances which you quote in your statement related specifically to the particular Interim Government that would have been set up if both major parties had accepted the Statement of the 16th June.

3. To prevent misunderstanding I propose to publish this letter together with your letter of the 19th June,[5] the substance of which has already appeared in the press, and my reply of the 20th June.[6]

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 45.
[2]Annex I to Appendix I. 41.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[4]Appendix I. 20.
[5]Appendix I. 35.
[6]Appendix I. 37.

I. 48

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/57

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
28 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter of the 28th June[1] and have shown it to the Cabinet Ministers.

We are quite unable to accept your suggestion that we have gone back on our word. As I have said in a letter to you earlier to-day,[2] our course of action was determined by what had been laid down in paragraph 8 of the Statement of the 16th June;[3] and we had made it plain to you before your Working Committee meeting on the 25th June that we proposed to follow this course.

The arrangements for the elections to the Constituent Assembly have already been put into operation and we do not propose to

postpone them.

As the substance of your letter was included in the All-India Radio news to-day, I am publishing this reply.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 46.
[2]Appendix I. 47.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.

I. 49

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/58

NEW DELHI,
28 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of 28th June.[1] The facts are correctly stated in my statement that was released to the press yesterday the 27th of June.[2]

The explanation that you now give in your letter under reply of what took place between me and the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, does not change in any way the position. The fact is that you did not communicate to me your views officially before the meeting of the Working Committee. I requested you to send your views officially to me and you did so by your letter of the 25th of June,[3] which reached me at midnight after the Working Committee had passed their Resolution[4] which was released to the press according to the solemn arrangement that we were to give our reply immediately after the decision of the Congress. If you wish to take the credit that some indication was given to me of the change on your part in the course of the interview,[5] where we discussed so many things, you may do so.

As regards paragraph 2 of your letter I am surprised when you say that the assurances quoted by me from your letter in my Statement were given "if both the major parties had accepted the Statement of the 16th of June. " No such indication of any condition is given in your letter of the 20th of June,[6] which I understand from your Private Secretary has already been released to the press together with some other correspondence. May I request you to release this letter also?

I have received a second letter from you dated the 28th of June.[7]

May I also request you to publish the full text of my letter of the 26th of June[8] asking you to postpone the Constituent Assembly elections—and not only a substance of it which might have appeared in the All-India Radio broadcast—as you propose to release your reply to the press.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 47.
[2]Appendix I. 45.
[3]Appendix I. 42.
[4]Enclosure to Appendix I. 41.
[5]Annex I to Appendix I. 41.
[6]Appendix I. 37.
[7]Appendix I. 48.
[8]Appendix I. 46.

I. 50

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/59

No. 592/47

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
28 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Cabinet Mission and I think it will be necessary to publish for the information of Parliament and the public all the important correspondence between ourselves and the major parties.

There is one letter from me to you of the 4th June[1] which is marked "Personal and Confidential". I expect you would wish this letter to be included in the published correspondence, and in that case may I take it that you will have no objection to the removal of the heading "Personal and Confidential"?

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 23.

I. 51

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 14/60

NEW DELHI,
28 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of June[1] at 7. 25 p.m. and, as the Cabinet Mission and you think it will be necessary to publish for the information of the Parliament and the public, all the important correspondence between yourselves and the major parties, I would suggest that the same course should be adopted with regard to the correspondence that had taken place between the parties and which was agreed to be released along with the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself of the 16th of May.[2] I will request Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on our behalf to act for checking up letters, as it was done on the previous occasion.

As regards paragraph 2 of your letter under reply, I have no objection to your letter of the 4th of June,[3] addressed to me, being included in the published correspondence. But there is no need of removing the heading 'Personal and Confidential' as I agree that it should be included in the published correspondence.

Please let me know when can Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan see you to check up the correspondence.[4]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 50.
[2]Appendix I. 20.
[3]Appendix I. 23
[4]On 1 July, G.E.B. Abell, Private Secretary to Viceroy, sent Liaquat Ali Khan the details of Jinnah-Wavell correspondence during the period from 8 to 29 June 1946, proposed to be published in a White Paper by Whitehall. See F. 14/69, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 52

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/61

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
29 June 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday.[1] In regard to your paragraph 3, I refer you to the opening sentence of paragraph 5 of my letter of the 20th June[2] which reads as follows:

> On the points which you desire to be made clear in connection with the Government *to be formed under our Statement of June 16th,*[3] I give you the following reply after consultation with the Delegation.

I have underlined the relevant words. It was clear from this sentence that the assurances given applied only to the particular Interim Government proposed in the Statement of the 16th June.

2. I have no objection to your publishing your letter of the 28th June[4] suggesting the postponement of elections to the Constituent Assembly or your letter now under reply.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 49.
[2]Appendix I. 37.
[3]Underlined in the original.
[4]Appendix I. 46.

I. 53

Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/63-8

NEW DELHI,
29 June 1946

The Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy have thought fit to release only a few letters torn from the rest of the correspondence that passed between me and the Delegation and the Viceroy which have a very important bearing on the present controversy.

1. That the Viceroy did make a clear representation to me that[1] he

would proceed to form his Interim Government on the basis of the formula 5:5:2, i.e. five representatives of the Muslim League, five of the Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian, and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in distribution thereof, further details being left open for discussion. The Viceroy further authorized me to make that representation to my Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League, which I did, and it was on that basis that both the Working Committee and the Council were induced to accept the long-term plan and the proposal for the Interim Government together as a whole.

This formula had a vital bearing and did greatly weigh with the Council of the All India Muslim League in coming to their final decision,[2] which was communicated to the Viceroy on the 7th June.[3] Immediately thereafter, sinister agitation was set on foot by the Congress press against this formula and I informed the Viceroy by my letter of 8th June, by way of caution, that there should be no departure from this formula. Below is the full text of this letter which speaks for itself:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I. 26*]

The Viceroy replied by his letter of the 9th of June and in this letter he did not take exception to the facts stated by me in my letter quoted above. Only, according to him, "there was no assurance on this point". The following is the full text of the Viceroy's letter:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I. 27*]

The fact, however, remains that he did make this representation to me and authorized me to do likewise to the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League, both of which were induced to come to their decisions upon the faith of this representation.

2. The next important date is the 13th of June[4] when I was called by the Viceroy and suddenly he presented a new formula for the composition of the Interim Government, i.e. 5:5:3. I have already explained as to what transpired between him and me with regard to this revised formula. But the Viceroy failed to negotiate an agreement with the Congress[5] on this basis also and I was informed by his letter of the 15th June that the Cabinet Delegation and he would issue a Statement[6] on the 16th of June on the action they proposed to take. I reproduce below in full the Viceroy's letter of the 15th June:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I. 31*]

Their final proposals were embodied in their Statement of 16th June and now they have gone back on these proposals also by postponing

the formation of the Interim Government indefinitely.

3. As regards my interview on the evening of the 25th of June[7] at 5:30 p.m., when I was suddenly called by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, a fantastic interpretation was suggested on the Statement of the 16th June in the course of our talk and I was asked to give my opinion; and I emphatically differed from them. It was agreed that they will communicate in writing to me finally their views and the action they proposed to take. The Viceroy then sent me his letter dated the 25th of June, which reached me, as I have already stated, at midnight after the Resolution[8] of the Working Committee was passed and released to the press. If, as it is now sought to make out, they had already come to their final decision as to the course they were going to adopt, why was that decision not communicated to me by the Viceroy earlier in the day, as they had received the Congress reply[9] before mid-day on the 25th of June, instead of calling me for discussion as to the correct interpretation or true construction of paragraph 8 in the Statement of June 16, and then informing me that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy will communicate with me as to what they proposed to do.

I give below the full text of the Viceroy's letter of 25th June referred to above, my reply to this letter dated the 26th, and the Viceroy's reply to it dated the 27th June conveying to me his intention to form a temporary caretaker Government till the reopening of negotiations "after the elections to the Constituent Assembly have been completed."

[*Omitted. See Appendix I. 44, 45 & 46*]

4. As regards my request for the postponement of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, my reply to the two letters of the Viceroy of the 28th June has not been included in the published letters. I, therefore, think that I must, in fairness, release my letter of the 28th of June in reply to the Viceroy's letter of the 27th June reproduced above; and also my reply dated 28th June to the two letters of the Viceroy of same dates released to the press yesterday. The following is the text of the two letters:

[*Omitted. See Appendix I. 48 and I. 51*]

I maintain that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have gone back on their word within ten days of the publication of their final proposals in not implementing the Statement of the 16th of June and

I fully endorse what has been put so well—"Statesmen should not eat their words".

[1]See Annex to Appendix I. 26.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.
[3]See Appendix I. 25.
[4]See No. 517, *TP*, VII, 913-4.
[5]See Appendix I. 31.
[6]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[7]See Annex I to Appendix I. 41.
[8]Enclosure to Appendix I. 41.
[9]Annex II to Appendix I. 41.

I. 54

M. A. Jinnah to Clement R. Attlee

F. 14/72-3

6 July 1946

Dear Mr. Attlee,

It is not without deep regret that I have to say that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have, by handling the negotiations in the manner in which they did, impaired the honour of the British Government and have shaken the confidence of Muslim India and shattered their hopes for an honourable and peaceful settlement. They allowed themselves to play in the hands of the Congress, who all along held out the threat of non-cooperation and civil disobedience if they were not satisfied; and virtually, from the very beginning, adopted an aggressive and dictatorial attitude, pistol in their hand. They are determined to seize power and try to establish Caste-Hindu domination over Muslim India and the other communities inhabiting this vast sub-continent. I hope when you go through all the relevant correspondence and hear the Mission, you will come to the same conclusion as I have indicated above. I think you will agree with me that it is not only an obsession but has become a disease with the Congress, and it is an impossibility. Even now, having wrecked the formation of the Interim Government as proposed by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in their final Statement of 16th June,[1] they have accepted the long-term plan, not in the spirit of cooperation and to construct but to wreck it. This will be clear to you from the reservations and interpretations that they have put upon the long-term plan and which are contrary to those embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May[2] and their further Statement of May 25th[3] (particularly grouping of provinces).

I therefore trust that the British Government will still avoid compelling the Muslims to shed their blood, for your surrender to the Congress at the sacrifice of the Muslims can only result in that direction. If power politics are going to be the deciding factor in total disregard for fair play and justice, we shall have no other course open to us except [*sic* for than] to forge our sanctions [*sic*] to meet the situation which, in that case, is bound to arise. Its consequences, I need not say, will be most disastrous and a peaceful settlement will then become impossible.

I am writing this letter to you in confidence and to one whom I have known for a long time. Today you happen to be at the helm of the British nation as the Prime Minister and, I hope, you will give your most earnest and careful consideration to what I have urged not without painfulness, which is apparent from my letter and that you will maintain the honour of the British nation for fair play.

I am enclosing herewith for your information and consideration my two Statements[4] that I have issued, in case you may not have come across them; and also two editorials[5] from the only British paper now left in India.

I am sending a similar letter to Mr. Churchill,[6] the Leader of the Opposition.

This letter is strictly private, personal and confidential.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[2]Appendix I. 20.
[3]Appendix I. 22.
[4]Appendix I. 45 & I. 53.
[5]See editorials from the *Statesman*, 28 June & 1 July 1946, F. 14/62 & 70-1, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]On 30 July 1946, Churchill telegraphed Jinnah promising to give "careful attention" to his "important letter". See F. 14/74-5 & F. 20/27, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 55

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/76-7A

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
22 July 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I declared my intention of replacing the present caretaker Government of officials by an Interim coalition Government as soon as possible; and am now putting to you as President of the Muslim League and to the President of the Congress the proposals set out below.

2. I think you will probably agree with me that our negotiations both this summer[1] and last year[2] were hampered by the attendant publicity. I am therefore seeking your co-operation in conducting at any rate the preliminary stages of the negotiations on a strictly personal and secret basis between myself and the two Presidents. I very much hope that you will prevent this correspondence being known to or discussed in the press until we have seen whether we can find some basis of agreement. I realize, of course, that you will have at some stage to secure the approval of your Working Committee; but I believe it will be best to try and reach some basis of agreement between ourselves as a first step. I propose the following for your consideration:

(a) the Interim Government will consist of 14 members;

(b) six members (to include one Scheduled-Caste representative) will be nominated by the Congress;
five members will be nominated by the Muslim League.
Three representatives of Minorities will be nominated by the Viceroy. One of these places will be kept for a Sikh. It will not be open to either Congress or the Muslim League to object to the names submitted by the other Party, provided they are accepted by the Viceroy.

(c) Distribution of portfolios will be decided after the Parties have agreed to enter the Government and have submitted their names. The Congress and the Muslim League will each have an equitable share of the most important portfolios.

(d) The assurances about the status of the Interim Government which I gave in my letter dated 30th May[3] to Maulana Azad will stand.

3. I would welcome a convention, if freely offered by the Congress,

that major communal issues can only be decided by the assent of both the major parties, but I have never thought that it was essential to make this a formal condition since in fact a Coalition Government could work on no other basis.

4. I sincerely trust that your Party will agree to co-operate in the administration of India on the above basis, while the work of constitution-making proceeds. I am confident that this will be of the greatest possible benefit to India. I suggest that we should not spend further time in negotiation; but should try out at once a Government on the basis proposed above. If it does not work, and you find the conditions unsatisfactory, it will be open to you to withdraw, but I am confident that you will not.

5. Would you be good enough to let me know very soon whether the Muslim League will enter in the Interim Government on this basis? I have written in similar terms to Pandit Nehru and enclose a copy of my letter[4] to him.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

PS. I am seeing Pandit Nehru this afternoon on other matters and will hand him his letter then.

[1&2]Refer to the second and the first Simla Conference, respectively.
[3]See No. 409, *TP*, VII, 738.
[4]See F. 14/78-9A, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 56

Clement R. Attlee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14/13-5

[LONDON,]
23 July 1946

My dear Jinnah,

Thank you for you letter of the 6th July.[1]

I have, of course, studied closely the correspondence between the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy and the political parties in India and I have had a full discussion with the members of the Mission since they returned here. I should like to express to you my appreciation of the very real contribution which the Muslim League, under your leadership, made to the general effort to obtain a settlement.

It seems to me that the Congress also made a contribution, the substantial nature of which has to be recognized, and I cannot quite accept your description of their attitude.

As regards the Statement of May 16th,[2] the terms of the Congress acceptance certainly leave something to be desired. But I must point out that the Muslim League, in their resolution of the 6th June,[3] also made certain reservations. Only the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly itself will show whether the reservations which each party has thought it necessary to make will permit of a constitution being produced, under which the natural aspirations of both can be reasonably satisfied.

Everyone knows that, if there is to be a peaceful and assured future for India, these present differences must be resolved by argument and compromise. That is after all the function of the Constituent Assembly and I have sufficient faith in the resources of statesmanship in India to believe that it will be equal to the great task which it has to carry through. It seems to me that you, as the unchallenged political leader of the Muslims, will earn a great debt of gratitude from future generations if you continue to use your powerful influence to promote this end. Of course, the other side must make a similar contribution if success is to be achieved.

I appeal to you personally to use your great influence in India's cause, and I trust also that you will do your utmost to assist the Viceroy in the formation of an Interim Government. The Constituent Assembly is much less likely to take a course which we should all regret if the two parties are collaborating in the Government, and for this reason in particular I attach great importance to the formation of a Coalition Government without any further delay.

Yours sincerely,
C. R. ATTLEE

[1]Appendix I. 54.
[2]Appendix I. 20.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.

I. 57

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 20/16

31 July 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am sending you, enclosed herewith, copies of the two Resolutions

which the Council of the All India Muslim League passed unanimously on the 29th of July 1946.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Acknowledged by G.E.B. Abell, Viceroy's Private Secretary, on 3 August. See F. 20/19, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 57
Resolutions by All India Muslim League Council

F. 20/140-3

29 July 1946

RESOLUTION NO. 1

On the 6th of June 1946,[1] the Council of the All India Muslim League accepted the scheme embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May, 1946[2] and explained by them in their Statement dated 25th May 1946.[3] The Scheme of the Cabinet Delegation fell far short of the demand of the Muslim nation for the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan comprising the six Muslim provinces, but the Council accepted a Union Centre for ten years strictly confined to three subjects, viz. Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, as the Scheme laid down certain fundamentals and safeguards and provided for the grouping separately of the six Muslim provinces in Sections B and C for the purpose of framing their provincial and group constitutions unfettered by the Union in any way; and also with a view to end the Hindu-Muslim deadlock peacefully and accelerate the attainment of freedom of the peoples of India. In arriving at this decision, the Council was also greatly influenced by the Statement[4] of the [League] President which he made with the authority of the Viceroy that the Interim Government, which was an integral part of the Mission's Scheme, was going to be formed on the basis of a formula, viz. five Muslim League, five Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian, stipulating that the most important portfolios would be distributed equally between the two major parties, the Muslim League and the Congress. The Council authorized the President to take such decision and action with regard to further details of setting up the Interim Government as he deemed fit and proper. In that very Resolution the Council also reserved the right to modify and revise this policy, if the course of events so required.

The British Government committed a breach of faith with the Muslim

League in that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy went back on the original formula of 5:5:2 for setting up of the Interim Government to placate the Congress.

Having gone back on the original formula upon the faith of which the Muslim League Council had come to their decision on the 6th of June, the Viceroy suggested a new basis of 5: 5: 3 and after carrying on considerable negotiations with the Congress and having failed to get the Congress to agree to it, intimated to the parties on the 15th of June[5] that he and the Cabinet Delegation would issue their final Statement with regard to the setting up of the Interim Government.

Accordingly on the 16th of June the President of the Muslim League received a Statement[6] embodying what was announced to be the final decision for setting up the Interim Government by the Viceroy making it clear that if either of the two major parties refused to accept the Statement of June 16, the Viceroy would proceed to form the Interim Government with the major party accepting it and such other representatives as were willing to join. This was explicitly laid down in paragraph 8 of the Statement of June 16.

Even this final decision of the Cabinet Mission of the 16th of June with regard to the formation of the Interim Government was rejected[7] by the Congress, whereas the Muslim League definitely accepted it.[8] Though this proposal was different from the original formula of 5:5:2, the Muslim League accepted it because the Viceroy had provided safeguards and given other satisfactory assurances which were contained in his letter dated the 20th of June 1946,[9] addressed to the President of the Muslim League.

The Viceroy, however, scrapped the proposal of the 16th of June and postponed the formation of the Interim Government on the plea concocted by the "legalistic talents" of the Cabinet Mission, putting a most fantastic and dishonest construction upon paragraph 8 of the Statement to the effect that as both the major parties, i.e. the Muslim League and the Congress, had accepted the Statement of May 16, the question of the Interim Government could only be taken up on consultation with the representatives of both the parties *de novo*.

Even assuming that this construction was tenable, for which there is no warrant, the Congress by their conditional acceptance with reservations and interpretations of their own, as laid down in the letter of the President of the Congress dated the 25th of June[10] and the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress passed at Delhi on the 26th of June,[11] repudiating the very fundamentals of the Scheme, had, in fact, rejected the Statement of the 16th of May and there was therefore no justification, whatsoever, for abandoning the

final proposals of the 16th of June.

As regards the proposal embodied in the Statements of the 16th and 25th of May of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the Muslim League alone of the two major parties has accepted it.

The Congress have not accepted it because their acceptance is conditional and subject to their own interpretation which is contrary to the authoritative Statements of the Delegation and the Viceroy issued on the 16th and the 25th of May. The Congress have made it clear that they do not accept any of the terms or the fundamentals of the Scheme but that they have agreed only to go into the Constituent Assembly and to nothing else; and that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body and can take such decisions as it may think proper in total disregard of the terms and the basis on which it was proposed to be set up. Subsequently this was made further clear and beyond any doubt in the speeches that were made at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on the 6th of July[12] by prominent members of the Congress and in the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, to a press conference on 10th July[13] in Bombay and then again even after the debate in the Parliament in the public speech by him at Delhi on the 22nd [*sic* for 20th] of July.[14]

The result is that of the two major parties, Muslim League alone has accepted the Statements of May 16th and 25th according to the spirit and the letter of the proposals embodied therein and in spite of the attention of the Secretary of State for India having been drawn to this situation by the statement of the President of the Muslim League of 13th July[15] from Hyderabad Deccan, neither Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons, nor Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords, in the course of the recent debate, have provided or suggested any means or machinery to prevent the Constituent Assembly from taking decisions which would be *ultra vires* and not competent for the Assembly to do so [*sic*]. The only reference that the Secretary of State made to this serious situation was a mere expression of pious hope when he stated that "that would not be fair to the other parties who go in."

Once the Constituent Assembly were summoned and met, there was no provision or power that could prevent any decision from being taken by the Congress with its overwhelming majority, which would not be competent for the Assembly to take or which would be *ultra vires* of it, and however repugnant it might be to the letter or the spirit of the Scheme. It would rest entirely with the majority to take such decisions as they may think proper or suit them and the Congress

have already secured by sheer numbers an overwhelming Caste-Hindu majority whereby they will be in a position to use the Assembly in the manner in which they have already declared, i.e. that they will wreck the basic form of the grouping of the provinces and extend the scope, powers and subjects of the Union Centre, which are confined strictly to three specific subjects as laid down in paragraph 15 and provided for in paragraph 19 of the Statement of 16th May.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy collectively and individually have stated on more than one occasion that the basic principles were laid down to enable the major parties to join the Constituent Assembly and that the Scheme cannot succeed unless it is worked in a spirit of co-operation. The attitude of the Congress clearly shows that these conditions precedent for the successful working of the constitution-making body do not exist. This fact, taken together with the policy of the British Government of sacrificing the interests of the Muslim nation and some other weaker sections of the peoples of India, particularly the Scheduled-Castes, to appease the Congress and the way in which they have been going back on their oral and written solemn pledges and assurances given from time to time to the Muslims, leaves no doubt that in these circumstances the participation of the Muslims in the proposed constitution-making machinery is fraught with danger and the Council, therefore, hereby withdraws its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals which was communicated to the Secretary of State for India by the President of the Muslim League on the 6th of June 1946.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Whereas the Council of the All India Muslim League has resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May, 1946 due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand, and the breach of faith with the Muslim [League] by the British Government on the other; and

Whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up Caste-Hindu *raj* in India with the connivance of the British; and

Whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs; and

Whereas it had become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest contented with anything less than the immediate establishment of independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution-making machinery or any constitution, long-term or short-term, or the setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre without the approval and consent of the Muslim League;

The Council of the All India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan, to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination.

This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative and authoritative organisation, the All India Muslim League, and to be ready for every sacrifice.

This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of Direct Action to carry out the policy enunciated above and to organise the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this Council calls upon the Musalmans to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government.

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 25.
[2]Appendix I. 20.
[3]Appendix I. 22.
[4]See Report on Jinnah's Address to AIML Council. Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 45.
[5]Appendix I. 31.
[6]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32.
[7]Enclosure to No. 370, *TP*, VII, 679-82.
[8]Enclosure to Appendix I. 41
[9]Appendix I. 37.
[10]Annex II to Appendix I. 41.
[11]Annex to Appendix I. 45.
[12]See S. Gopal, *Selected Works*, XV, 236-9.
[13]See ibid. , 243-8.
[14]See ibid. , 260-4.
[15]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements* IV, 2330-3.

I. 58

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 20/17-8

31 July 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd July[1] and I notice that this is the fourth basis that you are suggesting for the formation of your Interim Government. From 5:5:2 you came to 5:5:3 and then to 5:5:4, as embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated the 16th June, 1946,[2] which was announced by you as final.

Now you are making this fourth proposal, i.e. 6:5:3.

Every time the Congress turned down the previous three proposals as you were unable to appeas[e] them or propitiate them; and every time the departure was prejudicial to the League and in favour of the Congress.

And now you have put your fourth proposal for my consideration.

It gives the go-by to all the important terms which were in favour of the Muslim League. The Congress will have six members out of 14 as against 5 members of the Muslim League which breaks straight away the principle of parity; and you are letting down the Scheduled Castes as one of them is proposed to be nominated by the Congress and not by the real spokesmen of the Scheduled Castes. I note that you say that five members will be nominated by the Muslim League. Next, three members of the minorities will be nominated by the Viceroy without reference to or any consultation with the Muslim League. The only indication that you have given is that one of these places will be kept for a Sikh.

Then you proceed on to say that "it will not be open either to the Congress or the Muslim League to object to names submitted by the other party, provided they are accepted by the Viceroy" and from this I gather that it will be open to the Congress to nominate a quisling Muslim.

As to the distribution of portfolios, I note [that] you say that "the Congress and the Muslim League will have an equitable share of the most important portfolios", and not equal as it was originally proposed.

As to the assurance about safeguards, i.e. that a major communal issue could only be decided by the consent of both the major parties, you say that "it will be only considered if freely offered by the Congress", but you do not attach much importance to it and you conclude by saying that if the Interim Government does not work when formed on this basis, and if we find conditions unsatisfactory, it will be open to us to withdraw. I believe in the principle, "prevention is better than cure".

This is a very clear and substantial departure most detrimental to the Muslim League and is obviously intended to appease the Congress and devised primarily to meet their wishes.

Taking the final proposal of June 16, 1946, in your letter dated the 20th of June[3] you informed that 14 members were invited by you on the basis of parity between Hindus and Muslims and community-wise and that it will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties. Apart from the secret talks you had with the Congress you clearly conveyed to us that the invitees were asked to join

specifically on the basis of five Hindus, five Muslims, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste, one Christian and one Parsi. Your present proposal clearly destroys the principle of parity as well as representation according to communities and gives a clear majority to the Congress as against the Muslim League to start with. Further the Scheduled Caste [representative] will be nominated by the Congress, which in my opinion is most unjust to a community of sixty million people, who are groaning under the social and economic tyranny of the high-caste Hindus, whom alone the Congress really represents.

As regards representatives of other minorities, they will be nominated by you without reference to or any consultation with the Muslim League. This again is a departure from what you stated in your letter of the 20th June that "if any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the representatives of the minorities, I shall, naturally, consult both the major parties before filling it." I think you will appreciate that when you start with six Congress and five Muslim League [representatives, i.e.] with a Congress majority, the minority representative will hold a very strong position as a balancing element, who would be nominated by you without even consultation with the Muslim League and this is a serious departure from what we were assured of in your letter of the 20th of June.

You categorically state in your letter of 20th June, paragraph five, that "no decision on a major communal issue would be taken by the Interim Government if a majority of the representatives of either of the two major parties were opposed to it", whereas now in the present proposals you inform me that you will welcome a convention if freely offered by the Congress.[4]

As you have written this letter to me and [which] is strictly personal and secret, I can only say that in my opinion there is no chance of my Working Committee accepting this proposal.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 55.
[2]Appendix I. 32.
[3]Appendix I. 37
[4]For Wavell's reply, see Appendix II. 3.

APPENDIX II

Supplementary Documents

Our principal sources of documents for the *Jinnah Papers* have been *Quaid-i-Azam Papers, Governor-General's Papers, Shamsul Hasan* Collection and some other Collections. The documents in the source records were neither in chronological order nor maintained subject-wise. These were put in chronological order and published date-wise.

Additional references were also culled from the *Transfer of Power* volumes, published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

A review was undertaken recently to locate documents which had not come to our notice previously, nor were earlier available with us.

We have located 164 such documents relating to the period covered by the 12 volumes so far produced (1.10.43 to 31.3.46 and 20.2.47 to 30.9.48), which are being published as Appendix II to this volume. It is to be hoped that these documents will provide some missing links and complement the material already published.

II. 1

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (1)

CAMP, NEW DELHI,
12 October 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just come from Shikarpur. We had a grand meeting under [the] presidentship of Nawab Makhdoom Murid Hussain at a village, Khanpur. The Nawab did excellent propaganda for [the] League and its candidate. His canvassing was also very effective. Khuhro was also there. Sir Azizul Haq has agreed to go with Sir G[hulam] Hussain to Shikarpur two days before [the] voting. We shall all be there. I am of opinion that we now have fair chances of success. Some good workers, like Qazi Fazlullah, advocate of Larkana, and others from various parts of Sind, have gathered there and shall remain in the constituency till the voting day.

I am going on tour in Tharparkar Dist. for collecting donations for the expenses for [*sic* for of] holding the All India [Muslim League] session from 21.8.[19]43 to 29.8.[19]43.[1] I shall then proceed to Shikarpur. Voting takes place on 3.11.[19]43.

We have done preliminary work of applying for land, sanitary and water connections, preparing plans for *pandal* and various camps of [*sic*] delegates, for the League session. Actual construction shall be taken [up], anyhow after election day.

I shall deem it a great honour if you will kindly accept my invitation to stay with me during the session. I have a commodious bungalow and I shall see that you have every convenience for self and visitors [coming] to you.

I want to consult you about Pir Pagaro's property which was confiscated to [*sic* for by] G[overnment] of India. AIML had asked for its restoration. When do you prefer to leave for Delhi in November next for [the] legislative session and any League meetings?

With best regards,

I am,
Yours,
M. H. GAZDAR
Minister, Govt. of Sind

[1]Held from 24 to 26 December 1943.

II. 2

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (2)

SHIKARPUR, SIND,
13 October 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be glad to hear that our election work here is being done most satisfactorily. Yesterday was the day fixed for putting in nomination papers. Our candidate, Khan Bahadur Ahmad Khan Sadhayo's nomination paper was accepted, notwithstanding silly and frivolous objections raised by our opponents. We raised no objection to the nomination paper of our opponent, Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bakhsh, the brother of late Mr. Allah Bakhsh.

The date fixed for voting is the 3rd November and, with your blessings, we hope to achieve [a] grand success.

On the 6th instant we had the District Muslim League Conference at Khanpur village in this constituency under the presidentship of Makhdoom Nawab Murid Hussain Sahib, MLA (Central), which was a grand show. The presidential address of the Nawab Sahib was a masterpiece of propaganda in the cause of the Muslim League. I am

having the whole of it printed separately in [a] book form.

I hope you must have read in the *Dawn* the account of the proceedings of the Conference.

The efforts of Makhdoom Sahib for the cause of our election work here, and generally in the cause of our Muslim League organisation, require to be appreciated, and I beg to suggest that you may send him a personal letter of thanks[1] for having come to Sind for that work at such great cost and inconvenience to himself.

With best wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. M. SAYED

[1]Jinnah replied that he intended to thank Makhdoom Murid Hussain. See Appendix II. 5.

II. 3

Ali Muhammed Rashdi to Anonym[1]

QAD (3)

KARACHI,
14 October 1943

I am afraid it will not be possible for me to accept any position in the League propaganda machinery because I do not think I will be able to cut [any] ice with the people of Karachi who are extremely upset over rationing. I even feel that the idea of having a session here should be dropped. The rationing is going to set the Indus [*sic*] on fire and the infuriated Karachi masses are likely to tear your *pandal* to pieces if you provided them with such an opportunity. Why to [*sic*] disgrace the all India body in this manner? Can your League or Pakistan have any appeal for the Karachi Muslim masses when they have tasted the first fruits of [the] League and Pakistan in the shape of a rationing scheme which is to lead to their starvation? You may be able to face them, I cannot. Can't you prevail upon the ministers to be wise enough or [*sic* for to] delay this imposition till the League session is over? Can't they show even that little courtesy to the League? Unfortunately I am too sick to move out and approach them. Sitting as you do in Shikarpur, you also cannot gauge the depth of people's feelings on this issue.

I will advise you to run up to Karachi for a day to discuss these things. This is even more important than the admission into the Assembly

of that great League luminary—K. B. Ahmed Khan Sadhayo.

[ALI MUHAMMED RASHIDI]

[1]Addressee's name not mentioned.

II. 4

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (4)

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
17 October 1943

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

Very many thanks for your kind letter.

I have been doing my utmost for the success of the candidate set up by the Muslim League in the Shikarpur constituency, which I have visited four times already during the last two months and have returned from there only a few days ago. The position of our candidate has, by the grace of God, considerably improved and we have now a fairly good chance of success. Nawab Makhdoom Murid Hussain, MLA (Central), of Multan and Pir Ahmad Shah of Ranipur (Khairpur State) have both been of considerable help to us. I would suggest that you kindly write a letter of thanks to the Makhdoom Sahib of Multan for the valuable help he has rendered to us in such a great and noble cause.[1]

I am helping in this election in every possible manner, not only with my presence on the spot and all the influence I can command but also financially. None of my colleagues in the Cabinet has done as much so far, in this matter. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh has never been even once to the constituency during this time up to now, while Mr. Gazdar has done it twice and the Premier once. During the last one week preceding the day set down for the recording of the votes, we should all be in the constituency. But we shall require as a matter of necessity the presence of the Makhdoom Sahib of Multan and his cousin as also that of Pir Ahmad Shah Sahib of Ranipur there.

To the first two, I would request, you should write direct to ask them to be at Shikarpur at least from 1st to 3rd of November, as the voting is due to take place on the 3rd of November. I am trying direct with Pir Ahmad Shah Sahib, who has been quite friendly with me, to come and stay with me for the last eight days of the election

campaign in the constituency and work for the success of our cause.

This Pir Sahib has, however, written to me a letter which looks rather strange and I am therefore reproducing its purport here below[2] for your information.

Looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you in the middle of next month at Delhi and trusting that this finds you in the best of health,

With very best wishes and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1]See Appendix II. 2, note 1.
[2]Not printed as it related to a personal matter.

II. 5

M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed

QAD (5)

18 October 1943

My dear Sayed,

I was very pleased to get your letter of the 13th instant[1] and to get very heartening news that you are all working now whole-heartedly and I am extremely happy to know that your District Muslim League Conference was a great success. Yes, I have read the proceedings of the Conference in the *Dawn* and I am glad that Makhdoom Sahib has rendered great services to our cause by taking the trouble of going to Sindh and presiding over this Conference, and I am going to write to him, thanking him for all the help. As a matter of fact I had requested him to go to Sindh and I am glad that he did go.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix II. 2.

II. 6

Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (6)

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
19 October 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a copy of this office letter No.1453, dated the 18th October 1943,[1] to the Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi. The Sind Provincial Muslim League has unanimously elected you as President for the ensuing sessions to be held at Karachi this December. May *Allah* give you long life, health and vigour to steer clear the ship of Muslim responsibilities through the troublesome [*sic*] waters of the present-day politics. This is my only and sincere prayer.

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON
General Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.

II. 7

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (7)

KARACHI,
20 [October 1943]

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope by *Allah's* grace you are now enjoying the best of health. Therefore, I venture to bring the following to your kind notice and seek your assistance.

The contest between the Muslim League candidate, Khan Bahadur Ahmed Khan Sadhayo of Shikarpur *Taluka*, and Khan Bahadur Moula Bakhsh, brother of the late Mr. Allah Bakhsh, is taking a turn and is likely to be very keen. The Hindus of this province are actively

helping the opposition with their finance, and the Ahrars and the Jamiat ul-Ulama are keenly interested to see the opposition candidate winning [*sic*] the contest. There is a Pir, by the name of Ahmed Shah of Ranipur (Khairpur State), who has a great following in this constituency and belongs to Khairpur State and his support will greatly help our cause. He is under the influence of Khan Bahadur Aijaz Ali, Minister of Khairpur State, who, it is understood, is a great friend of Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmed of Aligarh. Therefore, I would request you that you would be so good as to use your good offices with Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmed, who will prevail upon Khan Bahadur Aijaz Ali to stimulate the Pir Sahib into activity for the League candidate. This will greatly help our cause.

The opposition, fearing the contest to be not an easy [*sic*] walkover, have called the leaders of the Ahrars and the Jamiat ul-'Ulama to visit the Shikarpur constituency and stir the voters to cast their lot in favour of K. B. Moula Bakhsh. With a view to countering this propaganda, I would request you to persuade Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung to visit Shikarpur for a few days, as early as possible.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
G. M. SAYED
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

II. 8

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (8)

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
23 October 1943

I am sending you herewith, for favour of perusal, a copy of a letter I have written to Mr. G. M. Sayed, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 31st session of All India Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

Enclosure to Appendix II. 8

Hatim A. Alavi to G. M. Sayed

ALAVI MANZIL, [KARACHI,]
23 October 1943

My dear Sayed,

ALL INDIA MUSLIM EXHIBITION

A line in your letter received exactly a month ago suggested that I should take in hand immediately the work of organizing All India Muslim Exhibition on the occasion of the annual session of the League and that I had been elected as Chairman of the Exhibition Committee. Till I received your letter I had no knowledge of my having been asked to do this work by the Reception Committee. As you are aware, I was out of station for a long time and returned to Karachi on 17th of Sept. 1943. On receipt of your letter, therefore, I made inquiries and gathered that a meeting of the Reception Committee was held on the 12th of Sept. whereat, among other things, I was put in charge of organising the exhibition.

The All India Industrial Exhibition, organised by the [Karachi] Municipal Corporation, when I was the Mayor, was such a great success that it was said that never in India was seen such a magnificent spectacle. This was an obvious exaggeration, but the gate money realised was in the neighbourhood of a lakh of rupees for a period of 40 days at the rate of two *annas* an adult and one *anna* for a child. This meant that about a million people visited the exhibition which is nearly 3 times the entire population of Karachi as it was then. The idea of the exhibition originated from me and it was a known fact that from the beginning to end the entire direction of the exhibition was in my hands. The Reception Committee must have [had] these facts in mind while electing me as Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, and I guess they expected of [me] to make our exhibition a great success having regard to the limitations of the far [*sic*].

I expected to hear from Yusuf [Haroon], our General Secretary, conveying to me the resolution of the Reception Committee. This was not done though full three weeks passed away when on the 2nd of October, being the *'Id* day, Yusuf and I met. I inquired from him as to why he had not conveyed to me the resolution of the Reception Committee. He said he was kept very busy and that time had prevented him. We then plunged into discussing the broad details and I gave him an outline of what I intended to do. I said that having

regard to the 'Buy Muslim Campaign' of the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, I cannot invite non-Muslim traders to book stalls at our exhibition. The number of good Muslim shop-keepers at Karachi was extremely limited and I would therefore have to send out men almost immediately to the Punjab, U.P., Hyderabad (Deccan) and other centres to persuade the Muslim businessmen to book their stalls with us. It was to be remembered that there was a general unwillingness on the part of the merchants to go to the exhibition, because on the whole, owing to war conditions, most of them have more clients than they can manage. In view of this, I said we shall have to concentrate more on the exhibition side. I read to Yusuf the *'Id* message of the Quaid-i-Azam which asked the Muslim nation to revive the splendour and glory of the Islamic civilisation. Around this central theme, 15 big stalls can be built. This is the 14th century of our era and one stall each can represent the most significant event of each of the century [*sic*]. In the 15th can be shown the promised land of Pakistan. There can be a stall showing the innumerable editions of the *Qur'an* and the maximum number of translations that we can get.

In this voice, I revealed to him all my plans and told Yusuf that it would entail for me a great burden and enormous work as the time at our disposal was very short. I told him that I expected of him to convey to me the resolution of the Reception Committee that very day as I must take the work of organising the exhibition immediately in hand.

Since then a further period of three weeks have [*sic*] passed and despite personal reminders, Yusuf has not been able to convey to me the resolution of the Reception Committee.

This morning Ghulam Nabi Auj, editor of the daily *Nizam*, who, as you know, is on excellent terms with Gazdar came to see me and wanted me to organise a big *Mushaira* at the time of League session and invite all the famous Muslim poets to this function. I told him that I had no aptitude for this kind of work and that I would like to be wholly free to do the exhibition. It then escaped from his mouth that they do not want the exhibition as I had been elected as Chairman of the Exhibition Committee.

From this and Yusuf's persistent delay, I presume that Gazdar, always moved by personal motives, does not want this exhibition to come up and, as usual, Yusuf has not the guts to disregard Gazdar's wishes, even when these may be at variance with the progress of our cause.

As Chairman of the Reception Committee it is my duty to keep you apprised of this development and to inform you that I am

willing to step aside so that anyone else may be nominated as Chairman of this Committee.

What are you doing with regard to your own address? We should take the drafting of it in hand, the moment you are free from Shikarpur election and I think it would be a good idea if you can send the first MSS to the Quaid-i-Azam. We must reserve for a personal meeting, discussion of the salient points of your address. There are ominous developments on the horizon and while we may trust the Quaid-i-Azam to look into these, we of the younger generation must express our unrestrainable impatience at the rate we are moving. Whether the Hindus and the British want to come to an understanding or play at the present deadlock, what about us and our goal? Why we should come in the picture only at the time of this tripartite settlement? As you know and as we have talked often and often, it would be the strength of our party apparatus that will count in the ultimate analysis. When the Government put a ban on the [*word illegible*] resolution, we took it lying down. Although personally I felt in agreement with Quaid-i-Azam's attitude towards that Gandhi letter, there are thousands of Muslims who saw in the incident a climb down. It is true, our present phase is to capture the existing constitutional machinery to advance our cause but this is a double edged sword which cuts and has cut both ways. Something of the fire and defiance of Garibaldi and Hitler's party addresses must find way into your speech. Let those who want, have the joys of ministerial and other advantages. You must blow your bugle and beat your drum to call to our colours, men who will accept zero as wages and whose countenance will be the guarantee of Pakistan.

Yours affectionately,
HATIM A. ALAVI

Sayed Ghulam Murtaza Shah,
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League,
Sann (Sind)

II. 9

Shaikh Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (9)

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION OFFICE,
GARDEN WEST, KARACHI,
25 October 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Twelve months have elapsed since I wrote to you while resigning [from] General Secretaryship of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, that I had even thought of going out of the Muslim League and serve the nation and the League, if I could, as an outsider. Friends prevented me from taking any such step. In my letter then written, I had also earnestly impressed upon you the dire necessity of keeping an eye upon the present Sind Ministry so that they may keep their hands clean and remain above suspicion like Ceaser's wife in the best interests of the administration and the Muslim League organisation. What I apprehended then has now become a public scandal. Moreover, Muslim League Assembly Party is not consulted in most important matters. I do not wish to be held responsible before God and man for the deeds or the misdeeds of the Muslim League Ministry, which I must continue to support if I am a Muslim Leaguer. I have, therefore, resigned [the] membership of the primary Muslim League.

I may resign from the Muslim League and I may even hold different views from yours as to how to resolve the Hindu-Muslim deadlock and the Indo-British deadlock, I shall adhere to the principles embodied in the creed of the Muslim League.

With kind regards and best wishes for your health,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
SHAIKH ABDUL MAJID
MLA

II. 10

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (10)

SEAFIELD ROAD,
KARACHI,
29 October 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am of the same opinion as you that no notice should be taken by us of Shaikh Abdul Majid's resignation from the League. It was really impossible for us to keep him in the League, and so it is just as well that he has resigned of his own accord.

I am leaving for Shikarpur on the 31st instant, for the election there on the 3rd November. I will remain there till the election is over. We are all doing our very best in the matter, and, with God's grace, we will succeed.

Hoping you and your sister are doing quite well,
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

II. 11

Syed Sarwar Shah Gilani to M. A. Jinnah
[Original in Urdu]

QAD (11)

IMPORTANT

9 WEST VIEW,
PREEDY STREET,
CAMP KARACHI,
29 October 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Alhamdulillahi Wassalaamun 'ala Ibaad-i-hillazeenastafa

I have great love and respect for you. Above all, I support the noble ideal of an Islamic State in the northern areas of India. Therefore, I am keen to win your confidence. I request you to ascertain the contents of my letters from your Secretary.

I want to offer a useful plan for creating awareness among the

people of the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, Baluchistan and Kashmir about religio-political system of Islam. You know full well that the holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) laid the foundation of the Islamic society from the platform of [the] mosque. This holy set-up is available to us if we want to introduce Islamic system. Friday sermons in the mosques are, in a way, weekly conferences of Muslims and this system has no parallel in any other society. The Muslims remained attached with mosques even in their worst days. Friday sermons in all mosques can promote a big movement in favour of Pakistan. There is a need to establish a well-knit centralised organization of mosques for the purpose. If you take into consideration my proposal, you will find that it can promote the cause of Muslim League in the form of Friday lectures. There are about three lakh mosques, big and small, in the country. Out of these if one lakh are *Jam'e* mosques, these are Islamic centres. It is now for us to utilize these institutions from Peshawar to Delhi and Srinagar to Karachi to organize the Muslims into a strong nation.

I would suggest that in the first year we should select one thousand mosques; 400 in Punjab, 300 in NWFP and 300 in Sindh which I can visit in order to take their *imams* into confidence. These mosques should be made the centres of work for Pakistan Movement. There should be a weekly newspaper, containing sermons for Friday congregations, in Urdu, Sindhi and Pushto. These sermons should highlight Muslim League's programme and Islamic system in these one thousand mosques. The *imams* of these mosques shall thus act as devoted workers and preach Pakistan's cause. During the second year, we can add another one thousand mosques. Gradually, we shall be able to convert ten thousand mosques into such centres in a short period. By indoctrination of *imams* through conferences from time to time, we can have their support for Pakistan Movement.

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, I am fully convinced about this scheme. If you include it in your programme, I am ready to devote my whole life for the purpose. With the grace of God, I have a deep understanding of *Qur'an, Hadith* and *Islamiyat*. I firmly believe that we can accomplish Pakistan's goal if we convert ten thousand mosques into centres of Pakistan Movement in true sense.

Propaganda with lakhs of rupees may not be able to create that impact which the network of mosques can. A weekly newspaper for the support of the Movement is essential which shall have to be distributed to every *Jam'e Masjid*. I am ready to meet you to discuss details of the scheme. If you approve of the idea, I offer my services to arrange lectures and organize the network of mosques throughout the

country. These centres can start functioning under your guidance within a year or two.

It is difficult to cover all aspects of the plan in a letter. But I firmly believe that the proposed network of mosques shall be of immense strength to popularize the Muslim League's programme and Pakistan Movement. If you like the plan, I can work out the details. The proposed system shall be a religio-political set-up working in collaboration with the Muslim League for propagation of its programme. Collection of *Zakat*, charities, establishment of industrial units and new Muslim homes shall also be among its goals. Whatever programme is chalked out by the Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim League for the betterment of Muslims, shall be popularized among the Muslims through these mosques. *Wa bi Yad-i-hittaufiq.*

I have published between thirty and forty books on *Seerat-i-Nabvi* and political system of Islam. A few of these books are being sent by post separately for your perusal. I have rich experience of publicity and propaganda. An article published in the daily *Shahbaz* regarding Khaksars is also being sent.[1]

Wassalaam

Praying for you,
SARWAR SHAH GILANI

[1]Not traceable.

II. 12

M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf A. Haroon

QAD (12)

Undated [*October 1943*]

My dear Yusuf,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 28 for Tichoo Quetta wala for the pair of pump shoes which you were good enough to send it [*sic*] to me from Delhi through Sattar Seth.

I have not heard from you for a long time. Please let me know how things are going on in Karachi and specially with regard to the Shikarpur by-election for which I hope that you all will work whole-heartedly.

What preparations are being made for the next session of the All India Muslim League? I hope it is being arranged as it is likely to be one of the greatest sessions and gathering[s] and as far as I can judge, it will be a very important session in the history of the All India

Muslim League and I hope that you all will work and make it a real success.

I am glad to inform you that I am quite all right now. Please give our kind regards to Lady Sahiba and all the members of the family from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yusuf Haroon, Esq., *MLA*,
Seafield, Victoria Road,
Karachi

II. 13

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Sarwar Shah Gilani

QAD (13)

4 November 1943

Dear Mr. Syed Sarwar Shah Gilani,

I have received your letter of the 29th of October 1943[1] and the press cutting, and I thank you for it. Your proposal and suggestions will be placed by me before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League for their consideration. In the meantime, if you want to work in the Punjab, the best course would be that you should get in touch with the President of the Provincial Muslim League, Nawab of Mamdot, to whom I have forwarded your letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Sarwar Shah Gilani, Esq.,
9 West View, Preedy Street,
Karachi

[1]Appendix II. 11.

II. 14

M. A. Jinnah to Shaikh Abdul Majid

QAD (14)

4 November 1943

Dear Shaikh Abdul Majid,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th of October 1943,[1] informing

me that you have resigned from the Muslim League organisation. What do you expect me to do after you have taken your decision without apprising me of your complaints against the Ministry or placing them before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, which would have been a correct procedure for you to adopt before you took up this fatal step. In these circumstances, I note that you have resigned from the Muslim League organisation.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Shaikh Abdul Majid, Esq., *MLA*,
Garden West,
Karachi

[1]Appendix II. 9.

II. 15

M. A. Jinnah to Hatim A. Alavi

QAD (15)

5 November 1943

Dear Mr. Hatim Alavi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd of October 1943,[1] enclosing a copy of the letter that you have written to Mr. Sayed, and I thank you for it and I have read it with very great interest indeed. It is now for you people primarily to manage Sind affairs and unless you stand united as a team, you will not be able to make much progress; harmony, co-operation and co-ordination are most essential.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hatim A. Alavi, Esq.,
Alavi Manzil,
Karachi

[1]Appendix II. 8.

II. 16

S. N. Spence to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (16)

C.M.S. HIGH SCHOOL,
LAWRENCE ROAD, KARACHI,
28 November 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have it on reliable authority that you were formerly a pupil of this school under the tutelage of the late Mr. Dhandumal Tarachand. I had hoped to meet you on the occasion of your last visit to Karachi.

I have two requests to make. Would you please favour us with a visit during your ensuing visit to this city. The school will be closed but the Committee of the Old Boys' Association and the staff would be delighted if you could come to an informal tea party on any day suitable to you.

My second request is that you may give me a resume of your life and any information about the school as it was in your days. I propose to publish a history of the school on the occasion of its centenary in 1946, and would be grateful for any information about notable old boys such as yourself to include in the record.

I know what a busy man you are and how important your work in Karachi is, but I hope that you will spare us some time, no matter how little it may be.[1] We are proud to count you among our former students.

Yours faithfully,
S.N. SPENCE
Principal

[1]See Appendix II. 23.

II. 17

Iqbal Masud to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/10

22 S.S. EAST,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
4 December 1943

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is the most crucial moment in the history of Muslim India. The Muslim youth, with their characteristic zeal for action [and] for change and their hatred for passivity, have endured the passive and stagnant policy of the Muslim League long enough and are on the point of dissension from that, little knowing that this very policy is in their best interests.

But, however justified your bold lead might be, the fact remains undisputed that if once insolidarity creeps into the now organised Muslim India and once their zeal overcoming their reason induces them to dissent, then it will be very difficult to hold them together again. Years of patient and laborious task will be undone in a [*sic* for the] twinkling [of an eye].

I, therefore, implore you in the name of the Muslim India, whose cause you are so selflessly and devotedly upholding, and on behalf of the young Muslims whose minds I have come to know fully [*sic* for full] well only through patient study and constant companionship, that [*sic* for to] please alter your policy a little even if it is only for the sake of change.[1] This will quiet the rising unrest in the ranks of Muslim youth. Change is [the] only thing they want, however immaterial it might be, to the fundamental policy. I don't want you to move an inch from your basic policy but only to put on a different garb over it so that their hunger for change might be satisfied without affecting anything in the least.

I am writing you this on the eve of the annual session of All India Muslim League going to be held at Karachi. Eyes of the whole India are resting upon you looking for something different from the policy of the Muslim League till now. Don't disappoint them. That will be too expensive. Don't overfill the cup, it will be spilt.

Please don't take this timely advice as a warning because no one can dispute that your sagacity, wisdom, insight into [*sic*] those whom you lead courage, statesmanship and diplomacy need no warning [*sic*].

Still, as one who is more deeply acquainted with the Muslim youth than you by constantly rubbing shoulders with them, I think that in this letter I have got something to tell you which will be of some value to you who, being so much busy and pre-occupied, are apt to ignore the fact which in appearance is so trivial, insignificant and inconsequential.

I am always your most loyal and devoted follower and one who is attached to the same cause as you.

Thank you, Quaid-i-Azam,

IQBAL MASUD

[1]Jinnah replied that it would have helped him if some concrete suggestions had been made. See *SHC*, UP III/11. Not printed.

II. 18

Pothan Joseph to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/20

P.O. BOX NO. 103,
DELHI,
6 December 1943

My dear Chief,

I hope you are better by now and that you will be fully restored so as to be able to bear the strain of the Karachi session.

There is something happening in Madras over the prohibition question. I enclose herewith three newspaper cuttings[1] but what intrigues me is the text of the resolution passed by the Madras Presidency Muslim League in a general body meeting. I know the language of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and I see it in his draftsmanship. There is a small crowd of C.R. fans among the Muslims of Madras and also [of] malcontents like S.M. Fossil who after breaking away from the League forum wish to come into the limelight. C.R.'s move is not so innocent as it looks. As I understand, he is developing some form of civil disobedience, perhaps by picketting, in the name of prohibition. I suggest that you should direct Madras not to take any action until you have gone into the pros and cons of the

question, which if left alone might create divisions in the South.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
POTHAN JOSEPH
Editor, The *Dawn*

[1]Not traceable.

II. 19

M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf A. Haroon

QAD (17)

11 December 1943

My dear Yusuf,

I have received your letter of the 9th instant,[1] and the programme of the All India Muslim League's 31st annual session. I have decided to go to Karachi by air and I have already booked my accommodation for the 20th and hope to be in Karachi in the evening of the same day. I could not get the accommodation on the 21st, and the 22nd would have been too close. Anyhow, it is now definitely fixed that I will leave on the 20th and I will send you a wire confirming this a day before. Please don't make any engagement on my behalf until I reach Karachi because I don't want to be rushed in the midst of our work which will be pretty heavy this time. You can tell the people that I can stay on after the session for a little while and try to meet their wishes in every way I can. I am getting many letters and telegrams asking me to fix up the appointments, but please tell them that I will meet their wishes as far as possible when I get there. I shall be accompanied by Miss Jinnah and I am sending Mr. Syed, my Secretary, and my servants by rail. They are leaving on the 17th and reaching Karachi on the 19th night. More when we meet.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yusuf A. Haroon, Esq., *MLA*,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.

II. 20

Ahmad Bashir to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (18)

BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
18 December 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Although it is very late to make some suggestions to you about the future policy of the Muslim League just on the eve of the 31st session, yet I hope I am not too late to be listened to.

In view of the short time at my disposal I would write my suggestions for your kind consideration in bare language only. I may be wrong in my conclusions but I am sincerely of the view that if the Muslim League is to live and live to the advantage of the Muslims it must be an absorbing, throbbing and conscious organism.

In the first place, I would suggest that we should give our best attention to the post-war problems, because it is only the Muslims who will be most severely hit by the post-war slump and unemployment, and an acute situation will arise. And since the post-war problems will be very important they cannot be discussed threadbare in one single meeting of the Council. It will, therefore, be expedient to entrust the job to a sub-committee consisting of economists, educationists, industrialists, journalists, businessmen, MLAs and student workers (and to none else). There should be a fair representation of young blood on the committee.

Secondly, in order to strengthen our movement, special attention must be paid to the organisation of National Guards. Each province should be allotted a quota which it must reach within a specified period. National Guards' rallies should be a regular feature and the civil defence work should be entrusted to them. Some regular daily duty must be assigned to them so that they may feel that they are active. The secret of the success of the Khaksar Movement was that the moment a man became its member he felt that he was doing something (even though his activity was of no immediate use). I do not mean that we should ape Khaksars, but then we can assign more reasonable and lucrative duties to the N[ational] Guards. They can do office work, rural uplift work, social service, adult education, organisation of cottage industries, etc., etc. They must

gather at least once a day but no severe punishments should be given to them for non-compliance with orders.

[*Next two paras omitted*][1]

Fifthly, we should form a group of sincere enthusiasts in the League to be called League Republicans, League Democrats, or League Radicals. As you know, discontentment and unrest [are] rampant in the ranks of Muslim League in every province. The younger and sincere element is thoroughly dissatisfied with the people at the helm of the provincial League. If the present state of affairs continues, I fear that out of disgust this element will have to march out of the League. This contemplated group will act as a safety valve. Severally, the young people are discontented and a source of weakness but when allowed to form a separate group within the League, they will be satisfied and be a source of power to the League.

[*Paras 6 & 7 omitted*][2]

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD BASHIR
Manager,
The Orient Press of India Ltd.

[1&2]These paras contained rudimentary suggestions.

II. 21

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/79

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
21 December 1943

My dear leader,

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on your birthday. May *Allah* bless you with long life, health and happiness! The Muslim nation has really to be congratulated on this happy occasion and they should raise their hands to All Merciful *Allah* giving Him thanks on this very happy occasion beseeching Him in all humility to bless you with long life.

I regret very much for [*sic*] my inability to attend the session of the

League at Karachi on account of an urgent and sudden business. It is my conviction that with the blessings of God and under your dynamic guidance and leadership the session is bound to be very successful.

I believe that the nation should not waste its energies on the question of how to solve the present deadlock. It is my firm belief that the British Government, on the plea of war and the food situation in the country, is not going to touch the constitutional question even with a pair of tongs. As for the Congress, you know our friends better. They are a definitely exclusive party which, whether in jail or outside, has been pursuing a policy of exclusiveness, self-importance and self-adulation. Therefore, there is no use of [*sic*] our wasting any of our time and energy on the Congress. We have to bring the goal of Pakistan nearer and nearer to us every day by self-exertion, organisation, preparation and training of the nation. Every ounce of preparation will bring Pakistan at least one inch nearer to us.

The Muslim League has come to stay and it lives and survives on the charmed name of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam. I regret very much to say that organisationally we are weaker and poorer than before. May I suggest the appointment of one of the prominent members of the Working Committee and other leaders of the country to be in charge of each province or a group of provinces. We must also arrange for a touring committee consisting of staunch, able and enthusiastic Muslim Leaguers to tour in provinces other than their own.

I am glad that the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industries has been formed and it will, I trust, attend to the economic and industrial progress of the nation.

The Muslim League must take up the question of Muslim labour in the country so that we could, in an organised manner, serve their interest with a view to ameliorating their condition.

The war and the international situation at the present juncture have very rightly brought into prominence Muslim countries in the Near East. I am afraid that the British Government and the United Nations have not recognised the importance of the Muslim nation in India. In this connection, I believe that it will be necessary for us, during this session, to impress effectively upon the United Nations the importance of the Muslim nation also.

I conclude with my prayer for your long life and for the success of

the League session at Karachi.

With my esteemed regards to yourself and to sister,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
MLA (Madras)

PS. I have been doing my humble best to keep the League flag flying in the South by exposing Mr C. Rajagopalacharia's attempt to disrupt the Muslim League by exploiting the prohibition issue.

II. 22

Haji Imam Bakhsh & Others to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (19)

KARACHI,
23 December 1943

Respected Sir,

We, the following members of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, the members and ex-members of the All India Muslim League Council, respectfully beg to bring to [your notice] the following illegalities done [*sic*] by the present President of the Province with regard to the elections and nominations of the office-bearers of some District Leagues, members of the Provincial and All India Council, for your kind consideration and ruling in all the matters, respectively.

i. 404 members were elected to Tharparkar District League by various League branches. 28th March 1943 was fixed for the election of the office-bearers of the District League and the representatives on the Council in [*sic* for at] District Local Board meeting-hall, Mirpurkhas, but at [*sic*] the nick of time, the working President, K. S. Ghulam Mohamed Chodhri, gave a ruling that as there is likelihood of breach of peace, the meeting should be postponed. He locked the hall and went away. As more than 200 members of the District League had come all the way to elect the office-bearers, they had no other go [*sic*] but to meet at some other place. So they met at the District League office and in the presence of 214 members of the District League, office-bearers of the District and representatives on the Council were elected.

ii. Some of the members who had left the District Local Board Hall at the instigation of some people appealed to the President of the Province. The President of the Provincial Muslim League, without bringing this item on to the agenda of the Provincial Working Committee, and when more than half the members of the Working Committee had left the meeting after sitting for a long time, got a resolution passed by the Working Committee to the effect that the President of Provincial Muslim League should be given full powers to decide the struggle of Tharparkar District League elections, as he thinks proper.

iii. After a few days we were informed by the head office of the Province that the President had cancelled the previous election and nominated such and such members on Provincial Council and office-bearers [*sic*].

iv. After hearing this, a requisition signed by 27, out of 69, members of the Council was given to the President to place this matter before the next Council meeting; but to our regret the President did not do so; hence we take the liberty of approaching your honour for decision in the matter.

Recently, Mr. Ali Mohamed Khero of Nawabshah District placed [*sic*] his resignation from the seat of the Provincial Muslim League Council, and the President of the Provincial Muslim League has nominated Syed Mazharali Shah [as] paid Office Secretary of the League, whereas according to the constitution, Nawabshah District League had to fill the vacancy.

The last and [the] most serious point is that the members of All India Muslim League Council have also been nominated by the President, but according to the constitution the Provincial Council had to make such election [*sic*].

We, therefore, most humbly and respectfully request your honour not to allow the present nominated members of the All India Council of our Province to take part in the meeting of the All India Council, which takes place today, till the Provincial Council makes the election to that effect.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant
HAJI IMAM BAKHSH AND OTHERS

II. 23

M. A. Jinnah to S. N. Spence

QAD (20)

KARACHI,
31 December 1943

Dear Mr. Spence,

In continuance of our correspondence,[1] I beg to inform you that now I am free from the various activities of the sessions of the All India Muslim League and I shall be very glad indeed to have the opportunity of meeting your committee and the Old Boys Association and the staff. I am here till the 5th of January 1944, and if you would be good enough to ring up my Secretary, I shall be glad to fix up the time and date when I can avail myself of the pleasure of visiting [your] High School.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Rev. S. N. Spence,
Principal, C.M.S. High School,
Karachi

[1]See Appendix II. 16.

II. 24

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan

SHC, Madras II/84

BOMBAY,
31 January 1944

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th instant[1] and thank you for it. I wish you would get in touch with the Committee of Action and persuade them to go to your province. It is now for them and up to them to further organise, harness and consolidate the Muslim League organizations all over the country, and I am looking forward to real work from them. All our leaders, workers and I are hopeful that we shall see good results very soon as Muslim

India is now up and doing everywhere.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Hameed Khan, Esq., *MLA*,
Mount Road,
Madras

[1]Not traceable.

II. 25

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (21)

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
7 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Our Assembly session is starting on the 23rd February, and, God willing, all will be well. But still there is no depending on the vagaries of Sind politics, and so one cannot be too careful.

I shall be grateful, therefore, if you will very kindly write a nice letter to Mr. G. M. Sayed. He is the President of our local League, and our success or failure will depend very largely on him and his efforts. So, kindly do write to him in your own way as early as possible.

Hoping your sister and yourself are doing very well, I close with my kindest regards to both of you,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

II. 26

Ajmal Ali Chowdhury to Mohamed Ismail Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Assam I/17

SYLHET,
11 February 1944

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Excuse me for not writing to you earlier. I was to inform you from

time to time how the League work was going [on] here in Assam and I take this opportunity of reporting in brief how the League stands at present here.

During your last visit to Sylhet a requisition at your direction was issued from my place calling upon the President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League to convene a Council and Working Committee meeting at Sylhet to devise ways and means for the better organization of the Muslim League here.

You are also aware that with great difficulty the meeting was at last called three months after the date of requisition. The meeting was held at Sylhet on the 30th August 1943, under the presidency of Sir Mohammad Saadullah. After a long discussion a principal organization committee was formed with Mr. Mayeenuddin Ahmed as Secretary and myself as one of the members. The main object of the provincial body appeared to be diversion [*sic*] of responsibilities upon the organizing committee and nothing else. I have no mind to blame it on anybody but all that I can assure you [of] is that personally I was fully conscious of my responsibilities when I accepted the membership and tried to discharge those responsibilities as best I might. But a mere member is helpless by himself, however eager he may feel about his work. I informed our provincial president by a letter dated 8th November 1943, regarding the present position of the Muslim League, but I am really unfortunate that I did not receive any reply from him on the subject. All the same, the Muslim League cause is suffering a disastrous set-back in these districts. I also sent a detailed report to Quaid-i-Azam regarding the deplorable condition of the Muslim League in Assam on the 21st June 1943,[1] but to my utter surprise I have not been favoured with a reply till now.

Mr. Mayeenuddin, the Organizing Secretary, got his reward by way of military contracts with which he kept himself so busy that he had hardly any time to devote to Muslim League. In spite of my repeated efforts not more than one meeting of the committee could be held till now and the one [held] led to no work. The Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, the Hon'ble Khan Sahib Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhury, could ill-afford time which was swallowed up by his activities as Minister and by his anxiety to make provisions [*sic*] for his own circle. The President, Sir Mohammad Saadullah, has also been too busy with heavy administrative work and the Muslim League organization has therefore been left to itself.

Finding my position quite helpless so far as the organizing committee is concerned, I turned to the Muslim student community whom I found to be quite responsive. You will be glad to know that I have

been elected President of the All Assam Muslim Students' Federation at its annual session held in January last. Our grievances against the 'Line System'[2] in Assam will, I believe, get effective ventilation through this organization.

I remember you enquired at the time when I saw you and Nawabzada Sahib at Chandpur about the famine condition prevailing at Baniachang and other places in the district. Government, as usual, has done and is doing very little in this connection. The inhabitants are Muslims in overwhelming majority and they are dying like cats and dogs. We have already organised a Muslim Chamber of Commerce at Sylhet which is doing good relief work in the locality affected.

I have given you above just an indication as to how the League stands here and am waiting for your guidance as to how we should proceed in the matter. I have been informed by the General Secretary, All India Muslim League, that I have been elected as member of the Council of the All India Muslim League.

I am well and hope this will find you in good health and spirits.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
AJMAL ALI CHOWDHURY

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 331, note 1, Vol. I, Part I, 576.

II. 27

M. A. Jinnah to Abdur Rab Nishtar

QAD (22)

NEW DELHI,
22 February 1944

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that in accordance with clause 14 of the Constitution of the All India Muslim League, I have appointed you as one of the 21 members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, for the current year.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Abdur Rab Nishtar,
Finance Minister,
Peshawar

II. 28

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (23)

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 February 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 15th February 1944,[1] which I received together with a copy of Sir Ghulam Hussain's letter. You are aware that I have been a strong exponent of the idea that the Presidents of the Provincial Muslim Leagues, for the time being at least, should not interfere in the day-to-day administration or legislative actions and measures of the Ministries. I have kept strictly to the view and Sir Ghulam Hussain will bear me out. Whatever grievances and other complaints we receive from the public, we forward to the Hon'ble Minister concerned, for consideration. We, on our part, tender no advice nor pass resolutions to tie their hands. I personally, since I am President of the Muslim League in the province and also a member of the Assembly Party, try not to take active interest even in the Legislative Assembly matters, so as to avoid any misunderstanding which may indirectly affect the relationship between the President and the Ministry.

On the other hand, I have been always acting in a manner by which the Ministry is to be stabilized and put on permanent foundations. I can recall your words when you said "You have got Pakistan in five provinces, you have only to consolidate and stabilize." Sir Ghulam Hussain will bear me out that whenever he has asked my assistance, it has always been forthcoming and by the grace of *Allah*, nothing untoward is going to happen. Sir Ghulam Hussain may please be assured that he would find me loyal to him and that he should always count on me.

After I received your letter, I met Sir Ghulam Hussain and told him that I will surely support him.

Yours sincerely,
G. M. SAYED

[1]Not traceable.

II. 29

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (24)

124 MUSLIM COLONY,
KARACHI,
27 February 1944

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of 20th February 1944,[1] intimating to me that I have been nominated by you as a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League for the current year. I am glad I have been considered fit by you to serve on this august body for this year as well, and serve Muslims in a very humble way.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO
Khan Bahadur
Minister, Govt. of Sind

[1]Not traceable.

II. 30

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (25)

ZARAFSHAN,
LAHORE,
1 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I understand that you are coming to Lahore about the middle of this month. Your visits to Lahore are so rare that heartened by your impending visit I am writing to request you very earnestly to attend and address a public meeting of the Muslims of Lahore under the auspices of the Lahore City Muslim League on any evening convenient to you during your stay here. A meeting of my Working Committee was also held yesterday and it has authorised me to get in touch with you and request you to give the City Muslim League the privilege of arranging a public meeting in your honour.

2. In the whole of the Punjab, the Lahore Muslim League is one of the few Leagues [*sic*] with a record of glorious service in the cause of the All India Muslim League.

3. Many deputations of leading Muslim representatives of Lahore City have come to see me recently and have requested me to write and request you to attend and address a public meeting. The Muslims of Lahore are greatly desirous of hearing their Quaid-i-Azam at this grave period through which we are passing.

4. I shall see to it that the arrangements at the meeting are as efficient as possible and no inconvenience is caused to you.

5. I have also been wanting to come to Delhi to see you. I shall be only too glad to come and see you and discuss this matter with you personally.

Hoping to hear from you as soon as possible,

Yours sincerely,
RASHID ALI KHAN
(Nawabzada)

II. 31

Abdul Momith Chowdhury to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/22

38 WELLESLEY STREET,
CALCUTTA,
4 April 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I am directed by the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association, Calcutta, to forward the enclosed copy of a resolution unanimously passed at its meeting held on the 23rd March 1944.

In this connection, I beg to assure you that the Assam Muslims, who reside in Calcutta, have as a body their solid and unwavering faith in your leadership and line of action, and no amount of propaganda and/or hostile tactics from any quarters will cause them to deviate in the slightest degree from the course they are determined to pursue.

With our best regards,

Yours fraternally,
A. MOMITH
B.A.
Joint Secretary, Assam Muslim Association

Enclosure to Appendix II. 31

SHC, Assam I/23

23 March 1944

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association, Calcutta, highly deprecates and strongly condemns the undignified and un-Islamic behaviour, which is incompatible with the real import of Khaksar [Movement], shown by Prof. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi towards the greatest dynamic personality of Muslim India as has been revealed in the correspondence that passed between him and Quaid-i-Azam. This meeting further respectfully advises the learned Professor to ungrudgingly and unhesitatingly follow the right lead of the saviour of Muslim India, if he is true to his ideal of selfless service to suffering humanity.

II. 32

Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (26)

8 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
8 April 1944

My most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Immediately after your return to Delhi, I spoke to Syed Amjad Ali about the purchase of his daily newspaper, the *Shahbaz*. He was very reluctant to commit himself, although three days before he had made an unequivocal offer to Iftikhar Husain and myself. It is possible that in the light of the latest developments in Punjab politics he may not wish to do anything which might compromise him with the established Ministry. He has not given me any definite answer, but he has asked for a fortnight in which to consider his reply. In case the Ministry does not fall in line with your suggestion I don't think that Amjad will let us have his paper.

We, on the other hand, can hardly afford to wait, and our only difficulty in starting a new paper is the availability of newsprint. I feel that at a word from you, Sir Aziz ul Haq will give us an assurance, and the moment we get that we will be able to go ahead with the

technical arrangements.

We are all very anxious to know when you are going to be again with us in Lahore.

Sir Mohammad Nawaz Khan is a decisive man at this stage. I feel that he will only come to Lahore at the end of this month if he gets a direction to that effect from you.

We made it very strenuous for you in Lahore. I hope it has not proved a strain. Your health and vigour are the greatest gifts that we ask from God, because we know that with you, no one can cheat us of the triumph that the future has for us.

With deepest respects to Miss Jinnah and yourself from Almas and me,

Yours obediently,
MUMTAZ

II. 33

Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (27)

8 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
11 April 1944

My most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just received information that you have decided to go to Sialkot on the 22nd. Unfortunately the Sialkot Reception Committee have not been in consultation with the Provincial League. Therefore, the League office knew nothing about the dates till today. Consequently, the provincial office will not be able to give the fourteen days' notice requisite for the Council meeting, and since Dr. Alam and his pro-Unionist Party is intent upon causing trouble, he will get a perfect constitutional excuse. At the same time there seems to be considerable justification for the allegations made against the Sialkot Reception Committee; and although I am confident that the misunderstanding will be speedily removed, nevertheless a little time is required to ensure a really successful session. We have actually already fixed the 16th for an enquiry committee to go and settle the dispute at Sialkot.

Therefore, in my humble opinion it would be an excellent arrangement if you could go to Sialkot at the end of your stay in the Punjab, rather than at the beginning. If you were to come to Lahore directly on the

20th or 22nd, the ministerial position will have been clarified by the end of the month, and then we could use the session as a platform to consolidate and publish the new decision. Shaukat Hyat is also very anxious that the annual session should be held in an atmosphere of political clarity, so that the issues can be clearly, and without confusion, laid before our people. In case the Ministry does not agree, we will get an excellent opportunity for agitation. In case they agree, the Ministers will be able to clearly vouch for their allegiance to the League.

Therefore, I feel that if the session is held on the 28th, the circumstances will be much more propitious. At the same time your presence in Lahore by the 22nd is most essential, because the Government is moving to Simla in the first week of May, and that excuse may enable them to evade the issue.

Malik Khizar Hayat has now returned to Lahore. Shaukat Hyat had an interview with Sir Allah Baksh Tiwana, who is the conscience-keeper and the most trusted friend of the Premier. It appears that the Ministry is very upset and very uncertain. Sir Allah Baksh was unhappy that you had posed the alternatives[1] so clearly that there was left no loophole for a formula. He clearly saw that the Ministry's answer must now be either a clear 'yes' or a definite 'no'. Shaukat was left with the impression that the answer is more likely to be 'no'. Allah Baksh expressed a fear that even if Khizar Hayat fell in line with the League, Chhotu Ram will take away a number of Muslims with him, and in any case render the Ministry unstable. Shaukat, of course, realises that this was more or less a diplomatic answer excusing the Ministry's defalcation from the League, otherwise if Khizar is honestly by the League, Chhotu Ram cannot secure a single Muslim vote.

In any case, the general impression left on Shaukat was that the Ministry is in distress and in confusion, but still very much dominated by Sir Chhotu Ram.

The Jat Mahasabha's annual session at Lyallpur was a total failure. Volunteers of the Muslim Students' Federation scoured the countryside prior to the session, agitating against the Jat organisation, and as a result no more than about sixty Muslims attended the meetings. Sir Chhotu Ram expected an audience of at least 50,000 Muslims. This must have given him an indication of which side the wind is blowing.

I shall be very deeply grateful if you send me a reply per bearer

as to your decision about the dates of the Sialkot conference.

With deepest respect,

Yours most obediently,
MUMTAZ

[1]Jinnah wanted that ML members of the Punjab Assembly avow allegiance to either the ML Party or the Unionist Party in the Assembly, that the label, Unionist Party, be dropped and that the ruling coalition be called the ML Coalition Party. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 458-9.

II. 34

Mohammad Zafar Ahmad Ansari to Secretaries of All Provincial Muslim Leagues

QAD (28)

CENTRAL OFFICE,
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
11 April 1944

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Central Parliamentary Board to communicate to you for information, guidance, and necessary action the following decisions taken by the Central Parliamentary Board at their meeting held at New Delhi on the 7th of April 1944:

i. No person shall be set up as a Muslim League candidate for any elective body who has not been a member of some primary branch of the All India Muslim League for at least six months before the date of his application for adoption as a Muslim League candidate.
ii. All the members of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State shall get themselves immediately enrolled, if they have not already done so, as (a) members of some primary branch of the All India Muslim League (b) ex-officio members of the Council of the All India Muslim League, and intimate to the Secretary of their Party in the Central Legislative Assembly or the Council of State, as the case may be, the date and place of their membership.
iii. All the members of the Muslim League Party in the various provincial legislatures shall get themselves immediately enrolled, if they have not already done, some as members of some primary

branch of the All India Muslim League, and intimate to the Secretaries of their respective parties, the date and place of their membership.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ZAFAR AHMAD ANSARI
Assistant Secretary,
All India Muslim League

II. 35

M. A. Jinnah to Hatim A. Alavi

QAD (29)

16 April 1944

Dear Mr. Alavi,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 13th.[1] I have read it very carefully, and it seems that your own reasoning has led you to a different conclusion. I find that these people want to use the names of some amongst us to serve their own purpose, and I am afraid you have fallen a victim. The Hindus understand their position quite clearly. It is only some of our people [who], by some curious process of reasoning, miss the essence and the real point. I have nothing more to add, but the matter was obvious and you have yourself reasoned it out very well, but unfortunately your conclusion and action is not sound. As regards Sir Ghulam Hussain, at least his action was sound.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hatim A. Alavi, Esq.,
Hatim Manzil,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.

II. 36

S. Sadiq Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (30)

CONFIDENTIAL

AMRITSAR,
25 April 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I forgot to inform you [that] the Premier told me that he has got the original Sikandar-Jinnah Pact bearing your signature. This is just for your information.

If it is not considered presumptuous on my part, I believe split amongst Muslim members of Assembly would lead to disruption and grave consequences, so I would respectfully suggest some compromise to be evolved in the best interests of Muslims, such as, Muslim League Party must be considered as the primary party and the combination may be called Muslim League and Unionist Coalition Party or any other formula may be devised. However, we must follow whatever you decide.

Yours sincerely,
S. SADIQ HASAN

II. 37

M. A. Jinnah to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana

QAD (31)

LAHORE,
27 April 1944

Dear Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,

We have had prolonged discussions and I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me know your final decision with regard to the three points which are as follows:

i. That every member of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes his allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, and not to the Unionist Party or any other political party.
ii. That the present label of the Coalition should be dropped, namely the Unionist Party.

iii. That the name of the proposed Coalition should be the Muslim League Coalition Party.

Please let me know to what extent Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh agree with all these three proposals or any of them, and also whether you agree with all of them or any of them.

I hope that you will let me have your reply by this evening as it is not possible to wait any longer.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana,
Premier,
The Punjab Government,
Lahore

II. 38

M. A. Jinnah to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana

QAD (32)

LAHORE,
27 April 1944

Dear Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,

You promised to send me your reply to my letter dated the 27th,[1] which was given to you this afternoon, by 9 o'clock the latest to-night, and I waited for it and rang you up that I was waiting for a reply, because it was nearly 9-20 p.m. I received an answer from you that you have no reply to give except what you told me verbally. This is going back on your promise to give me your reply in writing. You said so many things verbally to me that it was impossible to know what your position was. I once more request you to give me your reply in writing, and if I do not hear from you immediately in reply to this letter, I shall conclude that you do not accept the three proposals or any of them that were made in my letter, and in view of this the Muslim League now will have to decide as to what course of action they should adopt.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana,
Premier,
The Punjab Government,
Lahore

[1]Appendix II. 37.

II. 39

Abdul Hameed Khan to M.A. Jinnah

QAD (33)

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
28 April 1944

My dear leader,

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on laying the true foundation for Pakistan in the Punjab. Our enemies in their usual perversity regard it as a failure, but in reality it is a great success. You have separated the dross from pure gold. The Governor has acted in the most unconstitutional and unjustifiable manner in dismissing the great leader of the future Punjab, Mr. Shaukat Hyat Khan. Governor's action in this respect is nothing short of sheer vindictiveness. It is a great pity that Mr. Malik Khizar Hayat Khan has no legs of his own to stand on. He should stand on the crutches of either Sir Chhotu Ram or of the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. He forgets that if Sir Fazl-i-Hussain lived now he would have implicitly followed your great leadership and carved out the Pakistan State in the Punjab.

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan's premiership is bound to be short-lived, for he will soon discover what it means to be subservient to Sir Chhotu Ram and the Sikhs.

The solid bond of Muslim Leaguers in the Punjab Assembly under the leadership of Sardar Shaukat Hyat is sure to make itself feel and expose the unholy alliance between the Hindu and Muslim zamindars whose policy is one of self-aggrandisement by exploiting the masses of all the communities. I feel confident that it will not be long before the Hindu and the Sikh masses will throw overboard their self-appointed exploiters. For this, elections should be ordered. But are the Britishers going to do the right thing? No. They will not do so, for it suits them to maintain the zamindars in power.

May *Allah* bless you with health and long life to lead the Muslim nation to the goal of Pakistan.

I am ever,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

II. 40

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan

QAD (34)

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
16 May 1944

My dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

Many thanks for your letter of April 28th.[1] I was so pleased to have your views regarding the recent developments in the Punjab. I think the position has been made very clear now and the mask has been torn, and it is now up to us to work and fully organize the Muslim League in the Punjab, both inside and outside the legislature, and it won't be very long before our opponents will realise that they can no longer play with the Musalmans and flourish by causing disruptions amongst us.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Hameed Khan, Esq.,
Mount Road,
Madras

[1]Appendix II. 39.

II. 41

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (35)

23 May 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are happy to learn that you are having some rest and are already feeling better. Please look after yourself and do not worry about anything. You need complete rest after all these years.

You must have seen in the papers what has been done so far in connection with Khizar Hayat Khan's statement.[1] The Committee of Action is meeting in Lahore on the 27th to decide the matter finally.[2] Nawab Ismail and myself are leaving for Lahore on the 26th and shall stay there for about ten days to see the work of the organization

of the Provincial [Muslim] League started. We intend to go after that to the NWFP for about ten days or so. All is not well there.

My wife could not be persuaded to go alone to Kashmir. I must say she was very good about it and we all are quite well and have made ourselves comfortable in Delhi with *khas-khas tattis*. It has not really been too bad yet. Inside the house it is quite comfortable. I had received a reply from Khizar Hayat Khan in reply to my letter which I had sent him on behalf of the Central Parliamentary Board. He said that on account of the oath of secrecy which he had taken on appointment as Minister and [of] Section 51(4) of the Govt. of India Act, he could not give the information asked for. I wrote to him in reply on the 19th wherein I have quoted from the statement of Lord Linlithgow which he made in June 1937 that he could give the information asked for if he so desired. I think my reply is convincing. I have asked Khizar Hayat Khan to let me have his reply by the 26th. I shall issue the whole correspondence to the press on the 26th. I was very glad to read in the papers about the royal reception which you got in Kashmir.

We are very pleased to learn that Miss Jinnah is also feeling better. She needs as much rest as you do and I hope you both will keep well and benefit from the change.

Our kindest regards to both of you and love from children,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 810-11.
[2]The ML Committee of Action decided to expel Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana from the League. See ibid., 814-6.

II. 42

Mujib Ahmad Moti to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/81

AJMAL BUILDINGS,
ALIGARH,
3 June 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of 20 May 1944[1] and heartily thank you for timely encouragement in our

ceaseless efforts to organize the Musalmans in Assam. It is really a matter of great pleasure to me that our humble voice has not gone unheard. I feel confident the Committee of Action will at once take up Assam and do justice to the Assamese Musalmans.

Our revolt against Saadullah[2] in Assam is only to put our house in order. Unless we do this, we cannot expect to achieve anything as a nation. After putting the house in order we shall be able to launch our great work of nation-building vigorously.

Today Assamese Muslims are faced with manifold problems. They are awfully backward in every respect, viz. educationally, culturally, economically and politically. They have totally lost their identity as Musalmans and become slaves of others. They have no Islamic ideals in them [*sic*]; they are absolutely Hindu in thought and action. So we must do something Herculean in order to save the Musalmans in Assam.

The greatest barrier in [*sic* for to] the progress of the Musalmans is the language of the province. As you know, language is a very powerful institution [*sic*] in building or destroying a nation. In Assam, the Musalmans have been hopelessly destroyed by Assamese, the language of the province.

Assamese is a Hindu language and has no Muslim culture whatsoever. Assamese Musalmans are at liberty to culture [*sic*] Assamese as they would do any other language in the world. But they can never accept Assamese as their national language.

Now that I have, for the first time, raised a voice against this Hindu language, which is largely responsible for paralysing the Musalmans in Assam, I would be called a traitor as has been the practice with our Hindu friends in India. Let them call me whatever they like. But I must say it frankly; Assamese is totally unsuitable for the Musalmans.

We should, then, adopt a language which is best serving Islam in India. And we know that it is none else than Urdu. Because [*sic*] Urdu has the full backing of Arabic and Persian, the religious and cultural languages of the Musalmans, and therefore no Muslim should hesitate to adopt Urdu as his national language.

No doubt, Urdu has become the national language of the Musalmans of Western Pakistan and Hindustan. But, it is not the case with millions of Musalmans in Eastern Pakistan and many parts of southern India.

It is a pity that the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu has not established a branch in Assam as yet. It is up to the All India Muslim League, the national organization of the Musalmans, to look into this vital question affecting millions of Musalmans in these parts of India. We earnestly

hope the League, in co-operation with the Anjuman, will exert all its influence in introducing Urdu in Assam and other non-Urdu places.

How would you call [*sic*] Muslim renaissance in India when Iqbal is still unknown to those millions?

Urdu must be preserved intact for the sake of hundred million Musalmans in India. It is a thousand pity [*sic*] that some Muslims have been so much influenced by the *Hindi athwa Hindustani* offensive of Mr. Gandhi to stab Urdu in the back by suggesting *Devnagri* or Roman script for it. By doing so, they will only [*sic*] be able to extinguish Muslim culture in the long run.

Let Urdu remain pure with Persian script. We need not try in vain to win over the Hindus, calling Urdu by different names. Let Hindus adopt whichever language they think suitable for them. (Urdu has been adopted by a vast number of Hindus). But we cannot commit suicide by disowning Urdu which has so laboriously been evolved and has yet to play its part in regenerating Eastern Pakistan and other non-Urdu places.

Situated as the Assamese Musalmans are, they have to learn Assamese also. This they can do in primary schools. After primary, they should be taught Urdu as the major language and not Assamese, on the same lines as we learn English.

Assamese has already been the medium of instruction in higher classes. So, naturally we must separate ourselves and establish Muslim schools and colleges. All these schools and colleges should then be affiliated to the Aligarh Muslim University. To begin Muslim education in Assam, we invite Aligarh, the national University, to establish at least one residential high school and one college in Assam with the co-operation and help of the Assam Government. Will Aligarh respond to the most down-trodden Musalmans in education? Will not Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, the great Muslim educationist, hear us?

We shall not leave Assam Government alone if they happen to turn down this Aligarh proposal. Musalmans of the Province have every right to get fair treatment from the Government.

You may be aware [that] Assam is going to have a separate university as she ought to. According to the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syeedur Rehman, Education Minister, the proposal will remain in cold storage till the end of the present war.

But has Mr. Rehman himself or the Assam League Ministry as a whole cared to consider the position of Muslim education in the proposed university? Have they got any scheme for the Muslim education? Have they got any constructive programme for the Musalmans? What have they done, we ask, for the Musalmans during

their term of office? We must, then, conclude [that] the Assam League Ministry is not so much for the people but for some vested interests.

We call upon the All India Muslim League to withdraw its support from Sir Saadullah forthwith and form a new Ministry in Assam on a sound footing. There must not arise any question of appeasement. The League should not be under any delusion to think that Sir Saadullah is the only man who can deliver the goods in Assam.

I must add [that] we are greatly relieved at the news that the Assam Provincial Muslim League has been saved from the clutches of Saadullahs. We know the new President, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, MLA, is a staunch Muslim Leaguer and we expect Maulana Sahib will try his best to uphold the prestige and honour of the League in Assam.

Finally, we appeal to the Committee of Action to visit Assam immediately and organise the League very strongly, both inside and outside the legislature, as they have been doing in the Punjab.

Assam has no press to call one [*sic*] and she does not get sufficient publicity in the press outside Assam. Assam badly needs country-wide publicity for her redress [*sic*].

Please do publish the correspondence between us, which would throw a flood of light on the appalling situation in Assam. I would do it as it is also very necessary to conduct affairs in Assam but [*sic* for with] your consent.

Awaiting for [*sic*] your immediate reply,

Yours faithfully,
MUJIB AHMAD MOTI
President,
Sibsagar Muslim Students' Federation

[1]Jinnah appreciated the efforts of the Federation in organising the Assam Provincial Muslim League. See *SHC*, Students I/80. Not printed.
[2]Prime Minister of Assam.

II. 43

Hameed Nizami to M.A.Jinnah

QAD (36)

BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
5 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A report, which has been given [the] widest publicity in a section

of the press, says that you have allowed the Qadianis[1] to join the Muslim League.It further says that you have advised the Muslims to sink their sectional differences and rally round the [Muslim] League flag. Anti-League press is making huge capital out of this report. Articles inciting Muslim masses against the League are appearing in anti-League papers almost every day. The *Shahbaz*, Punjab Premier's paper, has today flashed a front-page news that Mr.Jinnah's declaration, allowing the Qadianis into the League, has been received with great resentment in Delhi, Bombay and Bareilly.

I am today sending you , under separate cover, Allama Iqbal's two exhaustive statements about Islam and Qadianiyyat,[2] with a humble request that you should go through them. Anti-League press is bent upon creating mischief. Muslim masses are most sensitive about the Qadianis, who regard the entire Muslim world as *Kafirs*.

I would be much obliged if you could return these pamphlets after their perusal, as they are out of print and I have not got any spare copy.

I will most humbly request you to let me know your exact words. I fear your statement has been distorted.

Hoping to receive an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
HAMEED NIZAMI
Managing Editor,
Nawa-i-Waqt

[1]Qadianis known as Ahmadis have been declared beyond the pale of Islam.
[2]The soi-disant faith, or set of beliefs, of the 'Ahmadiyya' community.

II. 44

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

SHC, Hyderabad II/110

SRINAGAR,
5 July 1944

My dear Laik Ali,

Many thanks for your letter of June 13th.[1] I delayed replying to it because I was expecting to hear from Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung, and I am glad to inform you that he has now agreed to take up the

responsibility of the chairmanship of the proposed Planning Committee, as he has got permission from His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his government.

I am anxiously waiting now to hear that *Al-Meezan* is launched. I note that you have been invited by the Government of India to go on an industrial delegation to U.K. and U.S.A., and I wish you a safe journey and all success.

We have both benefitted by this change.

With very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali,
Begumpett,
Hyderabad,
Deccan

[1]Appendix II. 43, Vol. X, 686.

II. 45

Sadullah Khan to M.A.Jinnah

QAD (37)

ISLAMIA CLUB BUILDING,
PESHAWAR,
21 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly forgive me for encroaching upon your most precious time particularly when quite a momentous programme is lying ahead of you. But the matter about which I am writing is of an extremely vital nature and the public here have forced my hands to seek your valued opinion and guidance in this critical hour.

You may have probably come across the news of the attempted repeal of the constitution of the *Dar-ul-'Ulum*-i-*Islamia* (the Peshawar Islamia College) recently reported in the press. For your information, I am hereto [*sic*] enclosing a copy of H.E. the Governor's letter[1] to me along with a draft of the proposed constitution[2] drawn up by himself as Patron of the *Dar-ul-'Ulum,* my reply[3] to his letter, a few press-cuttings,[4] a copy each of the old constitution of 1917[5] and a revised one of 1943[6] and a press statement[7] issued by a trustee

of the college. My letter of the 8th instant[8] is likely to be of value and interest to you.

A wave of resentment and indignation has swept over the Muslim masses in this part of the country to have [*sic* for on having] learnt that a move has been made from the Government House aiming at converting this national home of religious and secular learnings of the Pathans into a 'Governor's institution', or, in other words, at introducing an absolutely despotic and autocratic system in place of a democratic regime. The Boards of Governors and of Trustees, the main bodies which are virtually the masters and founder-owners of the *Dar-ul-'Ulum* would be removed outrightly [*sic*] and a set of chosen nominees of the Governor (Patron) will assume charge of the entire administration. The Patron seems to have very conveniently set apart for himself powers which have never been vested in any patron of any educational institution. This has already created a stir in the community, as the Governor is exercising his official pressure in making his move a *fait accompli.*

We now raise our eyes to you in this hour of distress to give the Musalmans a lead and to steer them out of this impasse.We do not admit that the Patron has got any such power or prerogative under Section 12 of the constitution or the Board of Trustees Under Section 29 thereof, to repeal the constitution and substitute another one of the pattern now proposed by the Patron. The Board of Trustees who are the creators of the Board of Governors under Section 6 and who are vested with powers to repeal or amend rules (and not the constitution) under Section 29, are being influenced to support the Patron's move and repeal the existing constitution under Section 29, and the public now feel that the *Dar-ul-'Ulum* is on the verge of destruction.

It has been decided that a deputation of some leading Musalmans of the NWFP should wait on you at Lahore and place the whole situation before you in detail[9] and to secure your valuable advice. I also intend accompanying the deputation and will attend the forthcoming meeting of the All India Muslim League Council. I am now supplying you the relevant documents simply for your advance study with the hope that you may possibly find some time to go through them.

In the end, I assure you, Quaid-i-Azam, of my unflinching loyalty and devotion to you and to the cause you are up to espouse and advocate. May you live long to succeed in establishing the right of self-determination for the Musalmans of India and setting up a

separate homeland—Pakistan—for them to live in free and unharassed.

With best wishes and respects,

Yours sincerely,
SADULLAH KHAN

[1,4,5,6&7]Not traceable.
[2]*QAD* (37 b). Not printed.
[3]*QAD* (37 a). Not printed.
[8]See note 3 above.
[9]Jinnah was informed that Dr. Khan Sahib proposed to intervene and Congress party would make capital out of the situation and utilize this move to serve their political purpose, adversely reflecting on the already "weakened League" in the Province. See *QAD* (39). Not printed.

II. 46

Shaikh Hassamuddin & A. M. Khwaja to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, APMO/10

NEW DELHI,
27 July 1944

Most of the Muslim organizations seem to approve Ahrars' suggestion whereupon Muslim Majlis has issued invitation to all Muslim organizations to meet in joint conference 17th-18th August, Delhi. Earnestly request you and your Working Committee postpone pronouncement [on] Rajaji's Formula[1] till joint conference and to participate therein thus bring about complete unity and harmony among Muslims at this critical juncture.

SHAIKH HASSAMUDDIN
President, Ahrar
[A.M.] KHWAJA
President, [Muslim] Majlis

[1]Enclosure to No. 251, Vol. X, 267-8.

II. 47

Ram Rai Mohan Rai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187/22

BHADRA,
AHMEDABAD,
14 August 1944

Dear esteemed Jinnah Sahib,

I trust you have received my letter[1] of some ten days back regarding your forthcoming meeting with Mahatma Gandhiji.

I am enclosing herewith for yourself and Gandhiji a note[2] embodying concrete points categorically stated for the preamble to any agreement as the foundation of sane, stable future for our India and our people in unison and harmony.

The aspirations of Musalmans for participation and share in India's power with Hindus can be accommodated within this covenant which may become the charter of our joint nationhood in a free united India.

Please regard this as a public document.

With regards,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
RAM RAI MOHAN RAI
B.A., LL.B.
Lawyer-Journalist

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix II. 47
F. 187/23

[*Extract*][1]

AHMEDABAD,
14 August 1944

Esteemed Sirs,

It is justifiable and permissible to me, as a very old nationalist worker in the cause of freedom, emancipation, democracy and renaissance since 1906... that I should dutifully tender to you both,

Mahatma Gandhiji and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib, a few pertinent observations when you two are meeting for discussions which may make for unity and integrity.

Permit a few observations:

i. India must have independence, implying sovereign statehood.
ii. India belongs to one race of people following a variety of creeds with two main religious streams—Hindus and Musalmans—towards one Godhood.
iii. India is one as an economic entity.
iv. India is one as a common defence bastion against all aggression.
v. The freedom of India must mean the sovereignty of the people of India.
vi. This sovereignty of the people is the jointure [*sic*] of sovereignty of Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians, and Parsis for common cause of security, prosperity, authority and dignity of India.
vii. The sovereignty of the Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis is interlinked and interwoven but may be existent severally in different areas and regions.
viii. The sovereignty may be regional but coordinated to the confederate sovereignty of the whole of India.
ix. The composition, content, character and contribution *inter se* of the regional and confederate sovereignty be determined by a structural commission for Indian people's statehood.
x. The rights and duties in severalty and commonalty of the people—Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, in and for each area or region and the whole country—the fatherland India—be determined and incorporated into a pact of nationality for India's multi-statal [*sic*] confederated statehood by a special commission.

SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES

The following principles should be the basis of and for tranquil and powerful statehood under a covenant.

a. Equal justice for each and all, irrespective of creed or community or status or wealth.
b. Liberty of belief and practice, consistent with public order—social, moral and national security.
c. Inter-dependence and inter-collaboration of all classes and communities for the commonweal and the security of the country.
d. Right and duty of each person, as a citizen, to participate in and contribute to the social, cultural, economic life and to

uphold and support the civil administration and common defence of India against insurrection, civil war and aggression.

e. Governance of secular life by common laws.
f. Prevention of the continuous dominance of any one group or party.
g. Rotation and distribution of political power and authority in statal [*sic*] organs.
h. Maintenance of the invulnerability of India, in land, sea and air.
i. Non-interference in other countries' or regions' internal affairs.
j. Supremacy of the interests of the common man and woman—the masses—over individual or sectional interests for social security with economic equity.
k. A ten-year people's preparation plan and programme, *en masse*, of all Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis and backward classes for enlightenment, efficiency, equipment and enrichment.
l. Collaboration with Britain for the intervening period of ten years for preparation and take-over, and final treaty of mutual aid and security.

Allow me to urge all these points on your august minds and join you in prayer that Providence may give you both wisdom, foresight and sagacity, as patriot[ic] statesmen, for united India. You can become the architects or destroyers of the new Asia of tomorrow.

With duty done,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
RAM RAI MOHAN RAI

[1]A few lines of repetitive nature omitted.

II. 48

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M.A.Jinnah

QAD (40)

PESHAWAR,
16 August 1944

Dear Sir,

In confirmation of my telegram of today,[1]I beg to submit that ever since my arrival in the NWF Province there have been abnormal

incessant rains and consequent floods which washed away standing crops, villages and certain areas in the NWFP. This led to an emergent food situation which necessitated my personal touring throughout the province in spite of flooded *nullahs* and bad roads.

I wanted to visit Nathiagali to interview His Excellency on the College subject but the road was blocked for several days and for a day or two telephonic connection was cut. Hence I could not personally meet the Governor. Ultimately I phoned to His Excellency the Governor, and he promised detailed discussion at Peshawar on 15th/16th instead which I had with him yesterday and today. He has passed on the College Auditor's Report to me for your perusal which I herewith attach.[2] There have been embezzlements in the College accounts and the old Council of Management, of which the Secretary is Khan Bahadur Sadullah Khan, threatened Sadullah Khan with criminal prosecution. About the College developments, the Governor will give me final definite reply in a day or two before the 21st, which will be also telegraphed to you. Every Musalman, whether a Congress[ite] or a League[r], is unanimous that the present management or mismanagement should end and it should be replaced by an intelligent management, brought about by elective system and I think the developments stand towards the fact that the present management will be replaced by an interim management duly authorised to create a new constitution on democratic basis within a certain period. This is my forecast of the result of my conclusive discussions with the Governor but a more definite reply will be available before the 21st when the Governor leaves for Nathiagali. I have stated in my telegram that the moment I get the final definite reply it will be telegraphed.

I sincerely apologise for the unavoidable delay because the demand of flood-stricken and food-deficit areas was more urgent and I had to run about throughout the province mostly in rural areas to make due arrangements for the stranded and famishing population and, so far, the situation is well in hand and the Governor will make a special representation to His Excellency the Viceroy to tog the NWF Province to [the] Punjab in respect of food grains. If that happens, our food problem will be solved once and for all and the Governor is going to exercise his powers of special responsibility in this regard. May *Allah* grant beneficence to our Province in regard to

this acute food problem.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

PS. Yesterday a letter was sent through ordinary express post. This duplicate is being sent under registered post to ensure its delivery.
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1&2]Not traceable.

II. 49

Ahmad Ali to M.A.Jinnah

QAD (42)

ISLAMIA CLUB BUILDING,
PESHAWAR CITY,
21 August 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been shocked to learn the ill-omened news of your sudden and untimely illness, but have been greatly relieved to hear later that you are improving. I pray for your very speedy recovery and wish you could soon be yourself again to start your historic conversations with Mr. Gandhi.

The eyes of the entire world are now riveted on the Malabar Hills on which are to meet the two biggest men of India (one all by himself and the other backed by an organized nation, rich and resourceful) to shape the destinies of two great nations. I have my unshakeable faith, Sir, that despite all your limitations *Allah* will be with you and you will be able to do something really great for your nation, poor, forsaken and destitute. I wish you a long life to give an excellent lead to the Musalmans during these turbulent times, the history could ever offer [*sic*].

With profound respect and sincerest wishes,

Believe me, Quaid-i-Azam,
Your devoted servant,
AHMAD ALI
P. A. to Sadullah Khan

II. 50

S. Singh Chamak to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/99-100

KOT RALLIA RAM,
AMRITSAR,
26 August 1944

Dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

I, on behalf of the Ramgarhia Central Federation, have the honour to write [to] you, for information, as follows:

1. The Ramgarhia Central Federation represents all the Ramgarhias, which [*sic*] are more than 15 lakh in number and cover a large part of the Sikh population in the Punjab. They are descendants of those great warriors who, before the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, were the rulers of the most central province [*sic*] of the Punjab with Amritsar as their capital.

2. Ramgarhia Central Federation is the only representative body of the Ramgarhia community, which shall not hold itself bound to any decision formed [*sic*] by any Sikh party with [the] Government or any other political party in connection with the formation of the new Government, unless the same has been consulted.

3. The political interests of all the Sikhs are not one, and the minority classes among the Sikhs are facing ill-treatment from the majority party, particularly the non-agriculturist classes, including the Ramgarhia community standing second to the majority party in number, are in very miserable condition.

4. Master Tara Singh and his party have no right to represent [the] whole of the Sikh *Panth* and, therefore, I write [to] you that at the time of considering the Sikh demands, you should meet the representatives of the Ramgarhia Central Federation, Namdhari Darbar, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Central Akali Dal and other Sikh *bradaries* to consult with them in this important matter of solving the present political tangle of the country.

A copy of the resolution No. 5 dated 18 October 1942, passed in the hugely-attended open session of the 9th Ramgarhia Central Conference, Majitha, is attached herewith for your information, which clearly shows the views of the Ramgarhia community on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
S. SINGH CHAMAK
President,
Ramgarhia Central Federation

Enclosure to Appendix II. 50

RESOLUTION

18 October 1942

This conference deems it necessary to declare that the Ramgarhia community shall not hold itself bound to any agreement done [*sic*] by any Sikh party with Government or any other political party in connection with the constitution of the new Government [*sic*] of India, unless it has been consulted [*sic*] with the representatives of the Ramgarhia Central Federation.

II. 51

President, Jamkhandi Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/63-4

BANHATTI,
26 August 1944

Dear Sir,

On 20th of October 1943, I had the honour to send you a letter[1] regarding the oppressions the Muslims had to undergo in Banhatti and your honour was kind enough to reply me, *vide* your post card of 22nd October 1943,[2] informing me that the letter in question was forwarded by you to the Secretary, All India States Muslim League. I have to state that nothing has been done so far in the matter, nor the matter was put before the Executive Council.

In this connection, letters were written to all the District Muslim Leagues on 8.7.[19]44 and even to the State Muslim League but nothing has so far been done in the matter. I had the pleasure to write even to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in this matter as well as to Nawab Ismail Khan, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Prime Minister of Sind, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and others but regret that no reply was received from any party, though we anxiously awaited the reply. Nobody has even enquired in the matter to [*sic* for from] the State authorities as to why such tyranny was made [*sic*] on the Muslims. I had also approached the A.G.G., Governor of Bombay and the Viceroy of India but nothing has been done in the matter. Day by day, the Hindu Mahasabha Party is gaining influence there and we the Muslims fall [*sic*] as their prey. Since [*sic* for for] [the] last six years we are fighting for this, spending thousands of rupees in the court,

and went to prison several times, but all the while our grievances are not regarded or redressed. Our religious and political rights are robbed away. The Magistrate, Dewan Sahib of the State, etc., came to the *masjid* and verbally ordered to demolish the mosque. Now nearly 25,000 Muslims of the place have become uncontrollable and I fear the matter may be more danger [*sic*] than even in Kashmir.

The Muslim League is the only body that would redress the grievances of the Muslims and before any serious consequences break out, I appeal to your honour to take up the matter immediately and save the deadlock that might prevail.

I, therefore, expect to get your valuable advice in the matter.

Awaiting your reply per return [*sic*],

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
President,
State Muslim League, Jamkhandi

[1&2]Not traceable.

II. 52

Faiznoor Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/105-6

DIBRUGARH,
ASSAM,
27 August 1944

A mass prayer meeting for the success of the coming Gandhi-Jinnah meeting in Bombay for the Congress-League settlement to end the political deadlock in the country, was held in the open field in front of the George Institution, Dibrugarh, Assam at 5.30 p.m. on the 27th August 1944, which was well-attended by the public of Dibrugarh. Hindus and Muslims belonging to different political parties and views (Congress, Communists, and League) and non-party patriots (liberals, trade union, Mahila Samity, Mahila Atma-Rakha Samity, etc.) and the students of all the schools joined in the meeting. Maulvi Faiznoor Ali, ex-member of the Assam Public Service Commission, presided over the meeting. Sj. L. N. Phookan, Editor, *Assam Tribune*, explaining the purpose of the meeting, briefly narrated the recent political developments in the country. He explained the Rajaji

Formula[1] for communal unity and settlement between the Congress and the League. As Congress and League are not united, there is a political deadlock in the country. Our greatest national leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib, are going to meet in Bombay to find a way out and come to a settlement to end the political impasse for the formation of a national government with effective powers. To support Gandhi-Jinnah Sahib in their efforts to solve the political deadlock and for prayer to Almighty God for success of the coming historic meeting to be held at Bombay, the public gathered there. Verses from the *Gita* and *Qur'an* were recited amid pin-drop silence, and one of Mahatma's favourite *Bhajans* was sung.

The mass prayer was led by the President Maulvi Faiznoor Ali and all present prayed standing in a body. The prayer was in lucid Assamese. The gist of the prayer was: "We the citizens of Dibrugarh belonging to the different communities and parties pray to the Almighty God Who created us in diverse religions and nations to bless the Mahatma and the Quaid-i-Azam, the two great leaders, with strength and might and enlighten them with His divine light so that they may find a way out of the political impasse and come to an equal [*sic*] settlement which will make it possible for the 40 crores of Indians to enjoy the birthright and live in complete harmony for the good of all".

The following resolution was moved by the President and was carried unanimously:

> This mass prayer meeting of the public of Dibrugarh belonging to different communities and parties prays to Almighty God for the success of the coming meeting between our greatest national leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib so that a settlement between the Congress and League on the basis of national self-determination may be arrived at to end the political deadlock in the country and for formation of a national government.

The President in a short speech *inter alia* said that the British Government is unwilling to part with power on the plea of our disunity. Hence there is the political deadlock in the country and the people are suffering untold miseries. Only the last year lakhs of people perished from starvation and this year thousands are dying of epidemics.

Only a national government can solve all problems that face the country to-day. Our greatest national leaders are going to meet for a settlement between the Congress and League. Full and frank discussion between Gandhiji and Jinnah Sahib are gone [*sic*] to allay

all misunderstanding between the two great parties and a settlement between Congress and League will secure allegiance of forty crores of Indians and solve the political deadlock and secure a national govt. with effective powers. It is our duty to support our national leaders in their holy efforts.

The meeting ended amid slogans of *Bandemataram, Allaho Akbar, Gandhiji ki jai, Jinnah Sahib ki jai, Hindu-Muslim aik hon, Congress-League Zindabad.*

FAIZNOOR ALI
President of the meeting

[1]See Enclosure to No. 251, Vol. X, 267-8.

II. 53

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/10

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
1 September 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I received your kind letter of 26-8-44[1] on 30th August. I am today sending, under separate registered cover parcel, the following matters:

i. Religious map of India
ii. Social and religious map of Bengal
iii. Density of population map of India
iv. Bengal population tables
v. Figures for Bengal, Assam, Akyab, Purnea Zone of my proposed Pakistan of Bengsman [*sic*]
vi. Map of India with Europe's states superimposed
vii. Table—Reserves of iron ore in India
viii. Table—Coal output of India
ix. Figures for Adibasistan of Chota Nagpur
x. Oxford School Atlas of 1943
xi. An article on Line System and density of population and population problem in East Bengal and Assam—with opinion of Professor D. N. Bannerji of the Dacca University
xii. Map of historic divisions of India from Vedic time
xiii. Report of mass meeting at Town Hall on 9th March 1941.

Resolution [*sic*] 1941 census unacceptable in Bengal
xiv. Railway system of East Pakistan and Adibasistan
xv. Map of Bihar

I will send you tomorrow my note on my demarcations on the map of India, showing the boundary lines of (1) East Pakistan and (2) Adibasistan, according to my idea. East Pakistan Zone proper has been marked red and Adibasistan Zone has been marked blue. In brief, my East Pakistan proper is composed of the whole of Assam and Bengal plus Akyab Dist. and the excluded tribal frontier tracts of Arakan Hills, Chin Hills, Hukawang Valley, then the eastern one half of Purnea. It will have at least over 21 lakh Muslim majority.

My idea of Adibasistan is that the Chota Nagpur Division and Santhal Parganas with an area of 32, 592 sq. miles and population of 9,750,846 should be formed into a separate autonomous state as the homeland of the aboriginal Adibasis, in confederal union with East Pakistan. This Zone alone is more in area and population than Orissa. Orissa has an area of 32,198 sq. miles and a population of 8,728,544; that is less than the area and population of Chota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas. The Chota Nagpur State which is all Adibasi, and Maspurbhang, which is also Adibasi in majority, should be placed under its suzerainty.

The coal and iron reserves tables will show you that the assertion of Prof. Charles Behre of the Columbia University in the *Foreign Affairs* quarterly, as quoted by *A[mrita] B[azar] Patrika* on 13-8-44 that—"The Pakistan State of Bengal would, industrially speaking, die" and that "about 90 per cent of Indian coal and 92 per cent of iron would belong to Hindustan", is absolutely wrong and based on the baseless supposition and propaganda that Chota Nagpur is a Hindu majority province. But Singbhum, Bustar, Rajmahal, Jharia and Adibasistan areas are not Hindustan and should never be allowed to be grabbed by Hindustan.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Jinnah had asked for the maps of Bihar and Bengal and a good map of India. See *SHC*, Bengal IV/9. Not printed.

II. 54

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (46)

PESHWAR,
6 September 1944

Dear Sir,

In confirmation of my telegram dated 6th,[1] I have to submit the following:

I got amendment from the Governor and his advising Trustees which I have already submitted to you with my letter of 25th August from Lahore.[2] On 25th, I saw Nawab Sahib of Mamdot and explained the old Constitutions of 1917,1943 and the proposed Constitution and explained the Auditors Report and other relevant things to him. He sent a registered letter to Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan at Meerut on 26th. I visited Meerut and explained all the relevant papers and the new amendment of the Governor to Nawab Sahib. Nawab Ismail Khan felt pleased and he gave me a letter for Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan for a meeting either on 28th or 29th or 30th August, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan consequently called a meeting on 30th at 5 p.m. at his house. The Governor of the NWFP, who was fortunately at the Viceregal Lodge in connection with the Governors Conference, voluntarily sought interview with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Nawab Ismail Khan. During their discussion they came to the unanimous agreement as to the amendment. I was to leave on the evening of the 30th August by the Frontier Mail and their decision was conveyed to me by Nawab Ismail Khan who was travelling in the same train with me up to Meerut. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan sent me and the Governor a copy of their proposed Constitution. A meeting of the Trustees was held on the 4th. K.B. Sadullah Khan and his four supporters also attended. I explained the efforts made by the Muslim League in this regard to the eighteen Trustees who were present. The two absentees were His Highness the Mehtar of Chitral, who could not come because of *Roza* and K.B. Mian Musharraf Shah. After discussion, excepting one Syed Qaim Shah who is a Congressite, all the seventeen Trustees unanimously adopted the amended Constitution and next day an Interim Committee was constituted by the Selection Committee and the following gentlemen were selected to be the interim Council of Management and to complete

the subsequent needful proceedings:

1. His Highness the Mehtar of Chitral, *ex-officio* member
2. K.B. Shah Alam Khan, Director of Public Instruction, ex-officio Member
3. Doctor Khan Sahib, ex-Premier
4. Mian Jaffar Shah, MLA
5. Khan Sahib Ghulam Sarwar Khan, retired Officiating Director of Public Instruction
6. Mr. Habibullah Khan, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Bannu
7. Sheikh Khuda Bakhsh, B.A., Manager of Muslim Girls School, Kohat
8. K.B. Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, Additional Judicial Commissioner, NWFP
9. Mian Zia-ud-Din, Advocate, Peshawar
10. Qazi Mohammad Aslam, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Peshawar
11. Fateh Mohammad Khan Khattak, M.A., LL.B., Advocate Nowshera (He is the brother-in-law of K.B. Sadullah Khan and Sadullah Khan offered him as his substitute)
12. Major M. Khurshid Sahibzada, Deputy Commissioner, Mardan (He is a relation of the great Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan)
13. Khan Sahib Abdul Ghafur Khan, District and Sessions Judge, Peshawar
14. K.B. Arbab Sher Ali Khan, MLA, Tehkal

I am herewith enclosing a copy of the amended Constitution,[3] which was unanimously adopted by Nawab Ismail Khan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and H.E. the Governor at Delhi for the solution of this tangle.

Thank God, by the grace of *Allah* and through your kindness the College problem has been solved in a way acceptable to all shades of Muslim opinion in the N.W.F.P and India. I was co-opted to take the place of His Highness the Mehtar of Chitral on the Selection Committee, and some of the old Trustees like honourable K.B. Qazi Mir Ahmad Khan, Judicial Commissioner, K.B. Nawab Sheikh Mahboob Ali Khan, K.B., Sadullah Khan, myself and others requested the Selection Committee that fresh blood should come into the Council of Management and we may be kindly excused for the present, which was greatly appreciated by the Selection Committee. This is all that I have to respectfully report to you about the Islamia College tangle and our respectful thanks are due to you for your

kind guidance in the matter.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1to3]Not traceable.

II. 55

M. A. Razzaque to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/25

P.O. DESANGMUKH,
SIBSAGAR, ASSAM,
11 September 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah,

I am sure you are informed that Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhuri of Sylhet, representative of Assam in the Central Legislative Assembly, is dead. Consequently, I think there will be a by-election here soon to fill the vacancy caused by his demise.

I wish to stand as League candidate in the by-election, if you kindly approve of my candidature. On receiving your wise advice I want to announce about it and duly apply to the Central League Parliamentary Board to put me up as the League candidate.

I sincerely assure you that I will be an able and useful lieutenant of yours in the House as well as outside if you kindly enable me to be a member of the Central Assembly. I have been keeping silent all this while for various reasons, which I shall explain to you when we meet.

From the beginning of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, Assam has been represented at the Centre by a Sylheti—first [by] Mr. Matin and then by late Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhuri. It is now time that one from among the Muslims of Assam Valley should represent the province at the Centre. The Muslims of my Valley feel strongly about it and I am sure they will like to see me returned there this time. Moreover, the Muslims of my Valley have many important things to say in [*sic*] the coming constitutional changes in India. The interests of the Surama Valley Muslims are identical with those of the Muslims of Eastern Bengal whereas the interests of the Muslims of Assam Valley are quite different. There are already forces working to exclude Assam Valley from the Eastern Pakistan. In this Valley we

are only 22% of the total population. The Hindus form 48% and the Tribes form 30%. Moreover, the European tea planters are a formidable force in this Valley. Our Valley presents a peculiar problem in connection with the Pakistan project.

Perhaps, before long there will be general election for all the legislatures in India and my term this time, if I am taken in by you, will be a short one; but even then I earnestly assure you that I will prove quite worthy of your trust and be a useful acquisition to the League Party in the House. Once I am there you can utilise my services to advance the cause of the League in any way you like.

I am sure Sir Muhammad Saadullah, Mr. Matin and Maulana Abdul Hamid will have no objection to my selection as League candidate.

I am anxiously waiting for your kind advice in this connection.

With my highest regards for you and good wishes to Miss Fatima Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. RAZZAQUE

II. 56

Mohammad Mofej Uddin Sarkar & Razzakul Islam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/27

P.O. BARPETA,
12 September 1944

Sir,

Being compelled by the gravity of the matter put below, we, on behalf of the *hajis* of Assam with our sincere respect to you, humbly approach you for your kind and sympathetic help which we could nowhere expect but from you, and we earnestly hope you will be so good as to render the necessary help, which will relieve us all of undue trouble and disadvantage for good.

It is well-known to all Muslims that the *haj* pilgrims from different parts of India enjoy the free choice of selecting their *Mo'allims* to their convenience and comfort. The *haj* pilgrims of Assam also enjoyed this privilege till very recently when a *Mo'allim* has been appointed as an agent for Assam only and as an effect of this new arrangement all the *haj* pilgrims of Assam have no choice but to go to this particular *Mo'allim,* having been deprived of their right of free selection. One may

well imagine the result of such arrangement. We have bitter experience of this arrangement. The *Mo'allim* having thus got monopoly cares very little for his pilgrims and owing to his indifference and want of proper care and guidance, the Assam pilgrims have to face various difficulties and troubles in a distant and foreign country. The other *Mo'allims* also do not give any help or assistance to them. Thus the Assam pilgrims undergo many troubles and do not have due facility even in visiting the holy places. Everything depends upon the sweet will of the *Mo'allim*. This system is quite contrary to the old custom [and] religious spirit and discouraging to the pilgrims and as such should no longer be tolerated.

We do not find any means to revive it [*sic*] and we approach you for your kind help, and if you would have the goodness to take up the matter, the difficulties are [*sic*] removed for good. So we humbly and respectfully request you to take up the matter.[1]

We, on behalf of the *haj* pilgrims of Assam, pray to God for His kind help and for your health and prosperity.

It leaves us eagerly waiting for information as to what action is kindly taken.

We remain most respectfully,
HAJI MOHAMMAD MOFEJ UDDIN SARKAR
Joint Secretary, South Barpeta Muslim League
RAZZAKUL ISLAM

[1]Jinnah replied that it was for the Provincial ML or, failing that, the Committee of Action to move in the matter. See *SHC*, Assam I/29. Not printed.

II. 57

Zafarul Mulk to M.A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc. I/60

HAKIM ABDUL AZIZ ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
12 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It has been reported in the press that your statement to the pressmen on the 9th instant contained the following lines:

> Tomorrow is the 21st day of *Ramazan*[1] and all Muslims have to observe it and I have therefore requested Mr. Gandhi to oblige me by agreeing not to have a meeting tomorrow.

I wonder how a responsible and respected leader like you could utter such an unfounded thing.

Muslims have nothing to do with the 21st *Ramazan*. This is a purely Shia function. Islam does not permit any mourning day. In fact the very spirit of Islam revolts against such Jewish conceptions. I know you belong to the Khoja community, a sect of the Shias, but, pardon me, you have no right to impute a Shia belief to Muslims.

I had no idea of intruding upon you, when you are busy in such important discussions for the success of which I constantly pray, but a very large number of Muslims have resented this portion of your statement and I felt it necessary to bring our protest to your notice[2] as well as that of Mahatma Gandhi. Therefore, I am writing this letter to you and will send its translation to the Urdu press for the information of general Muslim public.

Yours truly,
ZAFARUL MULK

[1]The last of the *Khulafa-i-Rashideen* (the Righteous Caliphs of Islam), *Hazrat* Ali was martyred on the 21st of *Ramadan*, 40 A.H.
[2]For reply, see Appendix II. 59.

II. 58

M. S. Aney to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/49

BY AIR MAIL

COLOMBO,
14 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a copy of a statement issued by me, on the talks between yourself and Gandhiji for a Hindu-Muslim settlement, for your information.

Yours sincerely,
M. S. ANEY
Representative of the Government of India in Ceylon

Enclosure to Appendix II. 58

SHC, Non-Muslims I/50

As an humble colleague of both for many years, I sincerely wish success to conference between Jinnah and Gandhi in arriving at an amicable settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem firstly and essentially

on the footing of India being retained as one undivided and indivisible nation and secondly of due regard to interests of other minorities unrepresented there. One whole, undivided India has immense potentialities for good to humanity and wider opportunities for contribution to human progress as a major international power while a divided India [will] dwindle into insignificance. Pakistan or vivisection of India into two or more sovereign states will not prove a solution but a great dissolution. It will be patricidal in nature and fratricidal in result destroying elements of peaceful progress and throwing the country into chaos. I pray [to] God to give the leaders light to see the unity and integrity of one free self-governing Indian nation as an essential condition of human progress in post-war world, particularly in eastern Asia, and to arm them with courage to stand and wisdom to work for it.

M. S. ANEY

II. 59

M. A. Jinnah to Zafarul Mulk

SHC, Misc. I/61

15 September 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 12th.[1]

I did not know that there were still left such narrow-minded Musalmans as you have displayed yourself to be in your letter. It is not a question at all of Shia belief. *Hazrat* Ali was the fourth caliph, and I know as a matter of fact that the 21st day of *Ramazan* is observed by a large body of Musalmans, irrespective of the question of Shia or Sunni belief, and I am really surprised that you should have taken up the attitude you have shown in your letter.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Zafarul Mulk, Esq.,
Hakim Abdul Aziz Road,
Lucknow

[1] Appendix II. 57.

II. 60

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/40

GHAZIPUR,
U.P.,
18 September 1944

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is with [the] utmost reluctance that I have decided to send the enclosed cutting,[1] because I did not want to disturb you during the momentous talks. But the matter, though it concerns a municipal board, so vividly proves that Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations and that our Hindu brethren nearly betray their indelible prejudice against Muslims simply because they are Muslims, that I hasten to submit it to you so that it might reach you during the talks. If it reaches you in time, kindly show it to Mr. Gandhi and ask him if it even now does not make entirely evident that a separate homeland for Muslims is absolutely necessary for their very existence in India.

What is astounding is that Congress members remained neutral although the Muslim candidate was one of them. He was not a true Muslim Leaguer. It can well be imagined that such things will be order of the day in *Akhand Hindustan*. One will not win the favour of the permanent majority even at the risk of being unfaithful to his own nation. Can there be a worse lot for a self-respecting community!

[As for the election of the Executive Officer of the Allahabad Municipal Board], not a single Hindu voted for the Muslim candidate and not a single Muslim found the Hindu candidate deserving for [*sic* for of] the post. Does this not show conclusively that Hindus and Muslims are distinct entities by their very nature and Pakistan is a boon for both of them and a message of hope? Please ask this from [*sic*] Mr. Gandhi.

[*Next para omitted*][2]

Quaid-i-Azam, negotiate for a secure, strong, and such a Pakistan which [*sic*] keeps the link between the western and eastern Pakistan intact, running direct from west to east, including all the important centres of Muslim culture of northern India. That is possible by mutual earnestness and desire to see reality.

Though the occasion requires mutual accommodation, the Muslims have honestly put their case so modestly, rather in a spirit of sacrifice,

that they can never consent to any other agreement, except widest [*sic*], secure and economically and politically sound Pakistan. Therein only lies their salvation.

It is absolutely essential that you hold on firmly to the fundamentals of Pakistan as envisaged in the famous Lahore Resolution, regardless of any persuasion, cajolery and soft words.

Matchless leader of Muslim India, with the above few lines I want to ask your kind permission to leave.

One of your obedient followers,
ANONYM

[1]See *SHC*, UP I/41. Not printed.
[2]It related to a peripheral matter.

II. 61

Neyaz Ahmad Karimi & Others to M.A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/47

PAIGAMBERPUR,
DARBHANGA,
BIHAR,
1 October 1944

Sir,

I venture to intrude upon your valuable time which I hope you will kindly excuse.

I belong to the District of Darbhanga in north Bihar where Musalmans are like a tongue under [*sic*] the thirty-two teeth. Here I beg to lay before your honour the humble sentiments of myself and of the Musalmans of *'ilaqa* as well. We have already been satisfied that the world's greatest [personal comments omitted] would, by the grace of God, never succeed in entrapping our stalwart, Quaid-i-Azam of the hundred million Musalmans of India, and thank God it came true to our expectation.

Mr. Gandhi appears to have overestimated his strength and has heated [up] the blood of Islamic India by his challenge in the shape of denial to accept the fundamental principles like the Two-Nation Theory and the Lahore Resolution as well.

Sir, let the dogs bark—you are only afraid of God. He alone has protected you and ever will from the risk of life and hazard of honour due to your love of Islam, indomitable courage and matchless

steadfastness, devotion and sincerity, statesmanship and excellent foresightedness for not sacrificing the future and endangering the present.

We earnestly pray to God that He may grant longevity of life [*sic*] to our second *Hazrat* Omar for the achievement of Pakistan, the goal of Muslim India, in this trying age.

We would be highly proud of having a few words from your gracious pen[1] to make them the motto of our lives, both private and political. For this trouble we thank your honour and hope that you will kindly excuse this boldness.

Most obediently yours,
NEYAZ AHMAD KARIMI
AND OTHERS

[1]Jinnah replied that he could not add to what he had said so often, especially in his last *'Id* message and recent press interview. He added that every Musalman should do his duty by his people as best as he could. See *SHC*, Bihar I/50. Not printed.

II. 62

B. H. Nomani to M. A. Jinnah
[Original in Urdu]

F. 967/77-8

KENT CLINIC,
GRANT ROAD,
BOMBAY,
1 October 1944

In respect of *Hazrat* Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
President, Muslim League
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Yesterday, I went through the news and correspondence, published in *The Times*, about the abrupt ending of Jinnah-Gandhi parleys. Those reports shocked me and my friends; and saddened and enraged me to the extent that I remained sleepless throughout the night.

When the Mahatma of Hindus reached Bombay for meeting you, there were Hindu-engineered rumours which indicated that despite professed sincerity, his attitude would be similar to that of your earlier meetings with Jawaharlal Nehru and [Subhash Chandra] Bose and that he would not agree to any of your views and instead would level all sorts of allegations and blames against you. His new stand is

that he does not accept Muslims as a nation. Earlier, he did not acknowledge Muslim League as a representative body of the Muslims and insisted that Abul Kalam Azad and not Quaid-i-Azam was the leader of the Muslims. However, Almighty God has created a 'Moses' in the person of Quaid-i-Azam to defeat all the 'Pharaohs'. I am certain that you would safeguard the rights of the Muslims and save them from Hindus' tactics.

God knows how many comrades of Mahatma would be in Birla House, who leaked secrets of discussions and debates that you wanted should remain confidential. The newspaper *Janam Bhoomi* also did the same. Although the editor and owner of *Janam Bhoomi* was a friend of Mahatma and the disclosure of secrets by the paper was not possible without his connivance.

On the side of Muslims there was no one to assist you except God and only God knows through which measures Mahatma was creating impediments for you. Almighty God made you successful and it became apparent to the world that you could not be subdued by Gandhi.

You acquitted yourself well of the task and responsibility entrusted to you by God.

The Muslims of Bombay are grateful to you and heartily pray for granting you power to effectively face the evil designs of anti-Muslim forces.

Wassalaam

Yours sincerely,
B. H. NOMANI
Ph.D., M.D.

II. 63

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Shafi Daudi

SHC, Bihar I/46

9 October 1944

Dear Mr. Daudi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 30th.[1] The full text of the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and me had already been released to the press, as also my subsequent statements and interviews, and you must have already read my speech which I delivered to the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 30th of July[2] before meeting Mr. Gandhi. There is nothing further that I can do, as you

will have the fullest possible information from the above, which I believe have received publicity all over India, including your province, and you can easily obtain them. I was glad to hear from you after such a long time.

Thanking you for your good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Shafi Daudi, Esq.,
Advocate,
P.O.Daudnagar,
Dist. Muzaffarpur,
Bihar

[1]No. 181, Vol. XI, 198.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 537-547.

II. 64

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (47)

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
10 October 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am forwarding to you resolutions[1] adopted unanimously by a conference of the Council of the Calcutta Muslim League held on Sunday, the 8th October 1944, under my presidency [*sic*].

I will forward to you another resolution on Pakistan and minority peoples [*sic*] adopted by the conference later on.

I will write to you later regarding our next step. Bengal is solidly behind you. Mr. Fazlul Huq sent Badruddoja on Sunday to the Bengal League for negotiation so that he may be allowed to be a member of the League.

League is gaining strength in Bengal. There is a general feeling that we should try to make greater and more intense propaganda for Pakistan among (1) the Depressed Classes, (2) the Adibasis, (3) the Dravidians, (4) the *Kisans*, (5) the Labourers, (6) the Socialists and (7) the Students. Special pamphlets should be issued and brought out at once.

General belief is that failing an agreement, the British will make

Pakistan dependent and contingent upon the votes of the present provinces [as] per Cripps Plan. In that case, it is vital that we should win over (1) the Depressed Classes, (2) the Adibasis (one per cent in Bengal and 25 per cent in Assam), (3) the *Kisans*, (4) the Ryots, (5) the Labourers, (6) the Socialists, and (7) other peoples [*sic*]. If we have pacts with the two—the Adibasis and the Depressed Classes—, we will triumph.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Not traceable.

II. 65

Zahid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/47

Bismillah

MANDU HOUSE,
MARRIS ROAD,
ALIGARH,
11 October 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

As you are aware the U.P. Provincial Muslim League has decided to contest the forthcoming elections of the municipal boards in the first week of November and the Provincial League Council has set up a Parliamentary Board to organise the election campaign on behalf of the Muslim League. The Muslim League has undoubtedly reached a stage where it is acknowledged by all concerned as the only authoritative and representative body of the Musalmans of India. As such, it has a heavy responsibility to see that representatives of the Musalmans to all elective bodies are elected on proper party lines and work under healthy party discipline so that the interests of the Musalmans are effectively served and safeguarded.

This is the first time in this Province that the League is contesting elections in such an organised manner and on such a wide scale. In the stupendous work we have undertaken, we will be greatly aided and encouraged by a message from you.

I, therefore, solicit the favour of your very kindly sending a message[1] to the press (a copy of which may be sent to me) in which the importance

of these elections may be emphasised and an appeal may be made to the Muslim electorate to support the League candidates.

I hope you will very kindly accede to my request.

Yours sincerely,
NAWABZADA ZAHID ALI KHAN
Secretary,
U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board

[1]See Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 7.

II. 66

T. K. Hussain Kunhi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/55

GUINDY, SAIDAPET,
MADRAS,
18 October 1944

Respected Sir,

It is my greatest pleasure to address this letter to you.

As the convener of the meeting of the Muslim students of the Engineering College, Madras, I have been authorized by them to convey to you by telegram the resolution that we passed in the meeting yesterday. I have sent the substance of the same today by telegram and am now giving the full text below:

> This meeting of the Muslim students of Engineering College, Madras, while endorsing the reasonable stand taken by the Quaid-i-Azam in the recent negotiations with Mr. Gandhi, reiterates the demand of Pakistan and reaffirms our faith in Quaid-i-Azam.

I would take the liberty to [*sic*] remind you of the promise that you made to the Moplah students of the College to visit Malabar at the earliest opportunity. Myself being a Moplah, I have the sincere wish to receive you in our place where the stand of the Muslims is definite and invariable. I would like to mention that your promise was conveyed to us in your letter[1] in response to the resolution and the request[2] we sent to you concerning the Pakistan Day in March 1944.

T.K. HUSSAIN KUNHI

[1&2]Not traceable.

II. 67

Bezwada Memon Merchants Association to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/63

BEZWADA,
22 October 1944

Dear Sir,

Please permit me to submit herewith a resolution passed at the general body meeting of the Association, held on 22 October 1944.

Please acknowledge receipt of the same.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours obediently,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Joint Secretary

Enclosure to Appendix II. 67

RESOLUTION

We are much disappointed at the breakdown of the talks between the two great leaders of the country. Had Mr. Gandhi applied his best brains and impartial thoughts to the formula put forth by Quaid-i-Azam, this deadlock would have easily been solved [*sic*] and the country enjoyed freedom.

We have great confidence in our captain, who, ably and with far-sight [*sic*], navigated the Muslim ship of India from [*sic*] the stormy and boisterous bay of Rajaji's Formula.[1] His even a little shortsightedness would have brought havoc on the Muslims of India. We regard our Quaid-i-Azam as the [*sic* for a] great politician of the time and saviour of India, especially Muslims in this troublous [*sic*] time.

We ever remain faithful to our Quaid-i-Azam, faithful to the country [and] faithful to the Muslim League.

[1]Enclosure to No. 251, Vol. X, 267-8.

II. 68

Resolution by C. P. & Berar Provincial Muslim League

F. 1119/71

RAIPUR,
28 October 1944

RESOLUTION

Resolution No. 5 passed at the special meeting of the Provincial Muslim League, C.P. and Berar.

a. This meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League, C.P. and Berar, is positively of opinion that any immigration of Jews into Palestine with a view to creat[ing] a homeland for them and to reduc[ing] the Arab majority into a minority, against the wishes of Arabs, is in breach of all international laws and principles of democracy and is against the natural rights and aspirations of the Arabs.
b. This meeting welcomes the formation of a Pan-Arab Federation with a view to protect[ing] and guard[ing] their rights and resist[ing] all foreign aggression.
c. That this meeting warns the British Government not to be influenced by Jews and American opinion and not to be a party to the said design to the displeasure of millions of Muslims living in the British Empire.
d. That this meeting assures the Arabs in Palestine that the Muslim nation in India will be solidly behind them and will make all sacrifices in their struggle against the Jews.

[UNSIGNED]

II. 69

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/44

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
31 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You know very well that Mr. Sayed does not like me. After getting

rid of K. B. Khuhro, he and his friends wish to get rid of me too. He is never satisfied with anything and has always been complaining since the very first day of the Ministry.

He wants to have his own *raj* at any cost. He is not so powerful among the Muslims, but he can seduce four or five Muslims to join hands with the non-Muslims so as to break the Ministry. He is in the habit of stabbing one in the back, as he did on the occasion of my first Ministry after eating my salt.

The late K. B. Sadhayo was not elected with Mr. Sayed's influence at all. I have the greatest influence in that quarter, and I had told the Khan Bahadur and also yourself that he would be successful.

Mr. Sayed has nominated four members on the Parliamentary Board here. They are Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Sayed Mahomed Ali Shah and myself.

The position is, therefore, very intriguing. He wants me to appoint Sayed Mahomed Ali Shah as a Minister, but I cannot have a Sayed's *raj*, as the Speaker is a Sayed, and Pir Sahib is also one of them.

Owing to the death of K. B. Sadhayo, my son Anwar is contesting the election. Mr. Sayed does not like me, nor does Sayed Mahomed Ali Shah, whom I am not appointing as Minister, and Ghulam Nabi Pathan is Sayed's creature and is himself thinking of standing for this seat. What can be expected from these men in these circumstances? Could it be called a fair and impartial League election?

As regards my son Anwar, you know him very well. He is a member of the Karachi Municipal Corporation, an elected member of the Bombay University Senate on behalf of the municipalities in Sind, a member of the Haj Committee, the Sind Madressah Board, Turf Club, etc.

I may only mention that I have much more influence in this constituency than any of the others.

I leave the whole matter to your good sense, and would be grateful for a line in reply.[1]

I might also mention that we had a meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party, and Mr. Sayed was then quite satisfied with the replies we gave to the various points raised, and, in fact, a resolution was passed at this meeting, to which Mr. Sayed was a party expressing confidence in the Ministry.

Hoping you are doing well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH
Premier, Sind

[1]Jinnah called G. H. Hidayatullah and G. M. Sayed to Delhi. See *SHC*, Sind II/46. Not printed.

II. 70

Muzaffar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/416-7

CHOHLA SAHIB,
TARN TARAN,
DIST. AMRITSAR,
[*Undated*] *October 1944*

Dear Sir,

Surely you will laugh at me thinking how can a village boy write to a great leader of India. But my conscious [*sic*] stimulates me to write to you and thus express my wishes, and I also hope that a noble man like [you] would not discourage me.

I have always been desirous and anxious to improve the miserable conditions of my fellow-men, i.e. my Muslim brethren, though it is far better than that [*sic*] it was nine or ten years ago.

Though I am not a son of a rich man but I have courage to run the risk of my life for the welfare of the Muslims and I am anxious how I can do that. Can you show me the way? Will you make me a member of the Muslim League?

I am old, I am fifteen, and can do heaps of work. Please write [to] me the scheme just now on which I should act in right earnest.

What a joy will I feel to hear from you at an early date!

If you cannot, think me a fool of vain dreams and have a hearty laugh and I will take pride in that also that I have made a great leader of the Muslims laugh.

Yours faithfully,
MUZAFFAR HUSSAIN
Class X Student

II. 71

Anonym to M.A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/89

PESHAWAR,
6 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you would easily recognize me now as we had a long talk

when you paid a visit to the training camp started by the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation at Lahore in August last. On that occasion I had the honour to act as your host and also the honour of presenting you with an address.

The new constitution of the Islamia College, Peshawar, is being welcomed in educated and well-informed circles. The part played by the Muslim League in this connection, however, is not being fully appreciated.

Your attitude during your recent talks with Gandhi is being generally admired. There is one professor, however, who thinks that even a common plebiscite would have brought victory for the Musalmans in the Punjab after the exclusion of the Ambala Division. Others doubt it with strong reasons. Another said that though your stand was unchallengeable yet you could be more polite towards Gandhi and the Congressites in your statements after the breakdown of the talks. A large number of lecturers and professors like your stiff attitude towards the Congress on psychological grounds. Students here are gradually becoming Pakistan-minded though there is no organised propaganda. A clear majority among them is in favour of the League though they hate the top Leaguers of this Province. Sympathy for the Khaksar movement has fast disappeared in the college. A lecturer, who used to have strong leaning towards the movement, is of the opinion that Inayatullah Mashriqi is on the wrong path and his main object seems to be to become an all-India leader.

Abdul Ali, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, has been re-elected as the president of the college students union. Elections here are not fought on political issues; but [*sic*] it was interesting to note, however, that out of nearly one hundred Hindu students not a single [*sic*] voted against the son of the Frontier Gandhi. The majority of the Muslim students voted against him simply because his father was a Congressite.

Wishing you a long and happy life to lead the Musalmans to their destined goal.

Your humble follower,
[UNSIGNED]

II. 72

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Sattar Kheiri

SHC, Misc I/98

NEW DELHI,
8 November 1944

My dear Mr. Kheiri,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 29th,[1] and I thank you for it. I am glad that you are [a] free man. Of course, I do not know why you were subjected to detention, but you know that I am always against any man's liberty being taken away without a judicial trial.

I am glad that you are well and full of hopes, and that you will work for the betterment of Muslim India. I know we have many difficulties, but I think we have made a tremendous progress, and we have every reason to be encouraged, having regard to the enthusiastic support and sympathy we have of millions of our people. If we work in an organized and united spirit, I am confident that we shall achieve our goal of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 238, Vol. XI, 267.

II. 73

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/83

PERSONAL

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
13 November 1944

My dear leader,

I am deeply grateful to you for your very kind letter.[1] I read it through over and over again with great attention and care. I will do my earnest best to act according to your advice.

It was only when my friend [*name illegible*] brought me your message asking me to write to you about it [that] I wrote. Otherwise I would not have troubled you. You are doubtless aware that I have been

serving my community since the year 1920 and have been connected with the Muslim League since then. I served for the cause and not for any reward, in whatever shape. I shall continue to do so under your noble and kind leadership. I have such great confidence in you [as] no one nor anything untoward will shake. The Committee of Action may or may not take any action. But let me assure you, my dear Quaid-i-Azam, I shall ever be your faithful and zealous follower and serve my people to the best of my ability. I am only anxious that the Muslim League work should not continue to suffer in my province. The Muslim masses are quite sound. How long can they be [*sic* for remain] so if they are kept in ignorance and if they are not roped into the organisation. God is great! I shall continue to do my humble best to mitigate the evil effects of the present calamity.

May *Allah* bless you with long life and perfect health.

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

[1]No. 259, Vol. XI, 292.

II. 74

Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC I/50

4 TURL STREET,
OXFORD,
14 November 1944

Leading Muslim residents in Britain wish to restart immediately former London Muslim League which first functioned in 1911 in London independently of All India Muslim League and not as its London branch. Our purpose being to make known Muslim case both here and in America due to growing and successful Congress propaganda against Pakistan and for this Aga Khan has also telegraphed to [*sic*] us from Switzerland his patronage and full approval. Though our general policy is same as yours and in no way rivalling or opposing All India Muslim League we shall not speak as representative of All India Muslim League because London and New York conditions

may require us to have free hand in adaptation to local circumstances.

Kindly cable your blessing.[1]

SIRDAR IQBAL ALI SHAH
President,
London Islamic Society

[1]Jinnah did not approve of the suggestion as it was contrary to the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. See *SHC*, FC I/51. Not printed.

II. 75

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind III/10

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
18 November 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Gazdar is carrying on propaganda against me, and so we cannot pull on together. He has no following, being only one man by himself, and his reputation is known all over Sind and also in Bombay.

It is impossible, therefore, for me to continue [*sic*] him in office as my colleague. He is working against me and hobnobbing with the Congress and other Hindus. I must have a colleague who is loyal to me, and I cannot carry on with one who is disloyal to me.[1]

I have been complaining about this for a long time, and the only course now left to me is to send him away.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 349, Vol. XI, 382.

II. 76

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind III/16

SEAFIELD ROAD, KARACHI,
19 November 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am quite prepared to come and see you, but Mr. G. M. Sayed is now returning to his village, and I cannot say when he will be back here.

Whenever he comes to you, he makes all sorts of promises, but when he returns here, he backs out of them.

I am prepared to carry out any order you may send me.

I am very busy at present, as Pir Sahib is also not here, having gone to *Haj*, and I hold the additional portfolio of Land Revenue.

I am enclosing a copy of the appeal[1] made by my son against the decision of the Sind Parliamentary Board. Kindly read this appeal for yourself carefully, and you will then be able to decide for yourself.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind III/17. Not printed.

II. 77

M. A. Jinnah to Adamjee Hajee Dawood

QAD (49)

19 November 1944

Dear Sir Adamjee,

Mr. Ahmad [Ispahani] arrived here yesterday evening and informed me that you were reluctant to accept the first presidentship of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce, which is going to meet in Delhi about the end of this month or the first week of December.

I was very keen that you should accept the presidentship and hence I made a special request to Mr. Ahmad when he was here last time. We have laboured now for the last three to four years and, fortunately, we have been successful in establishing Muslim

Chambers of Commerce in almost every province and, at last, the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce has been formed and its first meeting will be held in Delhi about the time I referred to above. It is, therefore, necessary that we should have a man of outstanding position and personality to be its first President. I also know that you have taken a very great interest in this matter and given your support to it and I, therefore, once more request you not to refuse this call which I am making. After all it will not require very much time—at the most a couple of days of your stay in Delhi.

I know anything that we start is at once dubbed to be a communal move, but there is a European Chamber of Commerce, Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, and so on and so forth. Under the present conditions under which we are living, each community has got [*word illegible*] after itself and we must not be frightened by these taunts that it is a communal move on our part. And even if we have to suffer and incur the displeasure of the Hindu commercial magnates, we must face it. And if the Muslim commercial world is consolidated, these are the very men who will respect us and fear us. I cannot say more as I am sure that you understand the situation as well as anybody else and I do hope that you will not refuse to offer your services at this critical moment.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood,
Stephen Road,
Dalhousie Square,
Calcutta

II. 78

Syed Allah Bakhsh Shah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/22

BANDRA,
BOMBAY,
21 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I hope you have received my letter of 30th October[1] wherein I have acquainted you with our intention of launching a new campaign

for Hindu-Muslim understanding. But due to your early departure from Bombay I could not meet you and explain the proposed campaign personally to you. The political department has since then started the campaign which is now proceeding smoothly towards full swing.

The aim of this campaign is to effect, by united action on every common problem, a closer contact of the two peoples. This step will go a long way in [*sic* for towards] clearing doubt and distrust between the two communities and thus help in creating a better atmosphere for a future meeting between yourself and Mahatma Gandhi. The other benefit which is sure to be derived from this campaign is that any fears the Hindus, Sikhs, or any other minority may have about a sovereign Muslim state will be completely removed by this constant contact and united action.

I hope you realise that the establishment of virtual Pakistan conditions [*sic*] in Muslim majority areas can be achieved in this way alone.

With active cooperation and full support of the Muslim League, this aim can be achieved in a short time. Therefore, I invite you, and through you the All India Muslim League, to lend your full support and co-operation in this matter. United in action we might become a most formidable alliance in India and there is a great possibility that a better understanding between our two bodies will come out as a corollary.

I hope that you will send me your considered opinion regarding this programme. I shall be glad to make any amendment in [*sic* for to] the detailed programme after receiving your reply.

Thanking you in Islam's interest,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

SYED ALLAH BAKHSH SHAH

Salar-i-Khas-i-Hind

[1]Syed Allah Bakhsh had requested an interview with Jinnah. See *SHC*, APMO/21. Not printed.

II. 79

Muhammad Husain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/25

CIVIL LINES,
QILA SHEIKHUPURA,
22 November 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

You will forgive me for the intrusion but as the subject is very important and urgent from the point of view of the great organisation to which I have the honour to belong, I felt the necessity of forwarding to you these few lines by way of suggestion. It is in no spirit of partisanship. I do not intend to influence your mind against any individual. I do not believe in hero-worship, for it is forbidden in Islam.

I have absolute faith in you because you are the best interpreter of Muslim cause in India. At the same time, I feel that I owe it to the organisation to submit a few suggestions in its interest before the leader who has sacrificed his all for his people.

It has been, as it should be, the endeavour of all of us to rouse the public opinion, but when masses are aroused it is equally our obligation not to kick them away.

In the Punjab, whatever progress has been made by the Muslim League organisation is due to the sacrifice of Shaukat Hyat whose selfless efforts in the cause that we all hold so dear have endeared him to the last Muslim child in the Punjab. I am no believer in cheap politics based on sentimentalism, for it is so beneath the dignity of any Musalman who even now, in these days of our disgrace and demoralisation, is known to the world as a sincere and straight-forward human being.

I know the implications of his dismissal as well as the far-reaching effects of the Governor's refusal to accept him as his first Minister if and when the Muslim League Assembly Party in the Punjab is in a position to capture power in the Province. In my view, Shaukat's elevation to the leadership of the party will have the supreme merit of eliciting from the Government the charges they have got against him. In this we have failed so far in spite of our repeated requests. If the Governor, in case of our success, does not accept Shaukat as the Premier, the Muslim League will not be put in any awkward position,

for the party can then choose any other person as their leader, if the difficulties are insuperable which I think will never be the case.

My reasons for electing him [as] the leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party in the Punjab are the following:

i. He is the sincerest person.
ii. He has stood by you and the organisation like a firm rock in spite of the persuasions of his kith and kin to the contrary.
iii. He has the largest following in the Muslim League Assembly Party.
iv. There are quite a number of Muslim M.L.As. who are prepared to join the Muslim League, if he is elected leader of the party.
v. He is loved and respected by the Muslim masses in the Punjab for his sacrifice and virtues of character and ability.
vi. He has the guts and energy to put forward the Muslim cause fearlessly before the powers that be.
vii. He is the one who would not stick to office when Musalmans feel that their interests are being jeopardised.
viii. He has the personality and zest to bring round the overwhelming majority of the Musalmans of this Province.
ix. We can depend on his word, for he is a man of honour.
x. He stands for the only organisation of the Musalmans of India. He does not seek his personal ends, and that to my mind is the supreme virtue of a leader.

We have plenty of men with ability in the Party. They are there to help him. Why should they not if they are sincere? I quite concede that he lacks parliamentary experience but men with such experience should support him. This merit alone does not entitle one to become the leader of party before which lies the stupendous task of achieving sovereign status for his people and particularly in the Province which you yourself said so often is the heart of Pakistan. What we want today is selflessness and devotion to the cause rather than ability to conduct the parliamentary activities. Even such abilities he has enough [of], if he is given the chance. Our aim is not to capture ministries. Our task is to be the masters of the land where we are in majority. We need a man who is with us through thick and thin and he is the one who will never let us down. Was A. K. Fazlul Huq not a competent parliamentarian? We don't want Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah. We have had enough of such shrewd, clever and competent persons with long parliamentary experience.

With you as our great leader and inspirer at the helm of affairs, and may you live long (*Aameen*) to guide the destines of the nation. Shaukat will prove to be the fittest person to be the leader of the

Muslim League Party. The Punjab is a strange province. If Shaukat is not elected the leader, the Muslim League organisation will receive the severest set-back in this Province and this is what our enemies want.

The Punjab Premier [Khizar Hayat], Sir Chhotu Ram, and the Governor are extremely anxious to see that Shaukat does not become the leader of the Muslim League bloc in the House, for in him they see their most serious rival and their surest would-be supplanter. His failure will serve the[ir] purpose admirably as we will be playing in their hands by ourselves giving a set-back to the Muslim League organisation which they themselves cannot hope to achieve in spite of their evil designs and the support of bureaucracy. They know that Shaukat wields tremendous influence over the members and the masses. He is sure to smash them. It is no wonder then if they are so nervous about his coming at the top. To avoid their defeat they have set their agents about to manoeuvre in a way that Shaukat goes to the background. Sir Firoz Khan Noon is their chief agent to advance the cause of the Unionist Ministry at the centre. The Tiwana-Noon clique wants to remain in where they are for their own benefit and where they can, with the help of the powers that be, crush the legitimate aspirations of an individual or of the nation.

For God's sake, give your blessings to Shaukat to become the leader. If Shaukat were to know that you were not wholeheartedly with him he would decline to become the leader even if the Party elects him as such. You will forgive me for having written such a long letter to you. I would certainly suggest that before you give your final decision in this matter you will think it proper to pay a visit to the Punjab to see for yourself the situation here. I hope you will make note of my submissions. I will be prepared to place before you the peculiarities of my province in detail if and when you come to the Punjab. I would again request you to come to Lahore before you give your final verdict.

With apologies,

Your ardent admirer,
MUHAMMAD HUSAIN
Member, All India Muslim League Council

II. 80

Adamjee Hajee Dawood to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (50)

STEPHEN HOUSE,
3 DALHOUSIE SQUARE EAST,
CALCUTTA,
23 November 1944

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 19th[1] instant for which I have to thank you.

As you are well aware I have taken a keen interest in the formation of the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce which has my every sympathy. The presidentship of the Federation is an honourable post and you have done me a great honour by your kind offer to accept the same, but I regret my inability to do so for the reasons which I have explained to Mr. Ahmad Ispahani when he saw me here and which I reiterate for your information.

Myself and my son, Mr. Abdul Wahed, are the only two persons to attend to my business here. For three months from June to September last I was getting slow fever and had practically lost all vitality. To regain [the] same I had to go for a change to Mussoorie whence I have returned after a month, but have not regained the same fully and am obliged to attend to the business as my son, Mr. Abdul Wahed, is also getting slow fever for the last about three months and I have to relieve him as he has got to go for a change and will be absent for about two or three months. In his absence, I will be alone to look after the business which is likely to suffer if I am absent.

I may add that the Muslim Chamber of Commerce here was found through my exertions and I was the first President thereof for three years. I am not at all frightened at the taunts that may be passed against us that it is a communal move.

The post of presidentship carries with it a heavy burden and many responsibilities which I may not be able to undertake for the reasons stated above and I am sure you will not take it amiss by my refusal to accept the same.

According to me, Mr. Ahmad Ispahani is the fit man for the [said] post and he should be induced to take up the same. In case he is not willing to do so then I am sure you will be able to find some other

suitable man for the presidentship. Hoping this finds you in the best of health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ADAMJEE HAJEE DAWOOD

[1]Appendix II. 77.

II. 81

M. A. Jinnah to Adamjee Hajee Dawood

QAD (52)

NEW DELHI,
5 December 1944

Dear Sir Adamjee,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 23rd,[1] and thank you for it. I have considered all that you say, and there is only one point which troubles you, and that is that your acceptance of the presidentship of the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce will entail a great deal of work. Let me assure you that you will have the vice-president and your executive, and you will not have to do very much. I am very sorry indeed to hear that you are not keeping well and also your son. I do hope and pray that you both may be all right soon. I therefore once more request you to accept the presidentship and give the necessary push at the very outset of the establishment of the Federation.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Adamjee Hajee Dawood,
Stephen House,
5 Dalhousie Square,
Calcutta

[1]Appendix II. 80.

II. 82

M. K. Krishnan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/76

MOORIAD, CHALAPURAM,
7 December 1944

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

A terrible food crisis has gripped our people. Our industrial and agricultural production also faces a crisis. Life has become impossible for the workers since they are not paid adequate wages and war allowance. Hoarding and the thirst for profiteering have begun to worm out [*sic*] lives from our people.

To overcome this crisis, the establishment of a national government is indispensable. This conference expresses its sorrow over the failure of the talks between Gandhiji and Jinnah Sahib who most earnestly strived [*sic*] to unite the two national organisations of our country to win freedom and save the country and the people. This conference most earnestly requests Gandhiji and Jinnah Sahib to meet again and come to an agreement on the basis of the unconditional and unambiguous recognition of the right to self-determination of all nationalities and on the basis of the immediate establishment of a national government.

To realise this national demand, the meeting requests the Government to release Jawaharlal Nehru, Azad and other national leaders. The meeting also requests Gandhiji and Jinnah Sahib to give lead to their respective organisations, Congress and League, to unitedly campaign for the release of the national leaders.

What is given above is the resolution passed at the conference of the handsaw workers, Mooriad, held at Mankav on 28.11.44 under the presidentship of Comrade H. Manchunath Rao, B. A. I most humbly request you to seriously consider the matter and take the initiative to unite the Congress and the League to save our country and our countrymen.

Wishing you good health and long life,

Your most obedient servant,
M. K. KRISHNAN
Secretary,
Handsaw Workers Union

II. 83

Abdul Hamid Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/40

GAUHATI,
11 December 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Hope and pray to *Allah* that you are doing well in all respects. I am glad to learn that the all-India sessions [are] going to be held at Lahore. Here in Assam, work of the Muslim League is progressing satisfactorily by the grace of *Allah*.

But it is [a matter] of great regret that the problem of landless Muslims has taken a serious turn recently due to the antagonistic attitude of Hon'ble Sir Syed Mohammad Saadullah in the matter. The Congressites have been making all possible efforts to stop Pakistan by all means. The recent policy laid down by the Saadullah Govt. will evict all landless people immediately. The figures so long furnished by the Assam Govt. to the Central Govt. are all bogus and baseless as no land has yet been settled with the landless. All these are being sided by Sir Saadullah [*sic*]. The more strange and regrettable matter is that Sir Saadullah did not exercise his vote in favour of any candidate in the last by-election of the Central Assembly though he was present at the polling station.

Moreover, there is ample evidence that he has antagonised the League nominee in this election.

I am working sincerely and hope and crave for your good wishes for our success.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL HAMID KHAN
President,
Assam Provincial Muslim League

II. 84

Adamjee Hajee Dawood to M.A.Jinnah

QAD (53)

STEPHEN HOUSE,
5 DALHOUSIE SQUARE,
CALCUTTA,
13 December 1944

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 5th instant,[1] and thank you for it.

I had in my previous letter[2] explained to you the position and the reason why I was reluctant to accept the presidentship of the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce, yet as you have once again asked me to take up the presidentship, I accept it with pleasure.

I am obliged to you for your good wishes for the health of myself and my son.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ADAMJEE HAJEE DAWOOD

[1]Appendix II. 81.

[2]Appendix II. 80.

II. 85

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind, IV/1

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
16 December 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Just what I anticipated has happened. I was all along concerned with the League putting up a strong candidate for the Sukkur by-election, a candidate sufficiently strong to measure swords with the non-League candidate. My friends and I were all convinced that Ghulam Nabi Pathan was not sufficiently strong to put up a fight against the non-League opponent, whereas my son would have

the fullest support from all influential people in this constituency, and would be able to give a good fight to his opponent. It was mainly for the sake of the League itself, therefore, that we were all supporting my son. But this advice of ours did not prevail, and the other party insisted on putting up Ghulam Nabi Pathan, though he had [a] very small chance of success against his powerful non-League opponent. Now the other side has grown wiser, and have realised that Ghulam Nabi Pathan has very little chance of success. They therefore made Ghulam Nabi Pathan withdraw, and offered the contest for the seat to my son. But my son replied that, as he was turned down by the Central Parliamentary Board, he would loyally abide by the decision of the Board.

They have now offered the contest to Khan Bahadur Nizamdin Agha, who is a powerful and influential zamindar in this constituency and much stronger than Ghulam Nabi Pathan, and who is well able to put up a good fight against the non-League candidate, and have [*sic*] a very good chance of success.

We are now going to support Khan Bahadur Nizamdin Agha as fully as we can. God willing, we will be successful.

Kindly issue some statement calling upon all the League people to support Khan Bahadur Nizamdin Agha as the League candidate.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

II. 86

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/62

MANDU HOUSE,
ALIGARH,
21 December 1944

Dear revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I approach you with the following few facts about the provincial League politics, hoping to receive the attention they deserve.

At the very outset I may say that it is no pleasant task for me to bring to your notice [the] ugliness of the happenings of the recent past and that of the situation at present. But the bitter necessity of circumstances is compelling me to place the true picture before you,

however ugly it [may] be, with the sole motive of doing my bit for the real furtherance of the League cause.

As you would be knowing through the press reports, that [*sic*] of late the clique, which had managed to keep power monopolised in their own men guided by the sole interest of their personal leadership, stands faced with the challenge of the politically conscious Muslim masses who want to see things done according to truly Islamic democratic lines.

At first they opposed the very idea of conducting municipal elections under League supervision, for in that way they feared to be brought face to face with masses whose contact they want to avoid in the interest of their leadership. Later when the majority of the Council decided against them they created a huge fuss on the technical issue of the presidential controversy [*sic*]. In the next meeting of the Council they got the Parliamentary Board remodelled despite the constitu tional bar and the majority conceded to them solely to maintain amity and cohesion amongst the ranks of the organisation. The Muslim public expected and rightly too that when once a decision is taken by complete unanimity all those entrusted with responsibility would discharge their duties honestly and that leaders would be most enthusiastic and active when organisation demanded of them to be in the field of action. But every Musalman wondered at their obstructionist tactics and the lethargic attitude which brought for [*sic*] them nothing but the resentment of the public. Unfortunately nothing has succeeded to awaken [*sic*] them to the realities of the situation as has been boldly brought into relief by the recent decision of the Working Committee by which, under a most unconstitutional procedure, the Parliamentary Board has been wound up for all practical purposes and new Control Board has been set up despite the cogent reasoning of the minority who fought tooth and nail to the last to uphold the prestige of [the] Council which is the sole authoritative body to take such steps.

This is about what has happened so far. Now the election time of the Primary Leagues is approaching near and the office is adopting every dilatory tactic to discourage the enthusiastic workers who want to carry the League programme to every nook and corner. This is being done under a set plan to oust those from League who do not profess loyalty to the League officialdom and inner clique. League workers from different parts of the province are demanding membership copies [*sic* for forms] but the office is making every effort to time-bar their demand. A very serious situation is being created and if prompt steps are not taken, these tactics will result in something most undesirable and untoward for [the] organisation. Nawab Ismail Khan has been

approached many a time, yet it remains a cry in the wilderness.

Another important question is the selection of election officers. Nawab Sahib has been told about the seriousness of this question and on his initiative a list has been submitted of prominent neutral Leaguers to conduct elections in important cities so that none may have a chance to complain. Let us see what comes out [*sic*] of it. The step taken by the Working Committee is very harmful to the cause of Muslim League and the solidarity of the Muslim nation.

The real interest of the League demands that the workers should have every facility to do the work of enrolling members and honest election officers should be selected so that the Muslim public may be able to exercise its true verdict.

I hope that you will kindly see it done and compel the group at [*sic*] power to refrain from such tactics as may endanger the League's cause.

Yours brotherly,
[UNSIGNED]

II. 87

Syed Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (54)

NEPEON HOUSE, NEPEON ROAD,
BOMBAY,
26 December 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am still very ill and suffer from disabilities which have made me unfit to take part or interest in any affairs. My physical pain, though intense, pales before my mental agony which arises from the fact that I am leading a useless and inactive life. Death is far preferable to this miserable existence, but I am helpless. I can kill neither myself nor the disease. I have not improved since you saw me last, about two months ago, but my physicians continue to give assurances that I would get well.

In spite of my sufferings I desire to express my views on a question which is not only uppermost in your mind and in the minds of many others but is one in which you are more deeply absorbed than any individual or group in the country. It has caused you infinitely greater anxiety, embarrassment and annoyance than to any one else.

There are two prayers which I often offer. First, that you may live to be, at least, a centenarian in good health and, secondly, that the chief aim of the Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League may be achieved in your lifetime. I, however, always ask, in common with many Muslims, the terrible question: what will happen when you have completed the span of your life, though by grace of God, it is sure to be a very long one?

It is very painful for me to say, and may be depressing and disgusting for you to hear, that I have come to believe that Pakistan is most unlikely to be attained under prevailing conditions in your time though you have brought it nearer the grasp. Nor is it at all certain that the Muslims, as they are or even in a little more advanced state of unity, solidarity and resourcefulness, will be able to take advantage of the new status and exercise their sovereignty with wisdom and sacrifice unless their leaders are different from what they are now or unless another Jinnah is born, which happy and fortunate event is not likely to take place for, at least, fifty years to come. Some Muslims will be coaxed, some will be coerced, to accept the domination of the Hindus or the British or both, and some will surrender their independence and good sense to serve their selfish ends. The degeneracy of the Muslims will, I fear, be quickened by the demoralising effect of the present form of democracy. Self-seekers will be prominent and will indulge in power politics even at the ruinous cost of their community. Worst kind of partnership [*sic*], personal jealousy and internal conflicts will arise and there will be general disintegration in the nation. I rejoice at the solidarity and public spirit of the Muslims which fortunately are strong at present but they are not strong enough to overcome or prevent the evils that will surround and suffocate them in your absence. There will always be, in future, as there are now, some very able, sincere and selfless Muslims either as leaders or followers but they will be swamped and swept off as they will neither have influential press, nor adequate funds, nor sufficient number of workers devoted to the cause. If we become much better organised and permanently united on a principle and [are] prepared to work harder and make greater sacrifice, things would be different, but the prospect of this consummation in the near future seems to be poor. You may perhaps say that I have drawn a very gloomy picture of the Muslims and have become a victim of pessimism. It is true that I am a pessimist but I am so as regards the present and the near future. I am an optimist about their position in the long run. They are destined to be a leading nation.

I, therefore, suggest a course which seems worthy of your consideration in order that the Muslims may immediately get the benefit of your labour, foresight and statesmanship before they begin to slip down the comparative peak on which you have placed them and lose the fruits of the efforts and sacrifices they have made under your guidance and inspiration. My suggestion, if it could be given effect, will, I think, add considerably to their strength and opportunities to advance the interest of the Muslims and serve the country generally without abandoning their ultimate goal of absolute independence in the form of Pakistan or in any other shape. I suggest the exploration of the following possibilities:

i. To form coalition governments both in the provinces and at the centre between the League and the Congress, provided [that], in the Central Government, equality in the number of Members between the Muslims and the Hindus is secured after allotting a certain percentage of representation to Sikhs, Christians and Parsis.
ii. People of the Scheduled-Castes should be considered and counted as Hindus. They are in fact so and are claimed and recognised as such by the Caste-Hindus and the Congress.
iii. The first Ministry at the Centre should have a Hindu as the Prime Minister with equal number of Hindu and Muslim Ministers for three years. The second Ministry for a similar period should be formed with a Muslim Prime Minister and equal number of Hindus and Muslims in the cabinet. That the League and the Congress Government at the Centre should remain in power for the first and the second period stated above, during which no motion of no-confidence should be moved or, if moved and passed, be made effective.
iv. That this arrangement of joint centre and coalition government will last for six years in all, after which the Muslims and the Hindus will have the option to review the situation and either continue this six years pact or make another settlement or separate by[*sic*] Muslims, having Pakistan established on the terms to be determined now.
v. As soon as the settlement on the line indicated above is made, the League and the Congress unitedly will demand the release of political prisoners except those who have been found guilty of heinous crime.
vi. The League and the Congress will also demand and, if given, accept the dominion status for India with powers of secession

from Britain.

vii. Pending the grant of dominion status, which should be established after the War is over, as soon as possible, the League and the Congress should frame a constitution for the whole of British India and also for Pakistan and Hindustan in case the separation is decided upon by the Muslims or the Hindus. The constitution should include the terms of the treaty which will have to be made with the British and also perhaps with the Indian States in view of the needs of defence, trade and commerce and the international situation. Provision will have to be made to safeguard legitimate interests of the British for such period as may be considered fair and practicable.

viii. A settlement on the lines I have suggested, may not be envisaged with great hopes, but it is possible that the Congress may realise its folly and unfairness and some of its obstinate and most influential leaders may be persuaded in their own interest to meet the just demands of the Muslims, and the British also may give proof of their good intention to welcome a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims and readily declare the independence of India in the form of a dominion regarding which they have pledged themselves repeatedly.

ix. To make the pact acceptable to the British, they will have to be assured that full and real help will be given to war efforts by Coalition Government.

Neither you nor I would ever have supported the scheme and demand of Pakistan if there was an alternative better than, or, as good as, partition calculated to ensure peace, progress and freedom of all communities and advantage to whole of India. But not only the vast bulk of politically-minded Hindus and their entire press have become victims of prejudice or *Ram raj* hallucination and have allowed themselves to be swept off their feet by waves of false sentimentalism but even the British or the Government of India and Anglo-Indian press are either opposed to or lukewarm regarding the Muslim demand in spite of their knowledge and admission in respect of the havoc played by the Congress and genuineness and reasonableness of the Muslims' fear of permanent rule by a communal party.

Tragic truth is that right has often to surrender to might. The British would rather yield to Congress than to League, not because of the former's moral or soul force but because of its material strength, power and resources. Indian Government would, with impunity and

readiness, punish a Muslim political offender but would shrink from doing so in the case of a Hindu for similar offence. If the League had done what the Congress has been and is doing, the former would have been an anathema and a completely crushed body. The British seem to act up to the adage, though worn-out and morally unsupportable [*sic*], that one may steal a horse but the other may not even look over the gate.

One view may be that by seeking or making a compromise on some such terms as I have proposed, the ideal and incentive of the Muslims for organising, unifying and strengthening themselves to gain freedom will be virtually destroyed. The reply is that the goal will not be abandoned, and a temporary settlement at this stage will not only improve the position of the Muslims but will lead to and facilitate either the elimination of British and Hindu domination and create a new united India in which there will be equal opportunities and freedom to all classes of people for progress and prosperity with their fundamental civil and religious rights secured, or to the early establishment of Pakistan.

The difficulties of securing Pakistan, though it is good for all, are great at present but they will be much greater later not only by our own weakness and shortcomings but also by the acts and attitude of the British and the Hindus.

The British will do nothing under the existing circumstances. It is, however, feared, perhaps not without foundation, that they might yield to Congress in some form at the expense of the Muslims regardless of their claims and the great and remarkable contribution made by them to war efforts. But it is highly improbable that the British will do so. They will not make a settlement with only one party—either the Muslims or the Hindus—and give up their present happy and advantageous position. Nor are the British likely to antagonise and exasperate the Muslims by letting them down when the latter have given enormous help to the best of their power in preventing fresh enslavement of India by a new power and in saving the freedom of England which was seriously imperilled. They cannot ignore the fact that the Muslims have become a power to be reckoned with.

Without meaning the slightest disparagement to the Sapru Committee,[1] I do not think any practical and acceptable solution of the problems that confront us will emerge from it. The League alone, with the wisdom, sobriety and fairness of its greatest leader—yourself, can produce a practical solution—temporary or permanent—

of India's political problem.

I need not apologise for troubling you with this long letter written in [the] public interest under [*sic* for in] the belief and knowledge that you welcome suggestions from an old co-worker and friend.

I was intending to leave for Patna by the end of this month but the nature of my complaint necessitates avoidence of intense cold weather which will be prevailing in Patna till the end of January. I shall, therefore, arrive there in the first or second week of February.

I am shifting from here to a friend's house on 30th December and will remain there for a few weeks. I shall send you my new address later.

I hope you are quite fit.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL AZIZ

[1]It was set up by Tej Bahadur Sapru "to examine the whole communal and minorities question from a constitutional and political point of view, putting itself in touch with different parties and their leaders including minorities interested in the question, and present a solution within two months to Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference". See No. 103, *TP*, V, 211-2.

II. 88

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/29

ICHHRA, LAHORE,
26 January 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

I must congratulate you on your Ahmedabad press statement to the effect that you are ready to meet Mahatma Gandhi again. The courage with which you initiated the move has created fresh hopes and I hope the attempt at solution this time will be from an entirely different angle and that you will mean business and business alone on this occasion.

I have today written a fresh strong letter to Mahatma Gandhi, of which I send you a copy.[1] I have every reason to believe that the Mahatma will respond to my request to him to send you a fresh invitation, but as you are the initiator this time you must have sent your press statement to him by now; if not, please send it to him now.

As regards other matters, I have sufficiently explained them in my letter to the Mahatma, and I hope I shall not be accused of having done anything behind the back of either of you, or hidden anything from one which I said to the other. You may rest assured that I have no sinister motives and that the only thing I wish is that you two come to a settlement.

I request that this settlement be [reached] by the end of February. I have already told you and Mahatma Gandhi that I am ready to take you in full confidence concerning the constitution that the Khaksar organisation is preparing, if you so desire.

I am also sending you a copy of my recent statement[2] concerning Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1&2]See *SHC*, APMO/30. Not printed.

II. 89

Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (55)

CAMP DELHI,
29 January 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Provincial [Muslim] League has been making efforts to raise funds for the provincial elections but I find that we have not succeeded in getting as much as we expected and the realisation is rather slow. We are badly in need of funds to meet our immediate requirements and I shall be grateful if you will kindly assist us with some contribution from the Central Election Fund. I may, however, assure you that our efforts to raise more funds will continue.

Yours sincerely,
HOSSAIN IMAM
President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League

II. 90

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Abdul Aziz

QAD (56)

BOMBAY,
1 February 1945

My dear Abdul Aziz,

I am in receipt of your letter of January 23rd,[1] enclosing a copy of the correspondence[2] that has passed between you and Dr. Syed Mahmud, and I have also received your letter of January 31st[3] reminding me that you are waiting for a reply. I was not able to attend to the matter, as I have not been well, but I am glad to say that I am now much better.

I regret that you should have adopted this course without giving me any previous information about it. While I do not for a single moment doubt your good intentions, I gather that you have been misled by Mrs. Naidu, and had you been in close touch with the policy of the All India Muslim League, I am sure you would not have followed the course, which is opposed to our declared policy, that we cannot have anything to do with any Congressite Muslim who is in the opponents' camp and has done his very worst and is still doing it against our cause. We consider these people, without mincing words, as traitors. I have made my position repeatedly clear that I cannot open negotiations with any one except an authorised, accredited Hindu leader of the Congress. I am really surprised when you ask if there is any foundation for the rumour regarding Liaquat Ali-Desai negotiations. Evidently you have not read Nawabzada Liaquat Ali's denial and the statement[4] that was issued by me a few days ago, which is probably due to the fact that you do not read newspapers regularly, as you told me the other day. Please do not misunderstand me, but I can quite understand your state of mind, as you have now for a long time been stricken by this ailment of yours and almost bedridden, and I am afraid you have not been able to keep in touch with the developments that have taken place and are taking place.

Thanking you for your kind enquiries about my health,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1&3]Not traceable.
[2]See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, New Delhi, 1981, 8-14.
[4]Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1996, 1984-5.

II. 91

Mohammad Jamil to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (57)

MIRPUR KHAS,
10 February 1945

Sir,

In Sind, under the present Ministry, bribery has reached its highest pitch. Heavy war funds and war loans are being charged forcibly by threatening, harassing, terrifying and abusing the poor illiterate people. Nobody is going to hear the high-handedness of the officers.

G. M. Sayed is right to oppose the present Ministry. This is a fact. Muslim League is becoming unpopular on account of these troubles [*sic*]. It is doing great harm to the Muslim cause.

Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD JAMIL
Doctor

II. 92

M. A. Jinnah to Fakhre Alam

SHC, Students I/53

BOMBAY,
16 February 1945

Dear Mr. Fakhre Alam,

I am in receipt of your letters of February Ist[1] and 6th.[2] I have not been able to reply to you, as I was not sure when I would be able to get to Delhi, as I have not been keeping well, and now I fear, much to my sorrow, that I may not be able to get to Aligarh on the 1st of March. There is nothing to be alarmed about, but my doctor's instructions are that I must have complete rest for at least a fortnight. Hence it is very uncertain whether I shall be able to get to Aligarh on the 1st of March. My advice to you is: don't postpone your annual session but go ahead with it. I assure you that if I am fit I shall be with you, but otherwise my heart and spirit will be with you and you carry my very best wishes for all success. You don't know how

much I regret this, but it is beyond my power now.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Fakhre Alam, Esq.,
General Secretary,
All India Muslim Students' Federation,
Aligarh

[1]Fakhre Alam had requested confirmation of Jinnah's visit to Aligarh on the 1st of March. See *SHC*, Students I/51. Not printed.
[2]A reminder to the earlier letter to Jinnah. See *SHC*, Students I/52. Not printed.

II. 93

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind V/39

ALAVI MANZIL,
5 March 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

The enclosed analysis of the voting in the Sind Assembly may interest you.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

Enclosure to Appendix II. 93

SHC, Sind V/40

VOTING ANALYSIS

60 members of the Sind Legislative Assembly

16 members were absent as under:

10 Congress members
1 Speaker
1 Khan Bahadur Khuhro
1 Gabol, the Chief Parliamentary Secretary and Ghulam Hussain's hitherto 'alter ego', who bolted
1 Col. Mahon, a European friend of Gabol who also left with him
2 League Members who remained out of station

25 [members] voted against the Government
19 [members] voted for the Government as under:
2 Europeans whose declared policy is to vote [for the] *status quo*
5 Hindus out of a total of 12
1 Ameen Khoso drawing a salary of Rs. 500 p.m. as Deputy Leader of the National War Front
11 League members aligned as under:
3 Ministers
3 Parliamentary Secretaries
3 Mirs: Husainbux, Bundehali and Allahdad
1 Jaffer Khan Burdi, a personal friend of Khuhro now estranged owing to inclusion of Moula Bakhsh in the cabinet
1 Shamsuddin Barakzai, the one and only supporter of Sir Ghulam Hussain

11 League supporters of Government out of a total membership of 28

II. 94

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/79

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
8 March 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have a bit of bad news to give you. It concerns the *Dawn*. The *Free Press Journal* of Bombay in its issue of Wednesday, the 28th [of] February (first dak issue), displays in bold type on page 3 the fact that the *Dawn* has pirated verbatim, in its issue of 19.2.[19]45, the leading article of the *Times of India,* Bombay, of 12.2.[19]45. The subject was *War in Europe*. In journalism, as you know, pirating is never done. It is no excuse for the *Dawn* to say in defence that Pothan Joseph[1] was away, and being stuck for an editorial they committed the offence.

I am drawing the attention of Nawabzada to the above and I hope the *Times of India* will overlook this breach of journalistic etiquette

and propriety on the part of the *Dawn*.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Editor of the *Dawn*, Delhi.

II. 95

M.A. Jinnah to Khan of Kalat

QAD (58)

BOMBAY,
14 April 1945

Your Highness,

I have not written to you for a long time, but I have always made enquiries, and I was glad to hear that you were keeping well and happy. The reason why I am troubling you with this letter is that, as you perhaps know, I had a very bad breakdown recently. Although I am much better now, I am strictly ordered by my doctors to have complete rest for at least two-to-three months. According to their advice, I am going to a small hill station near Bombay within a couple of days, and I shall stay there till about the first week of June, but I am strongly advised that I should not stay in Bombay during the monsoon. But there is no place in this Presidency where one can go and stay and avoid the effects of the monsoon, as you know it rains very heavily on this side, and I have been urged by my doctors that I must get to some temperate and dry climate, and they all unanimously recommend Quetta as the best place in June, July and August. I am, therefore, wondering whether you can conveniently put your house at Quetta at my disposal for about a couple of months. Also I know you were very kind when I happened to be in Kalat for a few days, and that you repeatedly pressed me and offered your hospitality to come and stay in Kalat. I was charmed with your camp and I fell in love with that beautiful little cottage, and while I am perhaps at Quetta to have complete rest, because after all Quetta is a very big town. I shall be glad to avail myself of your hospitality, which you so cordially offered to me, and spend some time in Kalat, which can be arranged if I get as far as Quetta. On hearing from you I shall decide finally and definitely [and] let you know when I

can get there. Of course, I do not wish you to put yourself to any inconvenience, it is only if you can, without any difficulty manage, then I shall be thankful to you. More when we meet.

I may add that Miss Jinnah will accompany me and at least one Secretary.

With very kind regards to you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

II. 96

Ali Ikarkar Hadjar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 476/4-5

PUTTALAM,
22 April 1945

Muslims of Puttalam Ceylon assembled at mass meeting 21st April. Resolved ardently support national aspiration of our Muslim brothers of India for separate homeland Pakistan and place complete confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and assure our assistance and help in the struggle for the attainment of Pakistan. Urge British Cabinet Mission to honour world Muslim feelings in the hour of trial and win the support and sympathy of the Muslim world to reconstruct Britain's economic life and political prestige.

ALI IKARKAR HADJAR
Secretary, Puttalam Muslim Mass Meeting

II. 97

Khan of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (60)

KALAT,
22 April 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 14th instant.[1] I am so sorry to hear of your ill health and pray to God Almighty for your speedy recovery.

It is so unfortunate for the Muslims of India that at such a critical moment, when your personal active guidance should have been of so great a value, sudden breakdown in your health compelled you to retire from active life for some months; but believe me, our sincere prayers are with you and, *Insha Allah,* it will not be long when they [Muslims] will see their cherished leader back amongst them.

I may say that in suggesting Baluchistan for rest, your doctors have suggested the most ideal place and if you take advantage of their advice, I am confident that, by the grace of God, you will return from Baluchistan with a perfect health. The healthiest season of Baluchistan has started and I strongly suggest that you should give up the idea of spending the month of May in Bombay Presidency hills and, if possible, should come straight away to Baluchistan in the first or second week of May. Arrangements may be made at three places, that is Quetta, Mastung and Kalat; but for reasons of health, I would suggest Mastung as the best. The cottage there is quite spacious to accommodate the whole party comfortably and has a garden attached to it. Even if one wants to go to Quetta it is hardly forty-five minutes' run. You have already seen the cottage at Kalat which I am glad to know you like. Whenever you wanted a change, it is only less than two hours' run from Mastung to Kalat. While in Kalat you may also like to spend a few nights at a much lonelier place in Harboi hills, which being 9,300 feet above sea level, has much better climate in the hot months of June, July and August.

Since you will be mostly on diet, I would like you to bring your own cook. All other arrangements may please be left to me.

I will now be looking forward anxiously to hear[ing] from you about the date of your arrival, so that arrangements may be made accordingly.

With all my prayers for your health and best wishes to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

[1]Appendix II. 95.

II. 98

Shaukat Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (61)

BANDRA,
BOMBAY,
29 April 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing to wish you all the best luck in the forthcoming parleys.[1] We know that our case is in the best possible hands and need only assure you that everyone of us will be prepared to lay [down] his life on a mere signal from you.

There is only one point I would like to place before you [which is] that, if we are forced to accept a joint board for defence, we must insist on having separate class units. I mean pure Muslim regiments and air force squadrons etc. The present system of two to one in all units is only a British invention; from the utility point of view, homogeneous units are going to be far more effective. Again, general administration will be much easier.

I am here these days, in pursuance of your advice, looking for business. I have not had much luck so far but I am certain that I shall overcome all the hurdles. I shall be leaving for Delhi on Thursday *en route* to Lahore. I will try to look you up if you are not overbusy.

Please call on me if I can be of any service.

With respects,

Yours,
SHAUKAT HYAT KHAN

[1]Refers to the Simla Conference held in June 1945 to discuss reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council with Indian leaders.

II. 99

M. A. Jinnah to Adamjee Hajee Dawood

QAD (62)

MATHERAN,
2 May 1945

Dear Sir Adamjee,

Many thanks for your telegram[1] informing me that the general meeting of the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce was very successful and I also read the summary of the account in the press. So far so good, and I congratulate you on at last launching the Federation. But, what we want now is deeds and not words, and it is up to you and other leaders of the Muslim commercial and industrial India to make up the leeway, as Muslims are left far behind, and play your part worthy of our past and secure our due place and share to which we are entitled in this sub-continent.

I hope you are quite well and will earnestly and seriously devote yourself now to the progress and welfare of this Federation.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood,
Stephen House,
5 Dalhousie Square,
Calcutta

[1]Not traceable.

II. 100

Y. E. Moledina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 771/14

MOLEDINA HOUSE,
144 SAMUEL STREET,
BOMBAY 9,
10 May 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Matrubhoomi, a Gujarati daily, has been, for the last few days, giving

publicity to correspondence supposed to have passed between you and Mr. Amery.[1] Uptill now, I have come across three letters—beginning with yours from Srinagar dated 24th July 1944,[2] Amery's reply of 20th August,[3] and your letter of 7th September.[4] I am sending you under separate cover copies of the issues I could get hold of.

I do not know if the letters are true reproduction of the original correspondence. But if it is so, it is a serious matter to consider as to how such a thing could at all leak out. This particular incident may not have any serious repercussion; nevertheless such a thing if allowed to remain uninvestigated may prove, in future, detrimental to our cause.

I could not leave Bombay as previously arranged, due to some discontent and dissatisfaction among the candidates and League workers of Bandra and Kurla, resulting from the decision of the Parliamentary Board; necessitating my presence in Bombay. Things, however, have since considerably improved. But, to be frank, I am not satisfied with the way selections are being made.

I have in this respect, drafted rules for the guidance of the Parliamentary Board for its efficient working, and to ensure selection of right sort of candidates, to contest elections on Muslim League ticket. The draft rules will be placed before the next meeting of the Working Committee for approval.

As for other constructive work, some of the various committees appointed have been doing valuable work, while others require a bit of shaking up.

Yours sincerely,
Y. E. MOLEDINA

[1]L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in Churchill's War Cabinet (1940-45).
[2 to 4]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 86-7.

II. 101

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/87

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
11 May 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,
I thank you for your letter of the 6th instant.[1]

All the news agency representatives were collected by Sri Kishen at the Imperial Hotel and copies of the President's speech, resolutions and proceedings of the meeting, were given to them. If the Hindu agencies and press, as is their habit, blackout Muslim activities, what can we do? These are the difficulties that our nation has to face all along the line.

With regard to the renting of a suitable place for the Federation, we have done our best and are still faithfully at it. I have applied to everyone known to me, big and small, to help us. Nawabzada was requested three times. When I approached him again yesterday he swore that he had tried his best and had failed. I am at Nurur Rahman's twice a week. He is hopeful of getting a place this summer. Such hopes were given before, only to remain unfulfilled.

I have made a mistake in the name of the Gujarati newspaper referred to in my letter[2] of yesterday. It should read *Matrubhumi*.

The Council [Committee] of Action are leaving for Assam tomorrow afternoon.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 466, Vol. XI, 517.
[2]No. 469, ibid., 520.

II. 102

M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Hasan

SHC, P & P I/113

MATHERAN,
19 May 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 11th May 1945,[1] and I regret very much that it is not possible for me to undertake to examine all the articles that you propose to write, nor can I undertake their publication. In the first instance, you know I have not been well and I am ordered to have complete rest and even otherwise, I have got to handle much bigger issues than the examination of articles written by some individual and forward them to newspapers for publication. This is a kind of work which should be done by the Secretary of the All

India Muslim League or the Committee of Action. It is high time that I am left to handle the more important and bigger issues which face us. You may, therefore, contact the Secretary of the All India Muslim League who is also the Convener of the Committee of Action, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, or the Chairman, Nawab Ismail Khan.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Ahmad Hasan,
Nawabpura,
Moradabad (U.P.)

[1]Ahmad Hasan had sought Jinnah's permission to send him some articles for examining and getting them published in newspapers. See *SHC*, P & P I/112. Not printed.

II. 103

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (63)

8 ZAKAULLA ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
6 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was much pleased to read in the *Hindustan Times* that by the grace of God you have gained 19 pounds in weight and that you are speedily recovering your health at Matheran. I share with numerous other Muslims, the earnest desire that you should stay at Matheran till you have fully recovered.

We at Aligarh feel that a new effort will soon be made to side-track the Pakistan issue but we are quite sure to give a most suitable reception to such an effort. All those who are here are anxiously awaiting [the] developments in New Delhi. These developments will no doubt be important but they must not reduce the period of your stay at Matheran. Your health is more dear to every Musalman.

May God grant you speedy recovery and may God spare you for long to guide our destinies to the path of ever-increasing progress.

With sincerest regards,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

II. 104

M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (64)

MUSTAFA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
9 June 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Very many thanks for your kind letter and good wishes for my speedy recovery. I am glad to say I am feeling ever so much better now. This rest has done me a lot of good. I am also happy to know that you are recuperating fast and regaining your strength. I expect you will stay in Matheran till the middle of the month. Where do you go next? Quetta or Daulatabad? I am having the accounts prepared in accordance with your instructions. It was fortunate that Syed Zakir Ali happened to be staying here when your letter arrived. I have told him to get these accounts made up in the same manner as he used to do when he was in charge of the Defence Committee accounts. He will have the statement prepared in his presence and leave instructions with Shamsul Hasan for future.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. ISMAIL KHAN

II. 105

Nabi Buksh Mohammad Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/99-1

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

26 BARAKHAMBA ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
1 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Every Muslim is and ought to be proud of your stand for the cause of Muslims.

The result of the recent Simla talks comes to this, as I understand from the press reports that in the absence of any agreement between the major parties, the Viceroy will make his own selection from the

names submitted.

Bertrand Russel has opined on this in these words: "I think it would give a bad impression if they cannot settle the matter between themselves. If they have to rely on Lord Wavell's decision, then it is regrettable."

This is my humble opinion and of several others too. Of course, the Congress claim to have a Congress Muslim included in the quota of Muslim Executive Councillors is absurd. This will give them preponderance over the League. Further, the Congress cannot claim communal representation within its own fold for a small handful of Congress Muslims. But it is feared that Lord Wavell may placate the Congress by selecting one Congress Muslim nominee. This will produce dissatisfaction. My humble suggestion is that you should modify your claim of having all the Muslim nominees from the League alone. While rejecting the claim of Congress Muslims or Jami'at or Ahrar or Azad Conference Muslims, who are in substance Congressmen, you should agree to have some independent Muslims. If Hindus are allotted five Councillors, Congress may nominate three Congress Hindus and two other Hindus outside the Congress. Similarly if the League is allotted five seats, three should be League Muslims and two independents (not Congressmen, Jami'at or Azad men). If you are agreeable to such a formula and if I am permitted, I may bring Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to meet you and to meet the Congress to bring about an understanding on these lines. This suggestion of mine has not been prompted by anyone. I have talked about it to no one. As the time is short, in case of your approval, kindly send me a telegram[1] so that I may run up to see Sapru. I shall see him on my own without mentioning my communication with you. This proposal has this advantage that there will be parity between the League and Congress and moreover the two independent Muslims will have greater sympathy with and give more cooperation to their League colleagues than to any other community.

Kindly excuse this impudence in addressing a high personage of your position but I sincerely feel that I should do my duty in expressing my humble views, which even if not accepted, should not be regarded as motivated by any malevolence.

With all best wishes and sincere respects,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

NABI BUKSH MOHAMMAD HUSAIN

[1]Jinnah thanked him and drew his attention to his statement of 29 June 1945. See F. 879/102, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 106

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/12

TOOFAN EXPRESS,
EN ROUTE TO CALCUTTA,
2 July 1945

My dear Sir,

As I travel back to Calcutta one or two ideas [have] occurred to me which I venture to pass on to you for what they are worth.

If Congress sticks to its position that the League cannot be allowed to nominate the full Muslim quota because there are Muslims outside the League, why not let the issue be decided by a convention of all the Muslim members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures? Such a demand should be irrefutable because the Wavell Plan gives a parity of seats to Muslims as such and Muslims alone should have the right to (1) decide how these are to be filled, and (2) who should fill them. If the League's claim to settle these questions as the only representative body of Muslims is contested, who can contest the right of the elected representatives of the Muslims, for whom a quota is earmarked in the Executive Council, to speak with authority on these issues?

As to the method of holding such a convention, if it is difficult to call together six hundred people in one place, each province can call together the provincial legislators at the provincial headquarters and their opinions on given questions recorded. Thereafter, all the votes can be sent to the Viceroy who would collate the result and find out for which point of view or for which men the majority of the whole body of legislators taken as one has voted.

The questions at issue are all-India ones and therefore the vote-count must be on an all-India basis and not province by province.

As regards the questions to be referred to such a vote, these may be either:

a. should the Muslim League alone nominate personnel to the Executive Council,

or

b. which particular individuals out of a list composed of names submitted by Congress, Muslim League, etc., should be included in the Executive Council.

The first seems much more preferable, because such a convention would be in the nature of a plebiscite and only principles are decided by a plebiscite and it is not a means of choosing personnel. In either case, however, we should win.

One other alternative seems to be to hold general elections and then meet again to discuss the Plan in the light of the verdict given by the electorates, particularly Muslim electorates. The Congress can put up its own candidates for the Muslim seats, as it claims to represent Muslims also, and their fate would effectively answer the question whether this claim should be entertained.

Whichever of the above alternatives are accepted, the Conference would have to adjourn *sine die*. They may say it would involve delay, but impatient haste in deciding such vital matters affecting the future of a people like the Muslims would be criminal.

The above suggestions are only for consideration in the event of present talks on other lines and other bases failing. Whoever rejects such a plan to settle matters at issue by a broad-based referendum would put himself immediately in the wrong.

Forgive me for this long infliction, but I thought there might be something in these ideas which had occurred to me.

With my very best regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHAHEED

II. 107

A. Salaam Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/32

FARIDPUR,
2 July 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May I respectfully place the following point for your consideration in the matter of selection of Muslim nominees to Viceroy's Executive Council.

The right of the Musalmans to election by separate electorate has been definitely recognised by the Congress as well as the British Govt. The Congress proposal to have the Executive Council selected by the whole Conference is untenable. I would suggest that the Muslim members of the Executive Council should be selected by the Muslim

members only, of the Conference where the proportion is 6 to 3 in favour of the Muslim League.

I may add that had the Executive Council been an elected body, Muslim members would have been elected by the Musalmans alone on separate electorate basis. Why deny that right now? The Viceroy wants popular representatives reflecting the will of different nations of India. Moulana Azad may say that it is not an election. But who can deny that representatives are being chosen. Let the Muslim members choose their five representatives.

I remain, with regards,

A. SALAAM KHAN
M.A., B.L.
Secretary,
Faridpur District Muslim League

II. 108

Sahib Sing Partab Sing to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/120

REGISTERED

KARACHI MUNICIPAL LIBRARY,
FRERE HALL,
KARACHI,
5 July 1945

Sir,

Let all seats reserved for minorities be filled by joint approval of the League and Congress, so that minority representatives do not lean towards Congress. This is complete acceptance of the principle of joint electorate.

Let League fill two seats of Caste Hindus, and Congress fill two seats of Muslims. This is partial acceptance of the principle of joint electorate.

Let League turn nationalistic like the Congress to win favour with minorities and the Hindus, to solve the problem of right relationship for prevention of domination by any party in the Government of India on principles of true democracy.

If League takes up the above stand, it will come out of the Conference in [*sic* for with] flying colours.

May God guide the League to safeguard the interests of Muslims zealously.

Yours truly,
SAHIB SING

II. 109

M. Hissamuddin Khan Ghori to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/60

SECUNDERABAD,
DECCAN,
6 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In connection with the anniversary of the late (*Hazrat Quaid-i-Millat*) Moulvi Mohammad Bahadur Khan Sahib,[1] I had proposed to collect a day's income from every Muslim so that the proceeds may be dedicated to Bahadur Khan Technical College. I am glad to say that the response is encouraging. *Begum Sahiba Quaid-i-Millat* has also kindly sent a day's income. This has created a great psychological effect on the Muslim masses. Moulvi Abul Hasam Syed Ali Sahib, President, Central Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen, has also approved of my scheme. I may inform you that we have launched a campaign to collect funds for this sacred cause and the results are hopeful.

We know full well how much you loved Bahadur Khan who was proud of you. In fact, he was your political disciple. He had once prayed, "O'God spare me not, if by sacrificing a few years of my life, I could lengthen the life of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the greatest servant of Muslim India." Lo! God has accepted his sincere offer.

Now, I approach you, Quaid-i-Azam, to enlist your support in this regard, as in every political matter we look up to you and to you alone. A word or two and a day's income from you in support of the

scheme are enough to promote the cause.

I shall be anxiously waiting for your kind reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. HISSAMUDDIN KHAN GHORI
President,
Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen,
Secunderabad

[1]Bahadur Yar Jung (1905-1944); leader of Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen of Hyderabad State; President, All India States Muslim League, 1940-1942; a gifted and consummate public speaker in chaste and flawless Urdu.

II. 110

Consul-General for Egypt to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (65)

CONSULATE OF EGYPT,
BOMBAY,
7 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope the present will find you in the best of health and happiness.

The Islamic countries have planned the erection of two mosques in London and Washington, respectively, and my Government is keen on ensuring a success of the project and has instructed me to call for, and accept, subscriptions from India for this noble purpose.

I have sent the call to the press, but I should appreciate your help as the leader of Muslim India, and I have no doubt that your willing co-operation will be of immense value.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Consul-General

II. 111

A. Rashid Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/120-23

11 E TELEGRAPH QUARTERS,
QAROL BAGH, NEW DELHI,
10 July 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I might be differing with certain aspects of the Muslim League; I might be differing [about] certain ways of doing a thing by the League; I might be differing from you, even, at [*sic*] certain points, but there is one thing at least, where I do not differ, and that is the ideal represented by you and the League. To be brief, Muslims have nothing in common with the Hindus and for the renaissance of Islam, Muslims are to chalk out their own way. For the Indian Muslims, the immediate goal should be Pakistan.

The purpose of this letter is different from that said [*sic* for stated] above. It is the present Conference at Simla and the role of the Muslim League.

As far [as] the press reports go, the claim of the Muslim League, to be the sole representative of the Muslims of India, stands between the Wavell Plan and its unanimous acceptance. I will differ from this theory of sole representation when Pakistan is achieved. But under the present circumstances I cannot but help to endorse the stand taken by the League.

Everybody in this country, a politician or a layman, genuinely desires a settlement. So, being a layman do I. I know during the next elections the League will emerge stronger. Till then everybody turns to the present composition of the Indian Legislature to verify the Muslim League's claim. One hundred and eighty legislators are out of the fold of Muslim League. Due to this face value of the Legislature, the Hindus, the so-called nationalist Muslims and foreign opinion as well, do not submit to the claim forwarded by the Muslim League.

If the matters go on like this, the Conference is doomed. I presume you do not wish so. Then some loophole must be found out. I can suggest one.

Do not relinquish the claim of sole representation, still you concede one or two seats to non-Leaguers on one condition admitted by the Congress, the Conference and Lord Wavell, that in case the Muslim League succeeds to capture [*sic*] 90% seats in the Provincial

and Central Legislatures in [the] next election, all the Muslim seats on the Executive Council be returned to Muslim League. The condition of election be adult franchise and not the present system useful to the Muslim League. Do not raise the question of adult franchise. Or the formation of proposed Executive Council be postponed till next elections. The date for the elections be fixed by the present Conference and also the date of the next meeting of the Conference.

If the Muslim League proves the claim of sole representation, nobody will question that. If the verdict of the vote is otherwise, then educate the masses and achieve Pakistan with the help of the Muslim parties in India.

You can very easily enlist the opinion and support of all the so-called nationalist Muslim parties in favour of Pakistan by simply inviting them to you, to attend the meetings of the Muslim League Working Committee and then educating them to get them out of the Hindu clutches. You go to them, discuss and quarrel with them in their den and convince them that Pakistan is the only way for the Indian Musalmans. Do not reserve this creed for the Muslim League only but also let others take it and strive for it. A little encouragement from your side will eliminate all the [*word illegible*] between you and them. You will succeed in the mission of Pakistan. You shall have more honest workers around you.

I had a grievance about the *Dawn*. It is not personal but for the good of the *Dawn* and Muslim League itself. Please issue necessary instructions not to nickname anybody of any standing in its columns. To give bad names even to idols have [*sic*] been prohibited in Islam.

When Nawabzada Liaquat was telling about the strength of [the] Legislature, he seems to have forgotten that only two Muslims are with the Congress in the Centre. Then why two seats to the Congress.

In case you find time to acknowledge this letter, I may further be encouraged to correspond with you.

Yours sincerely,
A. RASHID SHAIKH

II. 112

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (66)

PALACE HOTEL,
ABBOTTABAD,
18 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I came up here in connection with a professional consultation and [am] leaving tomorrow. I spent altogether six days and had talks with local [Muslim] League workers.

It appears to me that your presence in the NWF Province for a week or so at your convenience, say in September or October, is absolutely essential. Frontier Muslims are fully awake to the need of the times and believe in your message as the only right direction for them. Unfortunately the local [Muslim] League leaders enjoy very little confidence and respect.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan is the most unpopular and [*word illegible*] man, and it is true that Frontier Muslims be heard by you. Qazi Isa and other friends, who have come on behalf of the League high command, are believed to be backing a wrong horse, viz. S. Aurangzeb Khan. It is only loyalty to you which keeps them quiet, otherwise they would break out against your representatives. As League resolutely now pervades the Frontier, first-hand information gleaned by yourself will alone help you in strengthening the selection. Just as you cleansed the Punjab Augean stables,[1] a similar cleansing is needed here. The Frontier has accepted your message most enthusiastically. The material is first-class. But they will not accept S Aurangzeb and Co., and I feel that they are right.

The representation of the Frontier in the Working Committee also needs changes. I will beg of you to come here personally and hear your people.

My deepest gratitude for the valiant fight you gave at Simla. You rightly put it when you said that it was Bertrand Glancy who is using Khizar as a tool. It was really Bertrand Glancy [who] was also responsible for the foolish stand that Khizar as the tool took. The next election will be the best vindication of your position.

We are holding a big meeting here today to support the stand you took.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI
MLA

[1]In Greek and Roman mythology, the filthy stables of King Augeas, who kept 3,000 oxen there and which remained uncleaned for thirty years, were cleaned in a day by Hercules by turning the Alpheus river through them.

II. 113

Mohammad Akrum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (67)

THE *AZAD*,
86-A LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
31 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As desired by you, I beg to submit the following names in connection with the Committee of Action for your consideration:

1. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan
2. Liaquat Ali Khan
3. Abdur Rab Nishtar
4. Shah Abdul Rauf
5. Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan
6. H. S. Suhrawardy
   or
   Hassan Ispahani
   or
   Khwaja Nazimuddin
7. Nawab Siddique Ali Khan

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD AKRUM KHAN
President, Bengal Provincial Muslim League

II. 114

M. Usman Patel & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/117-8

CARTER CROSS ROAD,
BANDRA, BOMBAY,
10 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the undersigned seven signatories—brothers and sisters—send you a contribution of Rs. 35, being the amount of our saving during this holy month of *Ramazan* towards the fund for elections being raised by your goodself. We are confident that you will accept this humble donation from us and oblige.

The fact is that we are the sons and the daughters of Zackeria Ismail Patel. Each of us gets Rs. 5 per month for pocket expenses. During this month of holy *Ramazan* we hardly require this money for we utilize all our time in fasting and prayers.

It therefore struck us that this collective saving should get to you to fight the election against the infidels who are challenging the right of Muslim League as a representative body of the Muslims and to blacken the faces of those Muslim *Kafirs* [*sic*] who call themselves nationalist Muslims and disrupt the Muslim unity and solidarity.

This election, we understand, is a question of life and death for the Muslims and once we succeed in securing our majority, we know that our goal of Pakistan is reached.

Though we are too young to take any part in politics but still we are constrained [*sic*] to do so for the present atmosphere is such that if we take no part therein we should have to go to rack and ruin. It is therefore an impetus to our parents who are found napping and who are really easy going—those who merely look on and show their inclination to enjoy the fruits of your hard labour without making any sacrifice.

We hope others will follow our footsteps. This will also serve as an eye opener [to those] in whom the spirit we have is wanting.

You are at liberty to make use of this letter, if desired in a manner that suits you.

Yours sincerely,
M. USMAN PATEL AND OTHERS

II. 115

Ashiq Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/162-3
[Original in Urdu]

BHOPAL,
18 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam of Indian Muslims,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am remitting rupees two which, although a negligible amount, will I hope, be accepted by you. This is a part of the savings of my pocket money as I also subscribe to the newspaper, *Manshoor*, from it. The use of this small amount by the Muslim League will strengthen my determination. Only Muslim League is capable of uniting the Muslims of India who would not accept the change of masters only.

Please pray that God may enable me to sacrifice all I have and also my life for the good of the Indian Muslims.

ASHIQ HUSSAIN
Student of sixth class
Rashidia School

II. 116

M. A. Jinnah to Gora Ahmed E. Dawoodjee

SHC, OM II/71

23 August 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 21st[1] and thank you for it. I regret I cannot directly or indirectly authorise anybody to collect funds on my behalf or as my agent, but there is nothing to prevent your guiding the people to send such donations as they may be willing to give direct to me, and it is very easy to do so by money orders, postal orders, cheques, drafts or cash by insured letters.

Thanking you again for your encouragement and support,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Gora Ahmed E. Dawoodjee, Esq.,
Garden Road,
Kosamba R.S.,
Baroda State

[1]Dawoodjee had inquired of Jinnah whether he was agreeable to collection of funds by him. See *SHC*, OM II/69. Not printed.

II. 117

Qazi Abad Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/189

39 MUSLIM HOSTEL,
MEERUT COLLEGE,
MEERUT,
25 August 1945

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to remit Rs. 101, to you for the general election fund, in response to your appeal, on behalf of the Muslim Students' Federation, Meerut. It is our first instalment. We shall collect as much as possible and send to your honour.

Quaid-i-Azam, we have a programme for propagating the ideals of the All India Muslim League in villages and the city.

We pray for your blessings,

Yours obediently,
QAZI ABAD MOHAMMAD
Secretary,
Meerut Muslim Students' Federation

II. 118

B. Varasteh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC II/118

MESHED,
27 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I had to leave Quetta rather suddenly and could not write to you. I regret I shall not be present at Quetta to welcome you; it would have been a great privilege to meet you and have a few moments of your company but that pleasure has been denied to me. I hope you will enjoy your visit and I offer my sincerest wishes to you.

Kindly give a copy of your photograph to Mr. Kausar who will send it on to me. I need hardly mention that I shall regard it as a lasting favour and a cherished possession.

With best wishes,

B. VARASTEH
Iranian Consul, Quetta

II. 119

M. Aslam Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/209

INDEPENDENT L OF C SIGNALS,
C/O 6 ABPO INDIA COMMAND,
5 September 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith I am sending you a cheque for Rs. 1,000 which please acknowledge. Other Muslims in this unit have also collected Rs. 35 for your Election Fund, which I am sending to you per money order. I hope you will not mind the small sum considering that they are all poor I. O. Rs. [Indian Other Ranks] and very few in numbers, and I am sure you will appreciate their zeal to do their bit in the cause of their nation.

We all have great faith in you Sir, and are certain that under your guidance we will reach our goal.

Yours sincerely,
M. ASLAM KHAN OF MAMDOT
Lieutenant

II. 120

Mahomedali Habib to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (68)

7 CARMICHAEL ROAD,
BOMBAY,
8 September 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to my talk with you, I send you herewith a rough sketch of Jinnah Muslim Educational and Medical Fund Scheme for your consideration.

Hope you are well,

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI HABIB

Enclosure to Appendix II. 120

JINNAH MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL AND MEDICAL FUND SCHEME

There can scarcely be two opinions about the fact that education constitutes the keystone of the structure of the Muslims uplift and advancement. Another indisputable matter is the sad lack of medical facilities for the Muslims all over India.

In order to fulfil these two most important and vital needs of Muslim India, it is proposed to collect funds from all over India to be called the 'Jinnah Muslim Educational and Medical Fund'. As the fund is going to sponsor countrywide Muslim health and educational activities, the target is set at rupees one crore, to be collected. The target is not very high, for there are ten crore Muslims in India.

HOW TO COLLECT [CONTRIBUTIONS]

If one Muslim out of ten contributes one rupee per year, we can have one crore, or one Muslim out of one hundred contributes one rupee per year, we can have one crore in ten years. Or easier still, we

have to find only ten thousand Muslims who would contribute rupees one thousand each.

Big donations from magnanimous [*sic*] Muslim philanthropists and charitable trusts are assured.

Wide publicity, including public meetings all over the length and breadth of India, should be held. The entire All India Muslim League organisation will go to work for this noble cause.

Annual observance of Jinnah Fund Week in all the principal cities of India, preferably on Jinnah's birthday. Mass collection through armies of volunteers going round the streets with sealed boxes.

Collection campaigns at [on] the occasion of the principal fairs in the country like the great Ajmer Fair, Mahim *'Urs*, etc. and at *Juma* prayers.

Intensive previous propaganda that all *'Id* charity should be given to this Fund.

A deputation, consisting of a few distinguished personalities, might wait on all Muslim Princes and zamindars for donation[s].

Most of the fund institutions, hospitals and schools, once established, would receive Government and Municipal grants-in-aid and will earn all or part of their running expenses.

ORGANISATION

The first necessary step is the establishment of a very competent Board of Trustees with the following characteristics:

i. It should be thoroughly representative of all the provinces and various sections of the Muslim public. The key offices of the Trust should be held only by persons whose honesty has stood the test of time and who have won unanimous public confidence.
ii. A Board of Trustees of 25 per cent persons [*sic*] may be selected from the attached list.[1]
iii. The Board of Trustees shall establish provincial committees and branches, wherever necessary, under their rigid control.

The following are the educational and medical projects contemplated to be carried out under the scheme:

a. Eleven high schools for boys and eleven high schools for girls should be established in each of the eleven provinces of India. Technical education such as agriculture, textile, glass, steel, chemicals, crockery, radio, engineering, cinematography, press techniques, machine tool-making, commercial courses, toy-making, tailoring, leather work, nursing, etc. shall be the special features of these schools.
b. Three full-fledged medical and surgical hospitals of 200 beds

each to be established at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

c. An all-India boys orphanage and a girls orphanage with an accommodation of 600 boys and 500 girls to be situated in a suitably healthy place in the Punjab and U.P.

d. Funds permitting benevolent objects like health centres, kindergarten schools and co-operative industrial institutions, etc. may be undertaken at the discretion of the Trustees. In case of natural calamities like famine, floods, earthquake and fires, the Trustees shall have the power to contribute towards the relief of the distressed.

[1]List not attached. However, see Appendix II. 121.

II. 121

Mahomedali Habib to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (69)

7 CARMICHAEL ROAD,
BOMBAY,
11 September 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

With [*sic*] my letter[1] enclosing the outlines of the Jinnah Muslim Educational and Medical Fund Scheme, the proposed list of persons comprising the Board of Trustees was omitted. I, therefore, enclose the same herewith.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI HABIB

[1]Appendix II. 120.

Enclosure to Appendix II. 121

LIST OF PERSONS COMPRISING THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

1. M. A. Jinnah
2. Vallimahomed Qassam Dada
3. Habib Haji Peermahomed
4. Habib Termahomed Janoo
5. Ahmed Habib

6. Hassan Ali P. Ebrahim
7. Gulam Ali Samsuddin Tombawalla
8. Ahmed Fazalbhoy
9. Muscati
10. Karimji Jeevanji
11. Ahmed U. Botawalla
12. Abu Jasdanwalla
13. Sir Adamji Haji Dawood
14. Ahmad Ispahani
15. Sir Nazimuddin
16. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
17. [I. I.] Chundrigar
18. Raja of Mahmudabad
19. Qazi Essa [Isa]
20. [Chaudhary] Khaliquzzaman
21. [Naseer] Ahmed Maulabux
22. Sir Maratabali
23. Yusuf Haroon
24. Noormohomed Jetha Gokal
25. Abdulhusain Lotia
26. Abdul Qaiyum Khan
27. Sir Firoz Khan Noon
28. Wazat Husain
29. Farooqi
30. Nazir Ahmed
31. Mir Laikali
32. Ziaud Din Ahmad
33. Papet Jamal

II. 122

Chand Mian Ustad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/172

BHALDARPURA,
NAGPUR,
13 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly accept the sum of Rs. 251 only, the draft cheque of which is herewith enclosed only collected on *Id* day from the poor Muslims.

The spirit in which the collection was received showed that from a boy of 10 or 15 years to the grown up Musalman, even poor, voluntarily and happily was offering for your call of Election Fund.

I am confident that every effort from the enemy of Islam to [*sic* for against] the cause for the attainment of Pakistan can easily be crushed. All *Muslamin* and *Muslimat* are ready for your order to get Pakistan.

Yours obediently,
CHAND MIAN USTAD

II. 123

M. A. Jinnah to Khan of Kalat

QAD (70)

QUETTA,
15 September 1945

Your Highness,

Thank you for your kind letter of the 13th September,[1] which was delivered to me on my arrival here by your Chief Secretary. I am looking forward to go[ing] to Mastung, but I have certain things to do, and I have explained to your Chief Secretary, which compel me to remain in Quetta for some little time. As soon as I can manage, I shall accept the hospitality and the honour that you have done me by your kind invitation to go over to Mastung and I am really looking forward to meeting you, as soon as I can possibly get away from Quetta.

Thank you for your good wishes.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and me,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 108, Vol. XII, 126.

II. 124

Muslim Students of Patna to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/222

MAHANDRU,
PATNA,
[*Undated*] *September 1945*

Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We respond to your call. We are poor in number, poor in money, but not poor in spirit.

May *Allah* bless you!

[UNSIGNED]
Muslim Students of
Engineers' Hostel

II. 125

M. A. Jinnah to Sajjad Ali Khan

Telegram, QAD (71)

QUETTA,
1 October 1945

Your telegram[1]. The organisers of the Shia Conference, I regret to say, are misguided and misled by our enemies. My advice to every Shia is to join the Muslim League unreservedly at this critical juncture. The other course is harmful generally to the Muslims of India and even more detrimental to the Shia interests.

The Muslim League and I have made it clear repeatedly that we stand for justice and fair play towards every sect of Musalmans and non-Muslim minorities. The Muslim League is already pledged to its basic principle of freedom for all religions and sects. The Muslim League will never interfere with the faith and belief of any sect amongst Musalmans or non-Muslims and minorities. On the contrary, the cardinal and fundamental principles of the Muslim League laid down in the Lahore Resolutions of March 1940, in clear terms, provides for effective safeguards and the protection of minorities and their religious rights of freedom. An overwhelming majority of Shias are with the League and legitimate grievances, if any, are a matter of our

own internal concern, and can be dealt within our fold by the All India Muslim League.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]He had invited Jinnah to attend the Shia All-Party Conference. See Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Correspondence*, 337.

II. 126

Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (72)

MUSTAFA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
21 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th October[1] from Mastung, enclosing a cheque for Rs. 5,000 which has been credited to the account of the Committee of Action.

I think it is just as well, having regard to the heavy discount which we would have had to pay, that you did not send a cheque for the whole amount of Rs. 25,000. I trust that you would be good enough to remit the balance on your return to Bombay as there are several schemes under consideration, involving large expenditure, about which I shall inform you personally when we meet in Delhi early next month.

I returned from Karachi three days ago, and I shall be going out again on tour in my own Province in a couple of days' time for about ten or twelve days. I hope you have been able to solve the tangle in Sindh. From all that I have seen in Karachi, I find that Mr. Sayed and his Provincial League, which has practically little or no influence in the province, are principally responsible for the deadlock and the disruptive tendencies that are being exhibited by the members of the Provincial Parliamentary Board, though at the same time it cannot be denied that Sir Ghulam Hussain is also playing a selfish game and is in league with Moula Bux.

By appointing three boards in the Frontier Province, our principal object was to placate as many people as possible by throwing responsibility on them for the forthcoming elections in some capacity or other.

From the papers, I note that the election work is proceeding apace.

We also collected Rs. 30,000 in cash for election fund and there are still donations to the extent of Rs. 11,000 which are being realized

gradually. Please let me know the approximate date of your arrival in Delhi so that I may arrange to meet you there before you leave for NWFP.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED ISMAIL KHAN

[1]Not traceable.

II. 127

Yusuf A. Haroon to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind VII/2

Allaho Akbar

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 November 1945

Dear Sir,

As the election date is very near and the contest has now become certain, I shall be glad if the central office of the Provincial Muslim League may [*sic*] send me all the literature and posters in regard to the Muslim League propaganda and Muslim League point of view.

The manifesto of the All India Muslim League has also not yet been received by me which I would like to distribute among my voters. I have not yet printed or started my propaganda as far as posters and letters go as I am still waiting to hear from your side.

I have sent several letters to the President of the Provincial Muslim League to issue a statement in my favour in the ensuing contest but he has so far failed to make any response.

Mr. G. M. Sayed, President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, has gone on a long tour in the province and I have received various letters and reports from all over districts where he has visited informing me that he has been canvassing for Mr. Rashdi.

I shall further be glad if you will kindly issue necessary instructions from the Central Parliamentary Board to the Provincial Muslim League to give me all moral support.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
Y. A. HAROON

II. 128

M. A. Jinnah to B. Varasteh

SHC, FC II/121

15 November 1945

Dear Mr. Varasteh,

I was so pleased to get your letter[1] on my arrival at Quetta. So now you are at Meshed. It was very kind of you indeed to have written to me. I was in Quetta, and for a short time at Mastung, and I did benefit by the change to a certain extent, but in Quetta I had not much of peace. I thank you most sincerely for all your good wishes. I did not reply to your letter, as you wanted a photograph of mine. I have great difficulty in securing one; as you know I do not possess copies of any really good photographs except snapshots and things of that kind. However, I am sending you a copy through the Iranian Consulate here. I do hope that Madame and you are quite well.

With all our best wishes, and thanking you again,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

B. Varasteh, Esq.,
Iranian Consul,
Meshed

[1]Appendix II. 118.

II. 129

Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Hyderabad II/17

HYDERABAD,
17 November 1945

Your wire.[1] Glad you are able to pay short visit to Hyderabad in December next. Please inform me exact date of your arrival here one week in advance. Suggest sometime in third or fourth week if possible after *Moharrum* important part is over [*sic*].

NIZAM

[1]See *SHC*, Hyderabad II/16. Not printed.

II. 130

Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/8

Allaho Akbar

HYDERABAD,
18 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

After the new barrage, the Punjabis have taken up lot of lands in the lower Sind and they form a great influence in this part of Sind. They have been always pro-League and their number now extends to somewhere about over [*sic*] two lakh. The head of their group is one Mr. Maher Mahomedali, Zamindar, *Taluka* Digri, District Tharparkar (Sind). He is also pro-League but if you could write a letter to him asking him to support the official League candidates in the provincial legislature, it will be of great help to us here. You may kindly send this letter to us immediately so that we may be able to make use of him.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
Y. A. HAROON

II. 131

Mahomed Issa M. Buxani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/9

THARU SHAH,
DISTRICT NAWABSHAH,
21 November 1945

Sir,

I beg respectfully to submit the following few lines of my humble prayer which I am confident will be favoured with your kind perusal.

Since [*sic*] the rejection of the application of Pir Ali Mohamed Rashdi, who is now contesting Central Assembly election against Seth Yusuf Haroon who has been granted Muslim League ticket by the high command, has affected the political atmosphere in Sind.

Ghulam Murtaza Shah, President, Provincial Muslim League, Sind, is losing the confidence of the Muslims in Sind as he possesses the mentality of breaking smooth working of the organisation and is eager to see that the League nominee—Seth Yusuf Haroon—is defeated and to show to your goodself that he possesses a voice among the masses too. But I assure your goodself that he has totally failed while siding with the opposition. Many prominent persons, as I gather, have approached your goodself in this behalf and have apprised your goodself of how he is maligning the League nominee and persuading the voters for [*sic*] Pir Ali Mohamed Rashdi. His treacherous habit has always benumbed [*sic*] the Muslim League benefits at large. He is not the proper person to be the leader of the Muslim League whom we consider the sole representative of the Muslim community in India. Other congregations [*sic*] are mere part and parcel of this organisation which has been recognised by the official zone [*sic*]. The workers of Sayed party, which is the combination of ill-wishers of the League, are exercising their evil habits to hunt on [*sic*] the League workers. I am hereunder quoting a concrete example when Sayed Mahommad Ali Shah, the present P.W.D. Minister, Sind, had betrayed and harassed the chief worker of Muslim League in Nawabshah District, Pir Abdul Wali, B.A., LL.B, Advocate, who was canvassing in favour of Muslim League nominee in Kandiaro *Taluka* of Nawabshah District. The behaviour of [the Minister] towards Pir Abdul Wali was very degradable [*sic*] which a person of menial staff would not bear. The Sayed party consisting of Sayed Ghulam Murtaza Shah, Mahommad Ali Shah, Pir Qurban Ali, Sayed Hasan Bakhsh and Sayed Khair Shah are eagerly working for Pir Ali Mohamed Rashdi, carrying on false propaganda against Muslim League and Khan Bahadur Khuhro whom we trust [as] the only unselfish and enthusiastic leader of the Muslim community in Sind.

I regret very much to submit that in spite of our cries and express telegrams, about the anti-work [*sic*] of Sayed party, no action seems to have been taken against them. In any organisation where there is no discipline that organisation cannot achieve its object unless the offender and person defying the rules and regulations of the organisation is severely dealt with so that the anti-workers [*sic*] should understand that if they work in the manner, will be detrimental their concern [*sic*]. Now there is no other scope [*sic*] but to teach these persons who are in name Sayed group, a lesson so that in future they should not dare to face [*sic*] and indulge [*sic*] in the League affair and are enjoying [*sic*] under the flag of Muslim League.

My humble submission before your goodself is that the career of

Sayed Ghulam Murtaza Shah is not hidden [*sic*] one. His entrance in Muslim League has ever curbed the Muslim sentiments and cause. Nothing could be expected from selfish persons. The persons, namely Sayed group, are selfish persons. Pir Qurban Ali, League nominee from Naushahro [Firoz] *Taluka,* Sayed Mahommad Ali Shah present P.W.D. Minister, League nominee from Kandiaro *Taluka,* Sayed Hasan Bakhsh, League nominee from Moro-Sakrand *Talukas,* Sayed Khair Shah, League nominee from Nawabshah-Sinjhoro *Talukas* of Nawabshah District are vehemently working against the League nominee Seth Yusuf Haroon. Their mentality could very well be guessed from this behaviour and I supplicate [*sic*] they are not to be trusted. I in the end fervently pray that your goodself would take drastic action against these persons so that others should not dare to ignore the rules and regulations of the organisation. I shall feel greatly thankful if your kind self would remember me with a reply.

Yours very obediently,
MAHOMED ISSA M. BUXANI
Secretary, Tharu Shah Muslim League

II. 132

M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad

SHC, Hyderabad II/17

8 December 1945

Your Exalted Highness,

I have received your telegram,[1] which seems to have been following me on my tour. Many thanks for it. I will see whether I can possibly manage to come to Hyderabad sometime in the third or fourth week of this month.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix II. 129.

II. 133

M. A. Mannan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/7

ANJUMAN ISLAMIA HALL,
MORADPORE, PATNA,
25 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is needless to emphasise the tremendous election campaign undertaken by the Bihar Muslim Students' Federation and its successful execution in every part of the province. We have courage, vigour, enthusiasm and firm determination to sacrifice even our lives at the call of our revered Quaid-i-Azam.

The last time when you visited Patna was in December 1938, a very critical period in Indian political life. You presided over here at the last session that was held in peace time after which there was tremendous chaos in the world. Now, when once again the world has regained that peace and India is on the verge of a great revolution we long for your presence amidst us. Your presence here, after seven years, will not only accelerate the momentum of the students' spirit, it will also cause a corresponding wide upsurge in the Muslim masses. Your presence is still more necessitated when the band of the Congress leaders including Pandit Nehru, Pandit Pant, Patel and others, is coming over here to address the students' federation. We request you to inaugurate our Provincial Students' Workers' Conference to be held in the third week of January 1946. We confidently hope that you will accept our invitation and oblige us.[1]

Yours faithfully,
M. A. MANNAN
Secretary,
Bihar Muslim Students' Federation

[1]Jinnah expressed his inability to inaugurate the Conference because of his previous commit ments. See *SHC*, Students II/8. Not printed.

II. 134

Sheikh Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (73)

MANORA COTTAGE,
GARDEN QUARTER,
KARACHI,
31 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I welcome this opportunity to contact you after so long. At Simla and more recently at Karachi, you were far too busy and I had no desire to thrust myself. But you would now be convinced that, when I returned to the League fold, I did so without mental reservations. That ought to be evident from my determined refusal to announce my candidature against the selection made by the Central Parliamentary Board, although it goes without saying that I naturally felt hurt that the one man who had built the League in Sind and fought its battle single-handed in those days should have been relegated to the corner. I now repent that I did not cast off my shyness. Had I thrust myself on you, I might have had the chance to convince you that a little difference in the make up of the Provincial Parliamentary Board could have avoided the present chaos and confusion in Sind. I speak entirely for the League; I am accustomed to suffer where personal issues are involved.

What, however, concerns me most is that the new orientation, which you announced in your admirable address to the Memons of Bombay on the occasion of your 70th birthday, should not go unresponded to. In my opinion, it is the fitting culmination of your endeavours right from 1924 to organise the Muslim community on one platform. Having achieved your purpose, it is essential that the concentrated energies should not be permitted to dissipate themselves. The Congress had made a stupid blunder in 1939 when it went into the wilderness believing too much in its own ideals and organization.

Sardar Patel's rejoinder to your speech is not also to be ignored, although critically-inclined folks may detect in both the pronouncements some mental reservations inspired by an objective to restart the old controversies. Personally, I think that you will not lose the opportunity to direct the Muslim mind to constructive channels calculated to promote the growth of an ordered and orderly public life sanctioned by co-operation and goodwill. I do not know if your attention has

been drawn to an interview which I gave to the Karachi press today on the situation created by your address and Mr. Patel's reply thereto. I have taken the liberty to suggest in that interview that the two high commands must meet at Karachi and, as in the case of the Lucknow session of the Congress and the Muslim League, should make an attempt to hold mutual consultations with the object of resolving such differences as might still divide them. I naturally take pride that the bold and statesmanlike gesture should have emanated from the undisputed leader of the Muslim League. If you would kindly accept my suggestion, I should very much like to arrange for the next meeting of the League high command in Karachi at an early date. I do not know what the possible reactions of the Congress high command would be. But there is no harm in your making the first move from Sind wherefrom you had started your original battle cry of Pakistan.

Perhaps you would expect me to say something about Mr. G. M. Sayed's revolt. After all is said, Mr. Sayed is not anti-League—I know he is certainly not anti-Jinnah. I think if you take the matter in hand it is still possible to unite all the forces of the Muslims in this Province. The high command meeting here ought to restore the solidarity of Sind Muslims.

In case you think it would do any good, I shall be glad to call on you and pursue the matter.

With kind regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

A. MAJID

MLA

PS. Need I stress the point that the Muslim nations, including Indonesia and Turkey, look up to India for a lead? They do not understand our differences but only look to us for a proper lead.

II. 135

M. Towheed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/88

BAR LIBRARY,
ALIPORE,
24 PARGANAS,
9 January 1946

Dear Sir,

I deem it my duty to lay before you the following lines in the interest of Muslim League:

a. There is nothing to indicate that Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board intends to give chance to new competent Muslims as Assam is reported to have done by nominating 75 per cent new hands.
b. No reason is suggested as to why members of Parliamentary Board should themselves seek nomination from the same Board of which they are members.
c. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddique, MLA's paper, the *Morning News,* does not publish seriously thought-out letters.

[*Sub-para omitted*]

d. It is generally felt that top leaders in Bengal are not working as faithfully as the voters did in the last election.

You may remember that I had invited you to Calcutta on the occasion of Bengal Provincial Urdu Conference as Secretary in January 1943. I intend to appear before you when you visit Calcutta next if I am granted an interview.

Yours faithfully,
M. TOWHEED
Pleader

II. 136

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Qaiyum Khan & Abdur Rab Nishtar

SHC, NWFP II/8

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 January 1946

Dear Sirs,

In consequence of the appeal that was made to me to help [with] the election expenses of the North-West Frontier Provincial Muslim League, I requested you both to come to see me at Lahore and you were good enough to do so today. After full discussion with you, I recognised the emergency of giving you financial help from the Central League Fund and, accordingly, I have handed over to you a cheque for rupees fifty thousand made out in the joint names of Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan and Mian Ziauddin, to be credited to their joint account with the Imperial Bank of India, Peshawar, and can be operated upon by them for the legitimate expenses that may be incurred for the Muslim League election purposes in your Province. Please let me have the official receipt for the amount signed by both, as Mr. Isa is the Organizer while Mian Ziauddin, as I understand, is the Convener of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Action appointed by the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League and the Central Parliamentary Board.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan,
Bar-at-Law,
Peshawar
Sardar Adur Rab Nishtar,
Advocate,
Peshawar

II. 137

Mubarek Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (74)

321 WEST 56TH STREET,
NEW YORK,
18 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Greetings. The League has requested me to take a trip to India at the earliest date to acquaint myself with the present situation in India and to consult with you and possibly join with you in the coming conference, which I understand will take place sometime this spring.

Referring to my previous letter,[1] you no doubt noted that the members of the League are whole-heartedly in favour of your plan for Pakistan and Hindustan. We are thoroughly in accord with every detail as so clearly outlined by yourself. There is no doubt that the American public and the law-makers here are not familiar with the real facts about India and it is only through the constant publicity of an educational character that we can educate them to [*sic*] the true facts and in order to accomplish this, we need a continuous monthly supply of current *New India Bulletins* and extensive lectures and this program requires time and money.

The members of our League cannot afford the expenses necessary to carry on an extensive program such as we feel would be necessary to bring the true facts before the eyes of the public and their law-makers, and in this regard I am desirous of making this trip to India to consult with you as the League deems it of vital importance at this particular time.

The Indian Congress Party is heavily represented in this country and are giving lectures, issuing bulletins, newspapers, radio programs and are spending much time and money in Washington with the law-makers.

We are trying our utmost to combat this movement with the limited funds at our disposal, which, of course, handicap us greatly.

It is with these facts in mind and numerous others that I am looking forward with great pleasure to the honour of meeting you and getting your valuable advice first hand.

At present my trip is set for leaving the United States by T.W.A. (Trans-World Airlines) about February 21st.

I will be very grateful to you, if you will cable me upon receipt of this letter.

Fraternally yours,
DR. MUBAREK ALI KHAN
Secretary,
India Muslim League of America

[1]See *SHC*, FC I/74. Not printed.

II. 138

Punjab Muslim Students Federation to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/99

[*Undated January 1946*]

Quaid-i-Azam,

In 1937, when Pandit Nehru laid down the dictum that [there] were only two forces in India, the Congress and the British, it was you who declared that there was also a third power—the Muslim League. The Muslim students in this Province then realized that they should have a separate organisation to safeguard their national identity. The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation owes its inception to that period. Since then we have been contributing our mite to the work that lay before us.

In the Summer of 1944, when the Punjab League found itself lighter in numbers but greater in determination and strength, we organised the workers training school, from where our student workers spread themselves over the length and breadth of the Province, drawing attention to the Unionist menace.

And finally when the announcement of holding Provincial and Central elections was made, the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation rose to occasion and marshalled all its resources for the work of propaganda.

Our work in connection with the Central Assembly elections included the manning of polling booths on the election days, and in brief taking charge of all the work concomitant with a polling station. Five batches of picked workers from Islamia College, Lahore, went out to tour in the two constituencies in northern Punjab. I would be failing in my report if I did not make special mention of the batch which worked in Lyallpur under the leadership of Mr. Qasim Rizavi. The time at their disposal was short and the work was as great as the

proverbial Colossus—and yet Mr. Rizavi and his group worked 18 hours a day, living, eating and sleeping in their loudspeaker-fitted lorry.

The end of the Central Assembly elections saw the beginning of our work for provincial elections. We divided our workers into two categories, the first comprising those who devoted Sundays and holidays to propaganda, and the second comprising those students who volunteered to work for a period ranging between 5-15 days.

Every Sunday a group numbering between 100-150 workers would go out of the City of Lahore, deploy itself over the whole country-side, approach the villagers, address small group meetings and bring to the mind of the villagers the importance of the present elections. These weekend raids [*sic*] have grown in intensity and fervour, as well as in strength and I may say with pardonable certainty that the chances of the Unionist candidate in Lahore Tehsil to succeed are very very slight indeed.

Over a thousand students in this Province sweep the country-side every Sunday, bearing the League flag, giving the League message and bringing the consciousness of strength to villagers crushed under the Unionist regime. The hospitality and earnestness with which our students are received reveal that our students have made these simple village brethren of ours rise from the stupor into which Unionist narcotics [*sic*] had thrown them, and have brought to them the realization that they are a power in this Province.

As regards the second category of students, i.e. those who work between 5-15 days, we had divided them into batches, and sent them to work in rural areas. I am proud to inform you, Quaid-i-Azam, that there is not a single rural constituency which has not been covered by our workers.

During the Christmas holidays we reached the zenith of our work. Students from every college came forward to do work during these holidays. It is an especial gratification to us that the Government College, Lahore, which was rightly or wrongly considered backward in patriotic sentiment, has repudiated most forcefully this allegation, and has taken its rightful place amongst other sister institutions in this respect. In all, 29 batches numbering 415 workers, were sent out from local colleges in Lahore, i.e. the Dayal Singh College, the F. C. College, the Craik Technical Institute, the Sanatan Dharam College, the Law College, the Engineering College and the Iqbal High School. I am unable to express the enthusiasm with which young school boys aged 14 and 15 years have come to us volunteering for

propaganda work.

The Islamia College alone contributed 450 students so that about 850 students from Lahore were working during the Christmas holidays. To this number we must add the number of workers from our District Federations, who totalled so far as information received in our office indicates, nearly 700 so that in the fortnight from 20th December 1945 to 3rd January 1946, the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation had 1550 workers in the field. This figure should not be regarded as final, since we have no information about those students who worked independently in their own villages and on their own initiative. The total number of students working during Christmas therefore well nigh exceeds 2,000.

I give a brief synopsis of the reports received so far from a few of our district branches:

AMRITSAR

From the first of December to the first of January, 12 batches comprising 118 students have thoroughly combed the area around Amritsar.

JULLUNDUR

158 workers have been busy in this area from the last week of December 1945 to the 10th of January 1946. They were divided into seven batches and toured Jullundur, Nawansheh, Nakodar, and Phillaur Tehsil. During Christmas students from Jullundur, also worked in both the constituencies of Hoshiarpur. Street-corner meetings we re held every day in the Jullundur Division towns.

SIALKOT

Reports received so far indicate that 12 batches totalling 113 students have been working from 22nd December 1945 to 2nd January 1946, in 4 constituencies. They toured 580 villages, addressed 1,12,000 people and covered 2,464 miles. A notable factor in their work was were the students from the neighbouring State of Kashmir, who came in large numbers, placed themselves at the disposal of the Sialkot Muslim Students' Federation and worked in Sialkot area.

GUJRANWALA

Reports received during the last week revealed that 60 students have toured 49 villages addressed 15,000 people and covered 300 miles in Gujranwala District.

SHAHPUR

During the last fortnight 40 villages have been toured by 25

workers who covered 240 miles on foot and addressed 3,000 people.

FEROZPORE

Twelve workers have been working in 25 villages during the last week.

HOSHIARPUR

Two batches of 20 students in all have toured 100 villages and covered between 400-500 miles during the last week. Apart from this the following branches have also been working actively but their complete reports have not yet been submitted—Ambala, Bhera, Mianwali, Pasrur, Campbellpur, Multan and Qila Deedar Singh.

ISLAMIA COLLEGE, LAHORE

And now I come to the branch which has been most active in the work that we have been doing—Islamia College, Lahore. The manner in which the immense manpower in Islamia College was harnessed to the work of League propaganda is in itself, a feat of strength which could not have been possible but for the Director, Manpower of Islamia College, Mr. Qasim Rizavi and the Principal of Islamia College, Dr. Omar Hayat Malik. The spirit that enthused the students was Dr. Omar Hayat's, and the task of channelising and directing the work was successfully carried out by Mr. Rizavi. It is, therefore, no surprise that Islamia College, Lahore, has a corps of 600 student workers, has sent out 65 batches so far, and covered 56 constituencies out of the total of 85. Islamia College workers have addressed 7,00,000 people, covered 50,000 miles by rail and 16,000 miles by lorry. In the full record of our work in the Punjab, the Islamia College will occupy a most prominent position.

Quaid-i-Azam! I have nearly done. The record of our work is before you. We have had enormous difficulties to battle against Police interference, official intervention, intimidation, veiled threats. We have persisted in our work and we shall persist, come what may.

Quaid-i-Azam! The Muslim students of the Punjab lay this record of their work as a humble offering at your feet. Though our work had not been inconsiderable yet the number of students that we want is not forthcoming. An appeal from you is a command, and there is not a single Muslim student in this Province who will not rise up and fall into line. Workers, more workers, and still more workers, that [is] what we need. We want a ceaseless stream of workers to be pouring in, a stream that will become a gale and sweep away the already tottering fabric of Unionist terrorism.

Quaid-i-Azam, the army is ready, the battle-field is marked

out and the stage is set; we behold in the distance the dawn of our independence, the birth of Pakistan. A signal from you, and the army shall march. We, Quaid-i-Azam, await that sign [*sic*].

[UNSIGNED]

II. 139

M. A. Jinnah to Shabbir Ahmad Usmani

QAD (75)

1 February 1946

Dear Maulana Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of 31st January,[1] and I thank you for it. You know that according to our constitution and rules, not only have I no power but [that] it will be improper on my part to interfere with the working of the tribunals set up by the Muslim League organization and which are vested with the power and authority to make selections on behalf of the All India Muslim League in various provinces. Firstly, it is the Provincial Parliamentary Board that decides the matter of selection and thereafter any candidate who is dissatisfied with their decision has a right to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board whose decision is final. I think you will appreciate when I say that it will be highly improper on my part to influence our Boards in the matter of selection and I, therefore, regret I cannot interfere in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani,
Deoband

[1]Not traceable.

II. 140

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (76)

PESHAWAR,
1 February 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We have won Peshawar Landlords [seat] by a big margin. We will

get the other Landlords seat as well. I went round the polling stations in the Mohmand seat where Education Minister Ataullah is opposing us. The prospects are bright for the League. Nishtar is away at the Charsadda polling.

Ever since we met you, we are [*sic* for have been] working together—for us as also for the League. We, i.e. the League, has [*sic* for have] joined the battle and, God willing, victory will be ours.

The last result is likely to be out for the 18th. I would suggest that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should reach here on or about the 20th. He will call a party meeting where the party should be asked to elect a leader. We must have a leader and the sooner the question is settled the better for us all. Nawabzada's arrival soon after the last result is out will stop people going round and canvassing for leadership. I want Nawabzada to come soon because one newspaper, the *Inkishaf*, has already started work for the Nawab of Hoti.

We have done all that was humanly possible—we have held numerous meetings and done individual canvassing. The students both here and from Aligarh are doing remarkable work.

I hope you are keeping well,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

II. 141

H. S. Suhrawardy[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

QAD (77)

3 WELLESLY Ist LANE,
CALCUTTA,
7 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your wishes and command will certainly be respected. Could you please, however, let me know when you expect to be in Calcutta, and whether you wish to avoid receptions and processions. If the date and time of your arrival is known, no power on earth can stop the Muslims from receiving you and giving you an ovation and taking you out in a procession. The only way out was to promise them a meeting in the evening. So please let me know your wishes.

H. E. Mr. Casey[2] is leaving Calcutta [on] the 18th. I told him you might most likely be here on the 17th. He is very anxious to meet

you and has asked me to fix up an engagement with you to suit your convenience. Any time on the 17th or 18th (during the day) will suit him. He has also asked me to take full advantage of all Govt. facilities such as cars, launches, etc., which I do not propose to do—but this shows his goodwill.

An early reply by wire, if possible, will be appreciated.

Yours devotedly,
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

[1]The letter was written on the letterhead of Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board showing Maulana Muhammad Akrum Khan as President and H. S. Suhrawardy as Secretary.

[2]Richard Gardiner Casey, Governor of Bengal.

II. 142

M. A. Bari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal II/7

HALSHA,
7 February 1946

Revered Sir,

I beg to draw your kind particular attention to the nomination of candidates for the election to the Bengal Legislature recently made by the Bengal League Parliamentary Board, nay, by Mr. Suhrawardy himself. You might have seen in all the papers that there were grumblings and excitement [*sic*] from all sides against such arbitrary nominations made by Mr. Suhrawardy who is said to do all the things at his own discretion. There is time yet; if Mr. Suhrawardy is not checked by some higher authority like you there will issue [*sic*] the most unpleasant consequence[s] throughout Bengal and the people will lose their faith in the so-called present Bengal Muslim League which is under the direct guidance of Mr. Suhrawardy. Hence the Parliamentary Board has played a farce in giving nominations to the candidates. Mr. Suhrawardy treading down [*sic*] the public opinion has insulted the Muslim public of Bengal. The Muslim public, therefore, does not want that Mr. Suhrawardy should remain in the League Council, as one of the office-bearers. The fact will be quite clear if I set [*sic*] the concrete example of Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, who was formerly the Secretary of All-Bengal Krishak Proja Party and did all anti-League work throughout his whole life, and the people of entire Kushtia

Sub-Division were at daggers drawn with him while in the field, [and yet he] works for the League. Mr. Suhrawardy, with [a] view to getting support from him to form the Bengal Cabinet, has given him nomination, though public opinion [is] against him and the people here do not want him at all. Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed is a man who is always proud and haughty and always tries to take revenge against [*sic* for on] anybody opposing him in any way. We people usually vote for the candidate after [*sic*] our choice with a view that [*sic*] we will, through him, place our grievances and other difficulties to be moved in the Council. Now all our hopes will be crushed down [*sic*] as Mr. Shamsuddin is getting a chance through Mr. Suhrawardy to satisfy [*sic*] his old revenge against League workers. As regards nomination, the same occurrence, we hear, has taken place [*sic*] also in Pabna District. Moulvi A. M. A. Hamid, a pet of Mr. Suhrawardy and also the most unpopular man throughout the whole district, has been able to get nomination through Mr. Suhrawardy who is his bosom-friend and the rightful claim of Dr. Tofazzal Hussayen of the locality, who is well-known for his popularity [*sic*] and sacrifice for the League throughout the whole district, has been set aside and for this reason there is also a furious excitement [*sic*] among the school and college students, the Jami'at-i-'Ulama-i-Islam and the Presidents of all the Union Boards of the Sadar Sub-Division of the Pabna District against such malbehaviour [*sic*] and whims of Mr. Suhrawardy.

Would you, therefore, kindly come down to Bengal immediately and warn Mr. Suhrawardy not to go on with his own discretion and I beg to say here that a man like Mr. Suhrawardy, who has not done any good at any time for our community, should not remain in the League high command, and we claim [*sic*] that he should be removed at once from the League Parliamentary Board.

Hope to be excused for this impertinence,

With faith in you,
I remain,
M. A. BARI

II. 143

Hidayathul Islam & Talim Aftab to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/26

TRICHINOPOLY,
8 February 1946

Sir,

We hereby bring to your kind notice the characteristics of the candidate who has been given the League ticket by the Madras Provincial Parliamentary Board for Trichinopoly Circle which, to our knowledge, is quite unjust and unparliamentary.

Janab V. S. Mohamed Ibrahim who has been awarded the League ticket is a man who has not taken, uptill now, any active part in the League activities nor has he taken any pains for the progress of the same in spite of his holding a responsible post as President of the District Muslim League, Trichinopoly. During his [tenure of] office, it is given to understand [he submitted] his resignation stating that he finds no time to spare for the Muslim League affairs, as he has to divert [*sic* for devote] his full attention towards his business which clearly reflects his selfish mentality. On compulsion [*sic*], the then Secretary of the District Muslim League, *Janab* V. S. Mohamed Ibrahim, was holding the post unofficially hitherto. The unconstitutional election of the same was immediately brought to the notice of the then Secretary, *Janab* Raza Khan of the Provincial Muslim League, by the Muslims of the station to which no reply has been received in spite of three reminders.

In addition to this, we feel it our bounden duty to make a mention of the above selected candidate for the ensuing provincial election for your kind perusal. In the selection of the candidate, family relationship and undue partiality have played a prominent part in general and so far [as] *Janab* V. S. Mohamed Ibrahim is concerned, he had the chance of procuring the League ticket exclusively and absolutely by exercising sheer private business contacts and personal influence.

Above all, *Janab* V. S. Mohamed Ibrahim was holding membership in the District War Committee even after the instructions issued by Quaid-i-Azam directing that no Leaguer should hold posts in the District War Committee. This clearly reveals his wanton disobedience to our Quaid-i-Azam's command. Further, we like to mention that Khan Bahadur P. Khalifullah Sahib was expelled from the League Committee

simply because he was holding [a] post in the District War Committee. When those two cases [are] compared, it goes without saying that the Provincial Parliamentary Board proved partial as *Janab* V. S. Mohamed Ibrahim is related to the persons holding responsible posts in the Provincial Parliamentary Board.

To cut the matter short, we bring the matter to a close giving a precaution [*sic*] that unless the Central Parliamentary Board intervenes and looks into the matter to check the Madras Provincial Parliamentary Board, there will be grave trouble ahead. To put [it] in a more clear language, if there is no chance of free and fair treatment in selecting the candidate, the public peace will be disturbed, [and] a gulf of difference among the Muslims of this Province is sure to be created. If not, it is certain that some independent candidate will take the opposition [*sic*] of the League candidate, consequence of which will end [*sic*] in the failure of the League candidate as all the organising bodies in this area in the interest of the Muslim League are so [*sic*] displeased with *Janab* V. S. Mohamed Ibrahim, the selected candidate.

And further, we wish to bring to your kind consideration the case of *Janab* Abdul Hameed Khan, an influential and respectful [*sic*] hard-worker [*sic*]. If he is given the League ticket to stand as a candidate for MLA for Madras City, there will, we [are] sure, arise no chance of success of independent candidates. So, we the undersigned request you to take drastic action at once.

Yours truly,
HIDAYATHUL ISLAM
TALIM AFTAB

II. 144

A. R. Nishtar to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (78)

PESHAWAR,
15 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must have heard about the unfortunate results of election in this Province. The results of a Muslim seat are not yet out. We have lost some of those seats which we considered as sure shots. I myself lost. I need not trouble you with the causes of our failure about which another report will be submitted to you. It would suffice to

say that if, on [the] one hand, preparation of bogus lists, intimidation, coercion, bribery, interference in judicial cases to please people, and many other kinds of abuses of governmental powers created difficulties for us, on the other hand, wrong allotment of tickets, internal dissension between Muslim Leaguers, and lack of organisation contributed a lot towards our failure. A meeting of the Muslim League workers has been called for the 24th instant to chalk out future programme of action.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. R. NISHTAR

II. 145

Wilson M. Southam to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (79)

OTTAWA, CANADA,
7 March 1946

Sir,

I share with you your fears of Hindus' domination in a federated India with dominion status unless the necessary safeguards for full representation of the Muslim minority opinion are written into the proposed Indian constitution.

At the same time when the tendency over the years is to work towards larger, rather than smaller, national units it does seem a great pity to contemplate cutting up India into a Pakistan Muslim State or States, and a Hindu State or States, if a protection for minority representation can be evolved.

If my information is correct, there would be several minorities even in the proposed Pakistan. If separate states were granted to them, India would eventually have much the same patchwork of nationalities as has Europe—the basis of recurring world wars. If separate states are not granted to each of them, why to the Muslims?

[*Next para omitted*]

You will find, I believe, that though the Hindus have a large majority in such a federal parliament, that [*sic*] the majority of these Hindu representatives will be just and fair towards the minorities of race or religion. If Pakistan were created with minorities of race and

religion in a predominating Muslim State, the majority of Muslim members would surely see that these minorities were given a fair deal. If that is the situation in a Pakistan State which Muslims control, why should you doubt [that] an all-Indian State in which Hindus would have the majority would be unjust to the minority? Is that prejudice? Or just illogical?

In addition to such an electoral system which would give a correct evaluation of the strength of the various political parties, the constitution could provide that the government—any government—formed should always include a certain proportion of representatives from the lesser parties. This would give them an opportunity to be part of the policy framers of a government in which their point of view would be fully presented before decisions were taken. After discussion, cabinet solidarity should be the rule as in other governments.

Canadians would welcome the new dominion of India which would be just as free to make their [*sic* for its] own policies as Canada, Australia, England [*sic*] or the other dominions over the years have proved that they are free.

All of which is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the Muslim, Hindu and other political parties.

Sincerely yours,
WILSON M. SOUTHAM

II. 146

A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 574/25

MOHALLA ATTAI KHAN,
HASHTNAGRI GATE,
PESHAWAR,
10 March 1945 [*1946*]

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

The election result of the Frontier Assembly is before us, which is far from our expectation. We now have an opportunity to comment thereon, whereas [*sic*] finding the weakness [*sic*] of our failure in this province.

Your goodself might have been receiving numerous [*sic*] correspondence on this subject, but as we had been in touch with the

League affairs and claim to be the *Khadims* of Muslim League, we are duty-bound to place before your goodself the real facts which we found and the difficulties we encountered and, moreover, to offer our suggestion[s] without any prejudice in order to strengthen the League in future in this Province.

When the League Ministry was dissolved,[1] we endeavoured hard to organise the League in Peshawar City as well as in rural area. In June 1945, Qazi Mohammad Isa was deputed by the high command for organising the League. We visited him on 22.6.[19]45 at Dean's Hotel and placed before him the entire position and pointed out that if we could place the situation [*sic*] under the right leadership of League workers, the Congress and all its tactics would be finished once for all. But to our bad luck, he did not agree with our proposals merely pretending that he was going to the polls [*sic*] for formation of the League bodies in August, and placed before us a printed chart. He alleged [*sic*] that he was not going to accept suggestion[s] of anybody whatsoever [*sic*]. Consequently he announced the names of temporary League committees and inserted even those men on account of whom the public had a strong current of hatred and contempt against the League. In our letter dated 25.6.[19]45,[2] we [had] pointed out that it was absolutely a wrong step and [that] if he had no man to enlist, we offer our services and insisted to [*sic* for on] enlisting our members in the committees merely with a view to perform[ing] the League work to the best of our courage. He conceded that before the general election he will certainly poll [*sic*] for formation of the stable League committees. He went away placing the League command only in those hands who had no sympathy with the League, but for their own reputation and selfishness, had been in League from [*sic*] the last few years. Qazi Isa never came back for primary League elections and days rolled on.

Incidentally, or fortunately after the Simla Conference, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, Barrister, joined the League and this stirred the Frontier situation. The zeal and enthusiasm of the public was witnessed by your goodself while in Peshawar. It is a pity that you were placed in the house of an up-to-date [*sic*] toady, a Khan Bahadur, and recently retired from Govt. service, who had no interest in public affairs nor had a public life. We did our best to have a talk with your goodself on certain points but were not allowed by the then workers of the League. Being urged, we asked your permission telegraphically but regret that your reply was also received in [the] negative.

As the election was at hand, and your goodself in a meeting directed us to work hard and leave you to work, we acted upon

your advice.

The results of the League are now clear and our failure in this Province is of course shameful. Should we be permitted to frame the following issues:

a. There was no organised body of the League in the Frontier which is [*sic*] due to the carelessness of Qazi Mohammad Isa.
b. The workers, who were in charge of the office (Mian Zia-ud-Din and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar) did no stable work for the League.
c. The applicants, who were not awarded League tickets though being the League members, strictly opposed the League candidates.

Therefore the following requests are made:

i. The organisation of the League is imperatively required. It should be on the foundation of military drill. The name of National Guard may kindly be translated in[to] Arabic or Urdu, say *Askar-i-Millat, Muslim Fouj,* so on, in order to make it understand [*sic*] by the illiterate persons. No organisation can be successful in this province without a military drill and basic and fundamental arrangements under the leadership of a sincere, hardworking and painstaking leader. Qazi Mohammad Isa should no more be sent to this Province for organisation [*sic*].
ii. Mian Zia-ud-Din should be expelled from the League office and official audit should be made of the accounts. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar may kindly be instructed to work without p rejudice for the League formation. All bad workers should be expelled from the temporary League committees.
iii. Necessary action is liable to be taken against those who worked against the League candidates and should afterwards be expelled from the League.
iv. Khan Bahadurs and Khan Sahibs, who have joined the League for their own benefit, are not liked by the public. Therefore, necessary arrangements [*sic*] are required to expel them.

We are confident that over and above your other activities you will pay [a] little attention to Frontier politics.

In the end we beg to apologise for encroaching upon your

precious and valuable time.

Our services are always at your command,

We remain,
Yours faithfully,
A. HAMID
Secretary,
Khudam-i-Muslim League

[1]The League Ministry was voted out by the Congress on a no-confidence motion on 12 March 1945. See Introduction to Vol. XI, xx.
[2]Not traceable.

II. 147

Abdul Matin Chaudhury to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (80)

KENCH'S TRACE,
SHILLONG,
16 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As you are aware there are only two Muslim newspapers in Assam—both of Muslim League views—,The *Assam Herald* in English and the *Jugaveri* in Bengali, both published from Sylhet. The *Assam Herald* serves the entire Province of Assam while the *Jugaveri* serves the Bengali-speaking population.

Assam Herald at present has a circulation of nearly 500 copies and if it is to serve usefully the needs of Muslim population and Muslim League propaganda, it needs further improvement and extension. To be really well-equipped for service the following improvements are necessary:

i. The place of publication of the paper is to be shifted from Sylhet to Shillong as the latter place is more centrally situated and is the headquarters of the Province.
ii. A printing machine is to be purchased which will cost at least Rs. 5000.
iii. An Assistant Editor is to be appointed which will cost Rs. 250 to 300 per month.
iv. A Reporter @ Rs. 100 per month.
v. At least 10 correspondents at different district and sub-divisional

headquarters @ Rs. 200 per month.
vi. Press equipment—Rs. 2000

The paper with its present income is running without deficit but with skeleton establishment and staff only. For [the] past seven years it has been carrying on League propaganda with inadequate staff and equipment. If some help may be forthcoming from All India Muslim League, it will be very helpful.

With improvement in staff and equipment, number of subscribers and advertisement revenues are bound to increase—exact increase it is difficult to forecast now—that will make the paper well-established without any recurring deficit.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY

II. 148

Mohammad M. Haque to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/168-9

67 AFTAB HOSTEL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
19 March 1945 [1946]

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Your considered and pregnant statement[1] published in [the] 18th instant papers is, I think, the only expected one of [*sic*] so many followers of yours, after the publication of British Premier's views and objectives in settling our affairs. That the British, [a] commercial nation, always thinks in terms of its trade, and our just cause will produce no influence upon its diehard policy, are the facts which have rightly come out in your expression. When the justness of our claim is proving ineffective we must take to constructive plans. The potential strength of our constructive work may not be realised by the British statesmen unless and until we bring that about.

Keeping this fact, which I have deduced from your statement, in view, I want to put in my humble suggestion to draw your attention towards our œconomic condition, specially the unorganised and discordant state of it. The most urgent and necessary instrument we lack in moulding our economic affairs is the banking business. If we

can start two reliable credit-worthy banks in two parts of our Pakistan and cond uct our business in [Pakistan] and abroad through them our potentialities will appear in concrete form. If we can develop this side of our trade and industry, not only the existing banks but the knowledge acquired will be a considerable capital to our nation. Such a suggestion from you may be exploited by the interested businessmen but the people of Pakistan also have something in concre te form to exploit if they want. Not only this but our activities should be resorted to under a planned programme which will develop our nation in [*sic*] a steady and firm progress. We should utilize our brotherhood and national aspirations, having something in a tangible form. Nothing but economic progress in harmony with modern world will give us anything of the sort.

I do not hereby want to tell you anything novel nor have I the audacity to presume that you are not conscious of these facts but only want to inform you that there are your followers who think in this way also.

Yours,
MOHAMMAD M. HAQUE

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 518.

II. 149

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (81)

ISMAIL MANZIL, PATNA CITY,
30 March 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Yesterday, I received a phone message from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who is staying in Patna with Mr. Yunus, to see him regarding the possibility of Congress-Muslim League coalition in forming a ministry in Bihar. I am ill and confined to bed. I replied [that] I could not go out and see Maulana Sahib. In the afternoon, Mr. Ajmal Khan, the Private Secretary of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, came to me with a message from the Congress President that if the Muslim League agreed to the coalition he was prepared to give some seats in the Cabinet to the Muslim League but at the same time the Congress shall retain the power to nominate Musalmans also in the Cabinet

from its Party over and above the seats allotted to the Muslim League. As this was a clear violation of the principle laid down by the Muslim League with regard to the representation of Muslims other than Muslim Leaguers, I had to decline the offer. I told Mr. Ajmal Khan to convey my reply that the Muslim League cannot agree in any case to a non-Muslim Leaguer Muslim being in the Cabinet on the principle that as alone [*sic*] and only the Muslim League represents the Musalmans outside and inside the legislature, therefore, only the Muslim League has got the authority to nominate Musalmans in the Cabinet. Moreover, I said that as the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is at [*sic*] session at Delhi from the 30th March 1946, therefore I shall wait for the final instructions from Quaid-i-Azam.

Mr. Ajmal Khan again came to see me this morning. There was no improvement in the suggestion regarding the coalition terms which he brought yesterday. I again reiterated my formal reply, [and] thus the talks ended.

In my previous talk with the Bihar Governor I had discussed the situation in the light of the very soon [*sic*] principle.

I am very ill and confined to bed but I shall be looking for instructions from you in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ISMAIL

II. 150

Ali Mohamed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VIII/89

THE *MUSLIM VOICE*,
RAMBAGH ROAD,
KARACHI,
24 February [*1947*]

My dear Sir,

It is after a long time that I am moved by an emotion, which originates more in the subconscious mind than in the conscious mind, to write this note.

Ever since I met you last I have been either in sick-bed or in the wilds of UP and CP interviewing [*sic*] big game animals. Both those occupations, though physically fatiguing, are mentally more refreshing than excursions into the present-day Sind politics. I am really

grateful to you for the advice you once gave me to quit politics if they were irksome.

The *Muslim Voice* business, however, is the only thing I have not been able yet to shake off. The Muslim League Government had tried to do me the favour of relieving me of its yoke but, after an interruption of some months, the Government of India—to my ill luck—reversed their decision and restored the newsprint quota and consequently my worries.

What oppresses me more than even these casual intellectual contacts with politics as a journalist is the feeling that I am not able to go [the] whole hog with the modern [*sic*] Muslim League policies in their relation to provinces. Maybe, there is something wrong with my own head, if not with this part of the League politics. But I should really consider myself a most unfortunate man if even the worst dissenters were to interpret it in any other light.

So far as you personally are concerned I have not, for a moment, forgotten the happy and historic periods I have had the good fortune of spending under your auspices. If they had come to a sad end it was only due to the fact—a fact I have always borne in my mind—that I was wanting in the attributes with which one could sustain them.

However, so long [as] I live I shall love you; indeed, I claim to be seeing you in a light in which none else (even though you might have made the mightiest contribution in their making) must be looking upon you. Believe me, Sir, despite all this detachment and remoteness you are ever present in my prayers. I wish you a long life and a glorious victory in your great efforts.

With kindest and respectful regards,

Believe me,
My dear Sir,
I am,
Your most obedient servant,
SAYED ALI MOHAMED RASHDI

II. 151

Baluchistan Muslim Students' Federation to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/93

[QUETTA,
Undated February 1947]

Our most beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

As the General Secretary of the Baluchistan Muslim Students' Federation, I have the honour to say that in a short space of two years you have honoured us by your presence twice.

The last time you addressed us we had just laid the foundation-stone of the Provincial Muslim Students' Federation. Recently we held our annual elections and have elected Mr. Isa as our President and our comrades Malik Abdullah Jan, who is presiding over today's deliberations, and Fazal Ahmed[1] as our Vice-Presidents.

Sir, we made a humble start but we assure you, Sir, that small though we may be in numbers, we have a great ideal before us, which under your leadership and guidance and with the help of God we are confident to [*sic*] achieve. We still very well remember your precious advice that during our educational career we are not to take any active part in politics, and yet at the same time we must not keep ourselves [*sic*] aloof or be ignorant of the current political affairs or movements especially in our own country. We assure you, Sir, you will always find us faithfully following that golden advice of yours. But at the same time let no one misunderstand that if at any time a clarion call to the Muslim youth of India came from you to go to the battle-front, then at that time we will plunge into the battlefield with all the might at our disposal, irrespective of the consequences.

We fully realise, Sir, that Congress is a Hindu organization and as such we have nothing against them. But when the Congress assumes the role of representing the Musalmans, which they as well as the rest of the world know is not true, that [*sic* for then] we assume the role of defending ourselves against the unslop [*sic*] of the Hindu power. We also strongly resent the machinations of the Congress which they [*sic* for it] day in and day out tries to submit [*sic* for subvert] the solidarity of the Musalmans.

They may have [a] few Muslim quislings and traitors bearing Muslim names in their ranks. But then, Sir, one swallow does not bring about spring [*sic* for make a summer].

They can no longer befool the world but they are only befooling themselves. We, who were a crowd without organization, without a platform, without a flag and without an ideal, have now been brought by you under one flag, on one platform, and [have the] wonderful ideal of Pakistan before us. You have shown us the path and it will be the duty of the Muslim youth to traverse on [*sic*] that path towards the achievement of its goal of Pakistan.

Sir, it pains us very much to bring to your notice that very little has been done by the authorities for advancement of education in Baluchistan. We were clamouring for a degree college but instead they have given us this half-way house of [an] intermediate college known as higher secondary school. We can never be contented [*sic* for content] with this and we appeal to you, Sir, to help us by forming [*sic*] the hands of the Central Government to grant us a degree college forthwith. The number of students in the 1st and [the] 2nd year totalling about 150 justifies this demand of ours.

It also pains us very much to bring to your notice that very little has been done for advancement of the education of our sisters in this Province. On the paper there is a scheme to popularise female education in this Province. But the scheme can never be materialized [*sic*] as long as the inspector [*sic* for inspectress] of the girl schools in Baluchistan is an old missionary lady of about 70 years old [*sic*]. The said lady, side by side, is also running a mission school for the girls. All her life she has been a missionary worker and to expect this lady to popularise female education in this Province, where prejudices are so deep-rooted, is an impossibility and instead of popularising female education we fear very much that the missionary outlook of hers would draw the public away from it. We demand that in this Muslim Province, to popularise female education we must have a Muslim lady.

Sir, we also hear with great concern, that the Principal of our college who had laid the foundation-stone of this institution is going to leave us and is going to be replaced by a person more suitable [*sic*] to the authorities. The criterion here is not who would be the most suited person for the institution but it is who would be more pleasing to the authorities.

Our miseries do not end with that. We now hear that our Muslim Superintendent of Education is also about to leave us.

Sir, you see that the tale of our woes is long but I shall not take any more of your precious time. I have tried to be as brief as possible in

placing our views before you. We have every confidence that you will help us.

[*General Secretary,*]
Baluchistan Muslim Students' Federation

[1]See No. 12, Vol. I, Part I, 41 for his letter to Jinnah.

II. 152

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (105)

CALCUTTA,
6 March 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Yesterday, at a lunch in my honour, I spoke to one or two leaders of the Provincial Muslim League who have all along been hostile to Suhrawardy and particularly to Abul Hashim. Having failed to create trouble at the last meeting of the Provincial Council, they are busy preparing for a fresh onslaught within a week or so. I told them that if they did such a thing at the present moment, Muslim India would never forgive them. None of these so-called leaders [are] of a class that can command respect or following of the Muslims of Bengal. They know it fully well. They are, therefore, using Mr. Fazlul Huq to gain their ends. I am strongly of the opinion that the high command should take immediate cognizance of the trouble that is brewing from within before it reaches a stage when it will be doubly difficult to tackle. In my opinion, if Akrum Khan does not desire to continue as President, Nazimuddin should be unanimously elected President of the Province. Fazlul Huq is a danger and Abul Hashim is most undesirable. I am also of the opinion that the present Cabinet is not all that can be desired; except for a couple of capable men among the Muslim Ministers, the balance of the team is worthless. What we want today is a Cabinet of efficient men to control the destiny of the Province and not a battalion of "yes" men. It was with the greatest effort that I succeeded in getting Suhrawardy to see sense at the eleventh hour. This avoided a crisis. Two hours from now I shall be on my way to join the Middle East Delegation at Karachi and I hope that influences from the top will take immediate stock of the situation in Bengal.

We have won after a great struggle in the Punjab, but I find that efforts not falling short of threat and intimidation are being made by the Congress and the Sikhs to make government by the majority in the Province impossible. I have no doubt that we shall again succeed in overcoming all the obstacles that are being placed in the way of Muslim Punjab. I shall be in Delhi tonight and shall leave for Karachi tomorrow morning. The Delegation is scheduled to leave Karachi on the 9th instant.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

II. 153

Ch. Khaliquzzaman to Liaquat Ali Khan

QAD (106)

LUCKNOW,
9 March 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

In the absence of Ismail Khan Sahib, who is unwell, I had to preside at the meeting of the Provincial League Working Committee where the atrocities, which have been and are being perpetrated on poor Muslims of Gwalior, came up for discussion on a memorandum from the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Gwalior. The Committee has asked me to recommend this case to you for any action which you may deem proper. Ik now the difficulties involved in the matter but the utter helplessness and misery of the Muslims of Gwalior calls for some action. It is felt that even while it is there the paramount power is doing nothing to protect the life and property of the Muslims of Gwalior. There is, to my knowledge, no other State which has permitted such a ruthless persecution of its Muslim subjects.

In case it is found that no solution of the problem seems to be possible, as a last resort they may be asked to leave the State and go away somewhere else.

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQUZZAMAN

II. 154

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (107)

DELHI,
5 April 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry to trouble you about the Muslims of Indian States every now and then. As advised by you in your letter dated 24th March,[1] I discussed the matter with Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar. He finds some constitutional difficulties in his way. I also discussed the question with several members of your Working Committee. Everyone feels that the question can be decided only after your arrival at Delhi. Now that you are here I would implore you kindly to spare some time to solve a question that will help nearly 30 million Muslims in States. I suggest that you may kindly spare about an hour's time on some convenient date at your residence. I will be able to arrange an informal meeting of those Muslim members in the Interim Govt. and your Working Committee, who have shown some interest in the problems of Muslims in States. After discussion you may informally appoint a small committee of three or four persons to direct and advise on the policy of the All India States Muslim League and the problems that confront the Muslims in the States from time to time. Thereafter, I will not trouble you much about the Muslims in States. If you do not approve the above suggestion, I shall be glad to adopt such other course as you may kindly advise. I shall anxiously await your kind directions.[2]

With best wishes for your good health,

Yours sincerely,
[MANZAR-I-ALAM]

[1]See No. 212, Vol. I, Part I, 393.
[2]Another identical letter was sent to Jinnah by Manzar-i-Alam on 26 April 1947. See *QAD* (108). Not printed.

II. 155

M. A. Jinnah to Manzar-i-Alam

QAD (110)

22 May 1947

Dear Mr. Manzar-i-Alam,

I am in receipt of your letter of 20th of May.[1] I have already informed you that I cannot possibly find time to pay attention to the policy, programme and the activities of the All India States Muslim League.

But I have already informed you, and you have followed my advice, to keep yourself in touch with Mr. Nishtar and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and I hope you will not go on pressing me for an interview when you know that I cannot possibly apply my mind to the problems of Muslims in Indian States.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Manzar-i-Alam Ansari,
All India States Muslim League,
Daryaganj,
Delhi

[1]Manzar-i-Alam had solicited Jinnah to patronize and help All India States Muslim League. See *QAD* (109). Not printed.

II. 156

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (111)

PESHAWAR,
9 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Our enemies have started in right earnest. We must not lose any time. The Frontier delegates to the AIML Council should be asked to return immediately and attend the meeting of the Provincial League on 14th June. May I also request you to set up the committee, which you told us the other day would control expenditure. Funds must be

allocated for the purpose. We must have trucks, jeeps and aeroplanes at once. *'Ulama* and students should enter the Province from outside. We want Noon, Shabbir Usmani, Jamal Mian and such others as you can spare.

I am told [that] Brig. Booth of South Waziristan has been appointed Referendum Commissioner for NWFP. The most vital thing is a revision of the electoral rolls. It should be made clear whether that [*sic*] will be a revision of the electoral rolls, or else we will be placed at a great disadvantage.

The following figures will indicate the number of voters in the existing 1945-46 list. These are from the official report of the last general elections.

Total number of voters—Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs = 6, 04, 094

District and community-wise they (Muslims) are as under:

Towns	54, 619
Districts	
Hazara	113, 850
Peshawar	105, 172
Mardan	83, 153
Kohat	56, 375
Bannu	57, 161
D.I.Khan	50, 175
Landholders	1, 776
Hindus	60, 727
Sikhs	24, 144

The report says that there were 50,173 deletions from the list and the actual number of voters now is 5,74,634. It does not say how the deletions are spread over the three communities.

In my earlier letter I [had] suggested that your headquarters should be in Abbottabad where the climate is cool and refreshing. Later on, you can pay flying visits to other districts. May I know whether you approve of it and also the approximate date of your visit and the duration of your stay.

Abdul Ghaffar's talk of a settlement was insincere and its object was to put us off our work. He and his party have started a terrific campaign. We must do the same at once.

The Congress Party is using the Pushto broadcasts of the AIR for their referendum propaganda. This is quite unfair. Either both should

have equal opportunities or the Congress should be denied this advantage altogether.

I hope and trust that you are in the best of health.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

II. 157

Zakir Husain to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (112)

JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA,
JAMIANAGAR,
DELHI,
CAMP MADRAS,
10 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

On the occasion of the Afghan Independence Day celebrations you were pleased to ask me to suggest names of persons whose services could be availed of in connection with the various problems which will require immediate attention during the nascent period of the Pakistan State which your almost superhuman efforts have brought into being. Here are my suggestions for your consideration.

For problems which will arise in connection with the framing of the constitution, I think the services of Sir A. Rahim and Sir Zafrulla Khan will be useful. To assist them on the academic side, Dr. I. H. Qureshi of the Delhi University and Dr. Mahmood Husain of the Dacca University are, I think, two of our keenest young students of history and politics. Some of the younger lawyers, Mahmood Parpia of Bombay and Moh[amma]d Shamim, Bar-at-Law, M.L.C. of Lucknow, may be made to do much of the spadework.

For problems relating to finance, currency and distribution of assets there are three men with intimate knowledge of these in Mr. Mohamed Ali (Military Financial Adviser, Govt. of India); Mr. Zahid Husain (Aligarh) and Sir Ghulam Mohammed (Bombay).

In matters relating to [transport and] communications, I think Mr. Z. H. Khan of the Railway Board, K. B. Muzaffar Husain, retired member of the Railway Board, Mr. G. Farooq, General Manager, E.I.Rly., Mian Nizamuddin, General Manager, Nizam State Railway and Mr. Zahid Husain, who was for some time Financial

Adviser [*sic* for Commissioner], Railways in India, should be able to tender good advice. The last-named will also be useful in questions relating to PostsT elegraph, whereas Sir Ghulam Moh[amme]d and Mr. M[ohamma]d Zaman Khan, retired Post-Master General, can assist him.

On questions relating to the Army, H. H. the Ruler of Bhopal and Mr. Moh[ame]d Ali can be expected to advise on Indian conditions. On major questions of defence, I feel some foreign experts' advice will be needed. But the official formal adviser should, I think, be an Indian Muslim.

On question of industrial development, I think, Mr. A. Ispahani, Sir Ghulam Moh[amme]d and, maybe, Mr. Akbar Fazalbhoy of Bombay should prove useful.

These are just a few names I have been able to think of. I am sure under your inspiring leadership, competent Muslims will be able to give a good account of themselves in the development of Pakistan.

If I can be of any service in the framing of educational programmes, I shall deem it a privilege to be able to do so. I am in Madras at present in connection with a Conference of the International Students Service and hope to return to Delhi by the 17th.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
ZAKIR HUSAIN

II. 158

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (113)

ZIARAT,
25 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

When I had the pleasure of seeing you in Delhi the other day, I said that I would send you a statement of the income and expenditure of Baluchistan. I gave a copy to Mr. Liaquat Ali and now enclose[1] one for your information.

You will see that Baluchistan is at present incurring a deficit of nearly 160 lakh [rupees] a year, and though this can be reduced there is no possible means by which the province can be run without a subsidy. Nor is this all. Pandit Nehru informed me that the railways

in the Western and Eastern Pakistan areas lost three crore [rupees] each and that this was at present carried by the general railway budget. I have confirmed that the North Western Railway loses 246 lakh [rupees] a year and that 160 lakh of this is lost in Baluchistan, apparently above Sibi, owing to the heavy gradients.

I was unable to get either from you or Mr. Liaquat Ali a very clear picture as to how these deficits would be met, and since the problem will arise in an acute from the moment a separation is made, it requires the most careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,
GEOFFREY PRIOR

[1]Not printed.

II. 159

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot & Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (114)

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD, LAHORE,
11 July 1947

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We realise how fully occupied you are and what a terrible pressure of work you have to sustain during these critical and decisive days. But we are convinced that the two or three matters on which we seek your advice and direction are so urgent and so directly affect not only the future but the very establishment of our Pakistan, that we must bring them to your notice even at the risk of distracting your mind from more important problems. We had intended that all of us should go to Delhi and discuss these grave problems, but since Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, as President, cannot be absent from Lahore even for a day during these disturbed conditions and Mumtaz Daultana has to attend daily meetings of the Partition Committee, we all requested Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan to represent all of us and to place the viewpoint of the Punjab Muslims before you.

According to the new Bill before Parliament, the "appointed day" has been fixed at [*sic*] August the 15th. We, in the western Punjab,

will be expected to take over and sustain power as from that date. However, it is well-known that the Sikhs, with the fullest cooperation of the Hindus, are determined to embark on a large-scale civil war from the very day on which Pakistan is established and perhaps even a few days before that. The present Government is very well aware of this and every C.I.D. report that they get (we have seen very many of them with our own eyes) gravely confirms this intelligence. It appears, however, that present Governor is privy to these plans and his present hostile attitude to the Muslims enters as a necessary element into them.

Under these circumstances, if power is suddenly transferred to us without adequate and elaborate precautions and arrangements having been taken beforehand, we might face a crisis or a disaster, which may well jeopardise the entire nature of Pakistan. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that at least ten days before the "appointed day", an adequate military force manned by Muslims and equipped with most modern weapons should be at our disposal, so that we may deploy it at the strategic points well in advance. It is our impression that if such a force was present on our borders and if the fact of its presence was well-known, the Sikhs may not even dare to put their plans into action. We believe that our high command is already taking action along these lines, but we must urge with all the emphasis at our disposal that steps must be taken from now because even if the final decision about the despatch of Muslim troops to western Punjab is taken today, it will take well over a fortnight to transport and billet them in their new quarters in our Province. It is possible that we are unduly and alarmingly emphasising a point which is already having your fullest consideration, but our duty to the Musalmans of the Punjab compels us to make it clear [that] unless the steps indicated above are taken at once, all the heroism, self-sacrifice and undaunted determination of the Muslim people will not avail against the catastrophe planned for them. At the same time, we would like to assure you that if these steps are taken, we are convinced that we can man our fortress and win the day.

The hostility of the present Governor towards the Muslims of the Punjab is well-known. We have hammered at this point so often that we do so again at the risk of irritating you. But it has recently come to our knowledge on the basis of unimpeachable evidence that the present Governor has approached Lord Mountbatten with a very strong representation that at least one colony district of the Punjab(either Montgomery or Lyallpur) should go to the Sikhs under the award of the Boundary Commission. Sardar Shaukat Hyat

Khan will give you full details on this point. The facts are well-known to you, and, therefore, we need not emphasise how fantastic such a claim would be if advanced on behalf of the Sikhs. But perhaps it may be necessary to point out that if either Montgomery or Lyallpur—and we believe that the Governor has suggested Montgomery—go out of Pakistan, western Punjab cannot survive as an economic or a strategic unit even for a single day. Quite apart from this, the demoralisation among the Muslims would inevitably provoke a revolt, which none of us in the Punjab at least could control. In view of the machination of the Punjab Governor, therefore, we feel that there should be intensification of our propaganda with reference to the Boundary Commission. We must lay emphatic claims to Amritsar, Ludhiana and Hissar so that we may check the impression that is being given that the Muslims are more or less satisfied under the present set-up. We believe that if the latter impression is given, the Britishers would succumb to their traditional habit of appeasing those who make the largest noise. In this direction, we suggest that the *Dawn* should take up this matter and that it should be made clear to Sir Cyril Radcliffe that any suggestions, or so-called expert opinion, given by Jenkins amounts to a partial and paid statement of the Sikh case. The recent statement made by Baldev Singh, which practically amounts to his renunciation of his former acceptance of the British decision, must have come to your notice. In view of this, we would suggest that a statement from our top-most leaders, clearly indicating that a partial and unjustified boundary award of the British Government would be unacceptable to the Muslims and would provoke them to the final resistance, would not be out of place.

We have been urging the Punjab Partition Committee that in view of the transfer of power on the 15th of August, officers chosen by the western Punjab successor government should be posted at least fifteen days in advance in all critical districts as well as at Headquarters, so that they may get acquainted with the ways of the administration and get a hold on the machinery, which they will have to employ from the 15th onwards. On this point, the Sikhs have adopted a temporising attitude and have suggested that until the decision of the Boundary Commission, no such postings should be made. They have also suggested that both Governments should share Lahore for the establishment of Government offices and the secretariat till the Boundary Commission has awarded Lahore either to one or the other party. This is an intolerable position, which would leave us unarmed and unprepared on the "appointed day". We hope to refer this matter to the Central Partition Committee within the next day or

two and I hope that clear and precise directions will be issued to us soon enough to enable us to finalise our plans.

Once again we hope that you will forgive us for having intruded upon you with our own problems.

All the Muslims of the Punjab stand by you firm as a rock and true unto death.

With deepest respects to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours obediently,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN
MUMTAZ [MOHAMMAD KHAN DAULTANA]

II. 160

Shaukat Hyat Khan to M A. Jinnah

QAD (115)

7 DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
11 July 1947

My dear and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you will forgive this encroachment on your most valuable and precious time but I feel it my bounden duty to apprise my leader of certain important facts which have come to my notice.

KASHMIR STATE

I was there recently, where I came across various viewpoints and learnt of main currents and cross-currents in State's politics. These I am placing before you for whatever they are worth.

i. *The Rajah*: I got in touch with people who are very close to the Rajah, but who owe their first loyalty to you. Their opinion was that the Rajah is dead keen on joining the Hindustan Constituent Assembly but would wait till 15th August before making a final announcement to this effect. He is reported to have sounded Abdullah, whom he may release on a stage-managed request by Gandhi. He is further reported to be in touch with Simla Hill [States] and Mandi rulers and is working for a confederation with them in order to find an alternative route to link him with Hindustan.

ii. *Premier Kak*: He is playing for an independent status. He is reported to have told Kripalani that by playing for independence he is hoping to subjugate thirty lakh Muslims and will thus

sever them from your State. Secondly, he hopes to maintain his personal supremacy by keeping political leaders behind bars.

iii. *Abdullah and the National Conference*: I went underground to meet Ghulam Mohiyuddin, their underground leader. He has achieved considerable amount of popularity and is today the single most powerful man in the Party, perhaps after Abdullah. He was honestly not convinced why they should not make use of their minorities to serve their own ends. He is not at all averse to Pakistan but says he is handicapped by our silence. If, he says, a little sympathy was shown to them they would see that Pakistan issue is not decided upon adversely. They feel that the interests of thirty lakhs of your subjects were being sacrificed at the altar of Hyderabad and Bhopal. Though they understood that your moves have greater strategy in view on account of various repressions, they were impatient of delay and may be reluctant to make greater sacrifices required of them. It was suggested that even a little bit of sympathy from us, in the form of a statement for release of Abbas, Shaukat of the Muslim Conference, and Abdullah of the National Conference, in addition to a recommendation for the grant of basic civic rights to the people would give an excuse for them to support Pakistan openly.

They discounted the news of Abdullah's assurance to the Maharaja and said that he was in favour of a referendum.

My impression was that this Party is still most powerful and had the support of the intelligentsia. They had advantage of having [a] good many honest workers. I did not think that they were in [the] pay of the Congress. They were rather short of funds. They had been just taken in by the kind words of Congressite jugglers.

iv. *Muslim Conference*: Their best workers were in jail. Those outside are most irresponsible and have been making injudicious statements to the extent of treason against you. People in Jammu Province are with them not because of the work done by our leadership but because of their contiguity to the Punjab and personal loyalty to your great leadership. But these Jammu Muslims do not form the majority. Furthermore, they are not organised and are not much enamoured of their leadership. Therefore, our good workers must be out of jail to work at once as Rajah is getting forcible views from officials in favour of Hindustan in a pseudo-referendum. There must be counter-propaganda to defeat his vile moves.

The best way of course is for both parties to unite and thereafter [make] a united effort for joining us.

v. *The people*: They are hounded, hunted and hungry. Officials are playing havoc into [*sic*] them. Each day they are being oppressed by illegal arrests and their food is being taken away under a system of most cruel taxation; and worst of all their women-folk every day are being molested with impunity. They are very bitter and look upon you as their saviour and are confident that you will rescue them.

They are curiously torn between two loyalties, one to Pakistan and the other to Abdullah. They are indeed bewildered. They pray for Pakistan and for the release of Abdullah in almost the same breath. If Abdullah fights against Pakistan it would be a very hard test for these poor people and God knows what the result is going to be. My impression, however, is that we will probably win.

vi. *Defence*: From our defence point of view, Kashmir, I feel, holds a key position. People may say that an independent Kashmir would act as a buffer state. I have, however, my doubts about usefulness of a hostile buffer state. I think from strategic point of view it would be an advantage to be facing Russia ourselves! Furthermore, if Kashmir makes alliances with Hindustan it would be nothing short of a stab in our back and would be a perpetual pincer round us.

vii. *Economic*: The Rajah has suddenly, after years of reluctance, decided to give away mining rights for minerals. Of these coal is the most important. It is good coal, and the Rajah seems in a terrible haste to dispose these of. If this is allowed to happen we may find our alternative source of power also gone into alien management. Other economic possibilities are of course too well-known to justify their mention.

viii. *Officials*: Majority are Dogra and Brahmin. They are straining every nerve to join Hindustan. They hope to bring their *coup* through Gandhi. The only counter to this is a statement from our side asking for the release of political workers before Gandhi can affect [*sic* for effect] it.

ix. *Resident*: The Resident is playing for an independent Kashmir but is not averse to its joining Pakistan.

DEFENCE

A few points of general interest in defence arrangement have attracted my attention and my loyalty to you so that I should briefly mention them here.

a. *Stores and Munitions*: I see that military authorities are surreptitiously removing already meagre stores and munitions from the Punjab. This is most dangerous and may be a part of some sinister plan and, therefore, I feel [that] every effort should be made to counter it. I hope under the cloak of joint administration we would not be denuded of armaments as we have been done [*sic*] of rolling-stock on the N.W.R.
b. *Landing Ground*: Queerly enough, landing ground and built camps are being sold and dismantled in an unseemly haste by the authorities. The former are national assets, both from defence and communication points of view. These aerodromes have been built at a tremendous cost and their removal, especially from our forward areas, is very dangerous.
c. *Officials in Pakistan Army*: Units which have been earmarked for us are about 50 per cent non-Muslim, but what is worse [is that] majority of the officers are non-Muslims. I humbly pray that steps must be taken to change these before sending them here, or something serious may happen at a crucial time. You must have heard of the plan of army officers' *coup*.
d. *I.N.A. Officers*: In the new cadre, I understand, a number of vacancies have to be filled by Emergency Commissioned Officers as there is a shortage of regular officers. As one who has had dealings with most of your regular officers, I beg to suggest that services of [the] right type of I.N.A. officers, after verifying their antecedents and by careful selection from among those who are with us, would be most useful as these are of seniority and experience which unfortunately our army would lack but for them.

I do crave your indulgence for taking up so much of your time but I hope it will be understood that this has been prompted by sheer love and loyalty for yourself.

With most respectful regards,

Your ever obedient,
SHAUKAT HYAT KHAN

II. 161

S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (116)

DOON HOUSE,
LILLY ROAD,
KARACHI,
27 September 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have come here from Ajmer. From there I sent you a letter about a month back but, I am sure, you never got it, as I know the treatment Pakistan letters receive at the hands of the Hindu postal staff there. But that letter was on a different subject.

Here I simply want to touch faintly on another subject of vital importance. War is bad, very bad, specially in the case of the newly-born child not yet upon its legs. No one likes it and no nation goes into it willingly. But circumstances sometimes force it and a nation has to undertake it, however, reluctantly it be. If similar circumstances arise here and it be forced upon us, what should be our attitude? If we have to choose between an honourable death and a disgraceful death what should be our choice? There can only be one answer to it for a self-respecting nation. At any rate, we have to remain prepared for all emergencies. To me it appears to be more important than even the refugee problem. I happen to be an optimist by nature and have witnessed a number of times how God comes in when human efforts fail. We have more than enough material at our command. We have simply to utilise it. For that purpose, we want a reliable military expert, trained organiser and experienced tactician but a man from amongst us. We do not welcome a war but the best way to avoid it is to keep prepared for it. I will solve some other knotty questions as well. In that connection, I also feel the necessity of keeping a very close eye on some of the refugees and also some of our own state officials. I think I should say no more.

Praying God for divine help,

Yours sincerely,

II. 162

M. A. Jinnah to Harry S. Truman

Telegram, QAD (117)

[KARACHI,]
8 December 1947

At this hour when the Muslim world has received a terrible shock owing to the most unfortunate decision of the United Nations Organization to enforce partition of Palestine, I would like to address to you, Mr. President, this personal appeal.

2. The decision is *ultra vires* of the United Nations Charter and basically wrong and invalid in law.

3. Morally it is untenable. Politically, historically, geographically and practically it would be impossible to enforce partition against the united resistance of the Arabs who have the full sympathy and support of over three hundred million Musalmans and many non-Muslim countries and not only those who voted against UNO decision.

4. In the long run it will and must fail. The very people for whose benefit this decision is taken, the Jews, who have already suffered terribly from Nazi persecution—will I greatly fear, suffer most if this unjust course is pursued. Moreover, the decision presents a great danger to world peace.

5. May I, therefore, at this eleventh hour, appeal to you and through you to the great and powerful American nation, which has always stood for justice, to uphold the rights of the Arab race.[1] The Government and the people of America can yet save this dangerous situation by giving a correct lead and thus avoid the gravest consequences and repercussions.

6. May I, Mr. President, with your permission, release this telegram to the press.

M. A. JINNAH
Governor-General of Pakistan

[1]A resolution supporting the Palestine Arabs was also passed by the All India Muslim League Council on 15 December 1947. See Annex II to No. 273, Vol. VI, 443.

II. 163

Harry S. Truman to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (118)

[WASHINGTON D.C.,]
28 January 1948

I appreciated greatly your message of December 8, 1947,[1] and welcome the spirit in which it was sent. Such exchange of views are always helpful in the development of mutual understanding. I am sure that we have a common purpose in the maintenance of world peace on the basis of the principles incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations.

Even with these common objectives it is only natural that differences in views will from time to time arise and it is only by frank and open discussion that these differences may be resolved. I have therefore instructed our Charge [d'Affaires][2] to discuss with you at some length the basis of United States policy on Palestine. I hope that this discussion will help to make the United States position clear and will serve to promote better understanding between our two countries.

H. TRUMAN
President,
United States of America

[1]Appendix II. 162.
[2]Charles H. Lewis, Jr.

II. 164

M. A. Jinnah to General D. D. Gracey

QAD (119)

CAMP, QUETTA,
1 September 1948

Dear Sir Douglas,

Thank you for your letter No. 0008/1/C-in-C, dated the 26 August 1948.[1]

I have passed on a copy of your letter to the Vice-President,[2] Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and I have given my approval to the grant of Rs. 3 lakh from Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund to enable you to

defray the initial expenses for the resettlement of soldier refugees in the Thal Project.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Ghulam Mohammed.

Glossary

Aadaab	Salutation; greeting
Aameen	So be it (said at the end of a prayer)
Adabi Jama'at	A literary organisation
Akhand Hindustan	Undivided India
Akhand Hindustanwallas	Supporters of undivided India
Allaho Akbar	*Allah* is the greatest
Ameer	Leader; commander
Anna	A coin with value of 1/16th of a rupee (no more in circulation)
Aryasamajist	A follower of Arya Samaj, protagonist of Hindu revivalism movementof Hinduism
Askar-i-Millat	Army of the nation
Assalaamo 'Alaikum	Peace be upon you
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, mercy and blessings of *Allah* be upon you
Babus	Clerks
Badshah	King
Bait al-Maal	Public treasury in an Islamic State
Bande Mataram	Hail to thee, Mother
Bania	Shopkeeper; merchant
Baqar 'Id	Muslim festival of sacrifice celebrated on the 10th of *Zilhij*
Barsati	A water-proof coat; a mackintosh
Begum	Wife; lady
Begum Sahiba Quaid-i-Millat	Wife of the leader of the nation
Bhajans	Hindu sacred songs
Bharat mata	Mother India
Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim	In the name of *Allah,* the most Beneficent, the Merciful
Congress raj	Rule of the Congress
Congress-League Zindabad	Long live Congress and Muslim League
Dargah	Shrine
Dar-ul-'Ulum	An institute for imparting knowledge
Dharamsala	An alms-house; a rest-house for pilgrims
Dharma	The Hindu social and moral law
Dhoti	Loin cloth; a piece of cloth worn round the waist

Faujdar	Military commander
Firman	Declaration
Gaddi	Seat of succession of saints
Gandhiji ki jai	Victory to Gandhi
Gita	Religious book of Hindus
Goondas	Hooligans
Hadith	Traditions/sayings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
Hajat	Needs; custody
Hajis	Those who have performed Hajj
Hajj	Pilgrimage to Makkah
Halwai	Confectioner; sweetmeat seller
Hazrat	An appellation of respect
Hijrat	Migration
Hindi athwa Hindustani	Hindi spoiled through Hindustani
Hindu-Muslim aik hon	Let Muslims and Hindus be united
Holi	Hindus' spring festival in honour of Krishna
Ibadullah	Men of *Allah*; God's obedient men
'Id al-Fitr	Muslim festival celebrated at the end of *Ramazan*
Ilaqa	Region; area
Imam	Muslim spiritual or religious leader
Iman	Faith
Insha Allah	God willing
Jam'e Masjid	The principal mosque where *Jum'a* prayers are held
Janab	Sir
Jathas	Gangs; groups
Jazia	Capitation tax imposed on non-Muslims under Islamic law
Jinnah ki jai	Victory to Jinnah
Jirga	Council of Elders
Jum'a	Friday
Kala Azar	Malaria
Kalima	The Muslim affirmation of faith
Khaddar	Home-spun coarse cotton cloth
Khadims	Servants
Khan Bahadur	A title conferred on Muslims by British Govt. in the pre independence era

Khana ka'ba	The Muslims holiest place of worship
Khas-Khas tattis	A frame made of fragrant grass and fixed to windows, to keep the room cool
Khatib	Preacher or orator
Khuddam-i-Muslim League	Servants of Muslim League
Kisan	Peasant
Kufr	Infidelity; heathenism
Lathis	Long thick sticks
Mahajan	Money-lender
Majlis Khadman-i-Haram	Organization of the servants of the sacred mosque of Makkah
Maulana	Muslim religious scholar
Maulvis	Muslim clerics
Millat	Nation
Mo'allim	Teacher
Mohalla	Ward; locality
Moharrum	First month of the *Hijri* calender
Morcha	Fighting position in a trench
Mufti	Muslim jurist
Mushaira	A gathering of poets for recital of poetry
Muslim Fauj	Muslim Army
Namaz	Prayers
Namazis	Persons who pray
Nawab	Title of a ruler
Pakistan Zindabad	Long live Pakistan
Panch	Village elder
Panchayat	Council of village elders
Pandal	A temporary enclosure erected for a public meeting
Pankhawala	One who pulls a cloth fan
Patel	Headman of a village
Patwari	A revenue official dealing with rural land matters
Purdah	Veil
Qiyadat	Leadership
Quaid-i-Millat	Leader of the nation
Qurbani	Sacrifice
Raj	Rule; reign
Rajas	Rulers of State
Ram Naumi	A Hindu festival
Ram raj	The rule of Rama; Hindu rule

Ramazan	Fasting month of Muslims
Roza	The act of fasting
Sabr	Endurance; patience
Salaam	Muslim salutation
Salaat	Prayer
Salaat-bil-jama 'at	Congregational prayer
Salar	Chief; head
Sawab	Requital; reward for good deeds
Seerat-i-Nabvi	Life description of Prophet (PBUH)
Sha 'baan	The eighth month of the *Hijra* calender
Shahadat	Martyrdom
Shaheed	Martyr
Shahi Jirga	Royal Council
Sharif	Gentleman; noble
Sultan	An emperor; a monarch
Tabligh	Preaching religion; proselytizing
Tain Tain Fish	All talk and no result
Talim	Teaching; education
Taluka	Estate; a revenue administrative unit
Taluqdar	Landlord; owner of an estate
Tanzim	Organization
'Ulama	Muslim religious scholars
'Urs	Anniversary of a saint
Wassalaam	And peace be upon you
Zakaat	2.5 per cent obligatory charity paid by a Muslim possessing assets of a specified value
Zohr	Time immediately after sun declines from zenith

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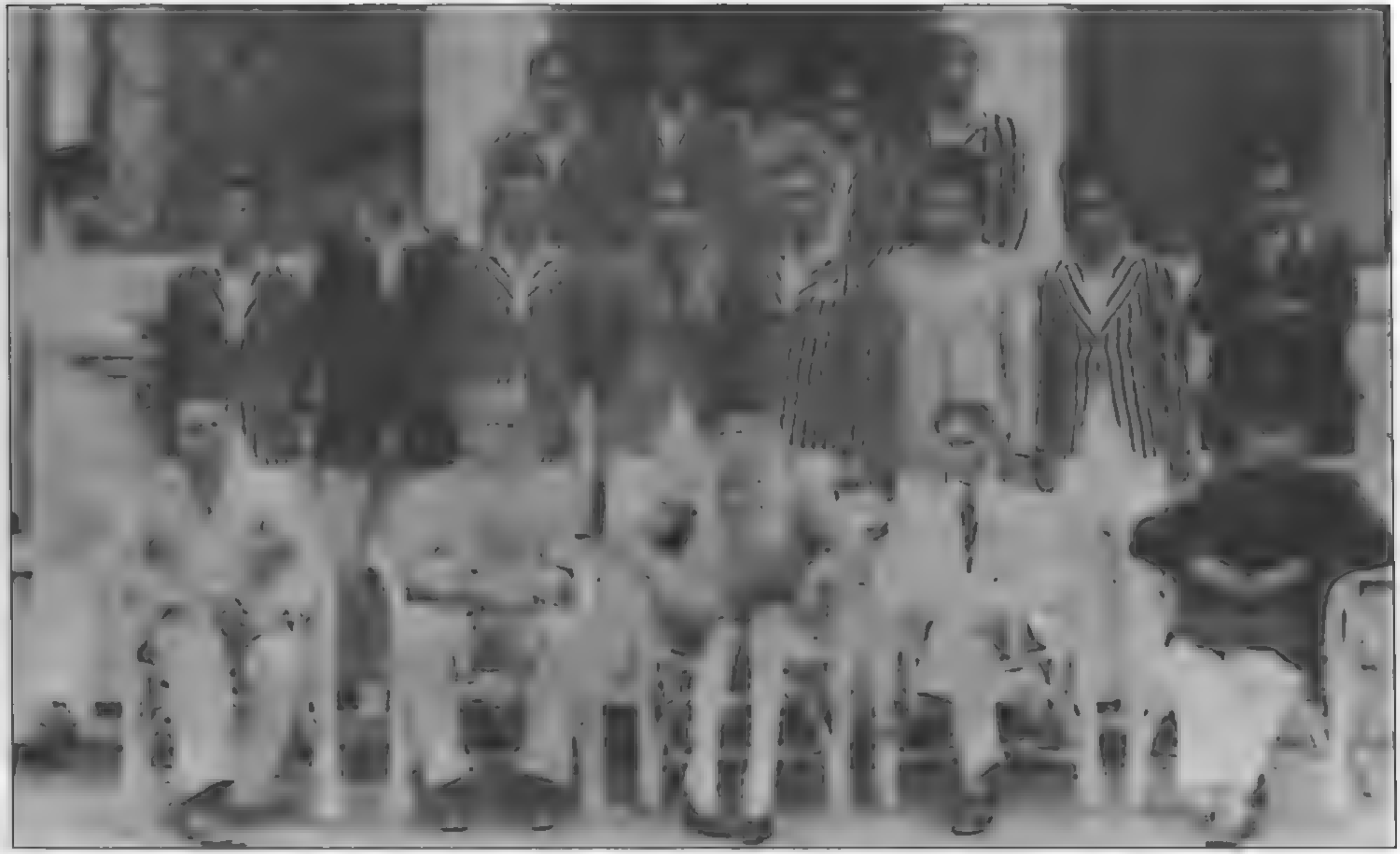
Muslim League National Guards photographed with Jinnah at Patna, 1938

Muslim League leaders photographed with Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah at Ahmadabad, 1945

Jinnah with children of his host at Ahmadabad, 1945

Wavell shaking hands with some Indian leaders



Jinnah with members of Bangalore Muslim Sports Club

Jinnah on way to attend a public meeting in Calcutta, 1945

Jinnah with some Muslim League leaders

Jinnah attending a meeting with Liaquat Ali Khan and Sadullah Khan

Jinnah with members of Quetta Parsi Community, 1948